

The **STUDENT** **5¢**  
*The Intercollegiate Socialist Review* **OUTLOOK**

**The  
Great Student Strike**

Abroad  
In the Colleges  
In the High Schools



**COHEN on HOOK on COHEN on HOOK**

*The End of a Philosophic Controversy*

**Vol. III, No. 5 - May, 1935**

**PRICE FIVE CENTS**

**PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**



## The Student Outlook

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Student Edition

Published Six Times a Year  
February, April, May, October, November, December

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

VOL. III, No. 5

MAY, 1935

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



Subscription price for twelve issues, \$1.00, One year, 50c.  
Single copies, five cents

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# PRIZE CONTEST

In connection with the publication of Dr. Harry W. Laidler's  
"SOCIALIZING OUR DEMOCRACY"  
we are offering three prizes of \$25, \$15 and \$10  
for the three best reviews of the book

The book is of extreme significance to the undergraduate population of America, raising as it does, the questions of what a socialist society would be like in the United States, what measures a socialist administration would take upon being elected to office, and how present events are dictating new tactics upon the part of socialist and progressive groups. In addition, the book tries to give a picture of how the professions, the church, the family, art and education would develop under socialism.

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK because it considers the questions raised in "Socializing Our Democracy" of such great importance, is sponsoring this competition.

ANY STUDENT IS ELIGIBLE TO SUBMIT A REVIEW, WHICH SHOULD NOT EXCEED 1,200 WORDS,  
SHOULD BE TYPEWRITTEN AND IN THE OFFICE OF "THE STUDENT OUTLOOK," 112 EAST 19th  
STREET, NEW YORK CITY, BY OCTOBER 15, 1935.

Judges will be NORMAN THOMAS, B. CHARNEY VLADECK, MARY FOX

PRIZES WILL BE AWARDED ON THE BASIS OF CRITICAL APPRAISAL AND ACCURACY OF INTERPRETATION.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CANTEST, "THE STUDENT OUTLOOK" IS PRIVILEGED TO OFFER COPIES OF THE BOOK, WHICH SELLS FOR THREE DOLLARS, AT TWO DOLLARS. PURCHASE OF THE BOOK, HOWEVER, IS NOT A CONDITION OF ENTRY.

112 EAST 19TH STREET

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK

NEW YORK CITY



# The Great Student Strike

Summer and examinations come upon us right in the middle of an intensive drive against liberalism and radicalism on the campus. Not since the post-war Palmer days have the reactionaries been so stentorious and persistent. Confronting them, however, are the solid ranks of the 175,000 students who went on strike against war and fascism on April 12th. To preserve that solidarity—indeed to strengthen it so that there will be homogeneity of opinion on how war and fascism are to be fought—becomes increasingly necessary in face of the growing onslaughts of the red-baiters. The student divisions of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. must take a forthright stand against war and fascism, as must the N.S.F.A. The times are too perilous, the disappearance of civilization too much of a real possibility for polite pourparlers. A stand must be taken and convictions backed by action. The Student Christian Movement, the N.S.F.A., the Nat'l Council of Methodist Youth can render the greatest service in the struggle against fascism now by joining up with the National Student Committee against War and Fascism which grew out of the strike.

\* \* \*

The following is an account of the great student strike against war culled from 200 letters and thousands of clips from college and daily newspapers. It is as comprehensive a report as is available. All in all there were 184,950 students who participated in the April 12th strike in some way or other. This figure includes convocations, chapel meetings, parades as well as a prayer meeting held at a small Kansas college.

## ABROAD 18,000

*French Socialist Students*—cable—"Sommes de coeur avec vous."

*Porto Rico*—We called upon the president of students of the University of Porto Rico, who is a very able young man of liberal ideas, and with our counsel and aid, he carried out a campaign war which enlisted all the students of the University and its professors. I visited the Central High School of San Juan and the 1500 students backed us and on the 12th of April at 11:00 A.M., used the auditorium to make a wonderful unanimous demonstration against the two great enemies of humanity: imperialism, and war.

The day before the 12th of April we published an article in the paper of highest circulation (*El Mundo*) in the island, written by me and signed by some fellow students, and there we called upon the students and teachers of the island to join us against war. Then we published a loose paper calling every student to a mass meeting to be held on the University campus at exactly the very hour the movement was to begin: 11:00 A.M. We got from the university administration authorization to allow all students to attend the meeting and abandon classes. The administration at first refused, but later consented to our petition. The campaign ended with a wonderful and unexpected triumph. Our article in the papers was answered by numerous telegrams, calls and letters, all of which communications were an expression of solidarity to the cause. The students of several high schools and private colleges left classes at 11:00 A.M. and from that hour on, made all sorts of demonstrations against war, in frank solidarity with us and with the students of the United States. The campaign was backed by no less than 18,000 students. Not a single student made a dissension here. Teachers from private schools, high schools, private colleges, and University, directed to the public many speeches against war. There is so much enthusiasm here for the cause against war, that a permanent committee has been created here with the sole purpose of continuing the campaign against war.

JUAN NEVARES SANTIAGO

*Sec'y, Socialist Student Group.*

## NEW ENGLAND 12,543

*Amherst College*—Efforts to hold a united strike meeting failed. The Student Christian Association held its demonstration in the afternoon. The radicals, few in number, struck at 11 a.m.—250—one third of student body.

*Bennington College, Vt.*—With full consent and cooperation of faculty and President, classes were suspended at 11 a.m.—100 per cent—200.

*Brown Univ. R. I.*—Classes were dismissed for an assembly. Meeting by endorsed by President Barbour and faculty. Extensive fraternity support. Undergraduate paper declared:

"But the anti-war strike was, nevertheless, a success. In addition to the thousands of serious students, a large number of faculty members openly participated, sometimes in the face of condemnation and disapproval. . . . In all probability, by next year the movement will be almost universally observed. . . ."

—Dr. Stephen Duggan in the NEWS BULLETIN of the Institute of International Education.



"College undergraduates must make their voices heard." 1300 students—100 per cent.

*Clark U., Mass.*—100 out of 300 students struck.

*Colby College, Maine*—500 students took part in chapel mass meeting.

*Conn. College for Women*—Mass meeting in gym. Student speakers criticised weak sister character of official peace movement. Enthusiasm for Peace Action club on the campus was generated. 400 out of 600.

*Dartmouth, N. H.*—Undergraduate editorial declared, "When war comes, an editorial like this achieves nothing but an indefinite prison sentence for its writers. It is in time of peace that we must build up anti-war sentiment to the point where it will be able to fight cooperatively against the emotional hysteria of wartime." 500 out of 2300.

*Emerson College, Mass.*—The President branded the official strike movement as "red." An administration controlled and sanctioned meeting, however, was held. 250.

*Harvard U.*—3500 students gathered in front of Memorial Hall at hour of strike. This was an improvement over last year's 2000, most of whom were hostile. 50 organized disrupters failed to distract the attention of more than 400 students at any time. Among the group who came out to be amused was John Roosevelt, son of the President, who was reported with his hand raised in a mock Nazi salute. A lack of amplifiers enabled the disrupters to work amongst those unable to hear the speakers. Recommendation for

next time is to obtain amplifiers and dispense with racoon coats among strike speakers. Despite newspaper reports it was an impressive demonstration, which has resulted in the subsequent organization of a Student L.I.D. chapter in the undergraduate college.

*M. I. T., Mass.*—Attempts to organize the strike were doggedly opposed by a group of reactionaries. The college paper was somewhat sympathetic, as were other undergraduate groups in addition to the N.S.L. and the Student L.I.D. Robert Newman, leader of the L.I.D. at M. I. T. and chairman of the Boston Strike Committee, had his room invaded by a group of self-styled Nazis, who ruined his files and books, cut up his mattress and pillows, threw his bed out of the window, cut off his hair, except for a small tuft in the shape of a swastika. 500 students came out for the strike meeting but as high as 350 were unsympathetic. Many students in R.O.T.C. uniforms led in attempts to disrupt the meeting, despite the promise of the Mili Sci Dept. that it would keep them away. Committee was not allowed to install sound apparatus making it difficult for the speakers to get themselves heard.

*Mass. State College*—43 students in anti-war strike.

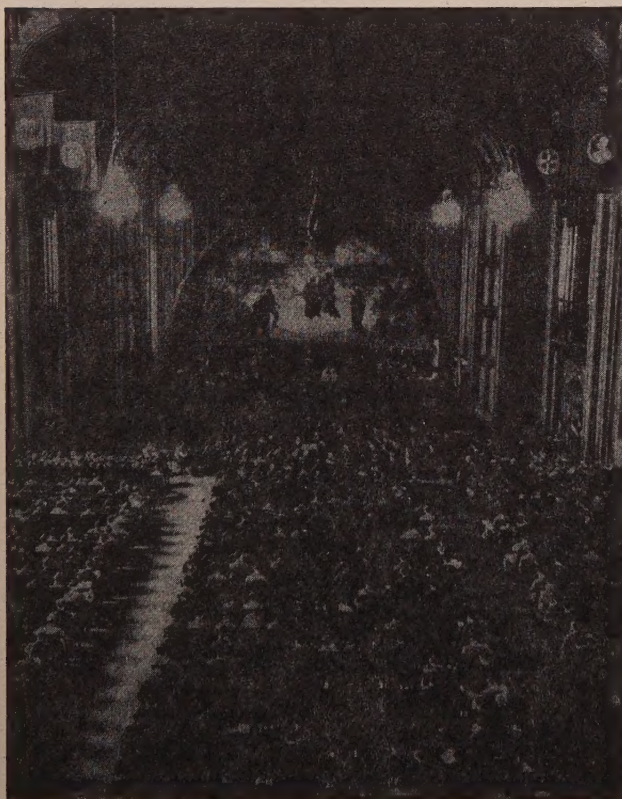
*Mt. Holyoke, Mass.*—100 students took part in chapel peace meeting.

*New Hampshire Univ.*—1000 of the 1300 University students cut classes at 11 o'clock in a strike meeting supported by the Student Council. They heard their main speaker declare that war is merely an exaggeration of conditions existing in our peace time society. A high pitch of strike enthusiasm was created by propaganda through radio, press, mass meetings and picketings.

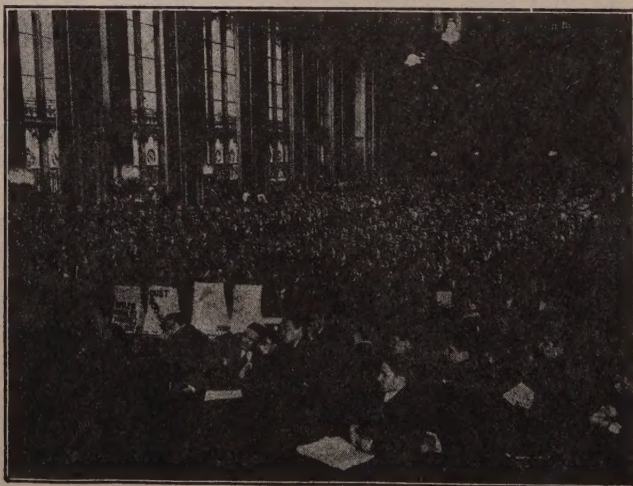
*Radcliffe, Mass.*—Girls from this college joined the Harvard strike. Early in the morning they had chalked blackboards with strike announcements. 300 out of 700.

*Simmons College, Mass.*—This formerly apathetic student body supported the strike. 700 out of 1500 students attended. A peace society is to be formed.

*Smith College, Mass.*—Abandoning previous plans for holding an afternoon convocation 800 Smith girls struck.



Note the empty seats in the Great Hall of C.C.N.Y. when the Student Council called a boycott of Charter Day exercises because Pres. Robinson insisted on using R.O.T.C. Only faculty members and a few freshmen attended.



The same Great Hall filled to the rafters with students striking against war on April 12th.



*Tufts, Mass.*—Because of the time schedule of classes at this college, students had to leave in the middle of the hour. 300 out of 900 held the demonstration. There was no disturbance or opposition.

*Wellesley, Mass.*—This college traditionally a center of pacifist agitation could not adjust itself to the militancy of the contemporary anti-war movement. It held a peace meeting at 4 o'clock.

*Wesleyan, Conn.*—For the first time in its history, Wesleyan took part in a demonstration of this character. The strike was endorsed by the President and the Dean. 400 out of 700. The undergraduate editorial on the strike stressed the need for unity, permanent action and for alliance with such community groups, as trade unions. It concluded, "Peace demands action."

*Yale, Conn.*—Undergraduates here did not deem it proper to support the strike. 500 took part, however, in a peace meeting. There was a strike at the Theological School—125.

## MIDDLE ATLANTIC 42,200

*American University, Washington, D. C.*—Classes were dismissed and were addressed by Jeannette Ranken. 500.

*Barnard College, N. Y. C.*—400 Barnard students marched in a body flaunting brave placards to join the Columbia demonstration. The administration was neutral. Dean Gildersleeve declared, "faculty cannot take a stand on political issues." The American Liberty League refused to support the strike. It said, "when we say that the Liberty League is conservative, we mean—CONSERVATIVE. . . . We certainly are objecting to join in a fight against fascism since we believe this is very worst time possible, considering the strained relations in Europe, to pick a quarrel with any nation because of its individual form of government. . . ."

*Brooklyn College, N. Y.*—Together with Long Island University and Seth Low this college, as last year, had one of the biggest demonstrations in the country. Counting the evening session strikers the number is 6000. The strike was supported by faculty people, Student Council, college papers, and clubs.

*Bryn Mawr, Pa.*—Classes were dismissed for an indoor meeting run under the auspices of the local Peace Club at which 500 were present.

*Buffalo Univ. N. Y.*—30 hecklers from the School of Business Administration attempted to disconcert the 400 who went on strike. Declared the *Buffalo Bee*, "What happened during the local part of the national anti-war movement makes one wonder if the whole program isn't just a blind for furtherance of Communism."

*Carnegie Inst. of Tech. Pa.*—450 students crowded an anti-war demonstration which the *Carnegie Tartan* declared unprecedented in the history of the institution. *The Tartan* urged that the resolutions passed be made "real and meaningful."

*City College of New York*—During President Robinson's absence in California, plans for the strike were made with the unofficial cooperation of the Dean and members of the faculty. The strike was organized by the Student Council. 3500 students took part in the Great Hall meeting. Later 1000 paraded in the rain. Morris Milgram, expelled L.I.D.'er, was one of the speakers. The vote on resolutions was care-

fully tabulated. 1544 students took the Oxford pledge, 186 rejected it. 1694 protested the Supreme Court decision in the Hamilton case, 53 upheld it. 1393 were against the retention of President Robinson, 237 were for it. At the Business Administration branch of the college, 1000 students took part in the strike.

*Colgate University, N. Y.*—Supported by administration which dismissed classes. 600 took part in peace chapel and 400 later joined outdoor meeting.

*Columbia University, N. Y.*—Despite the opposition of President Butler to the strike, it received the endorsement of over fifty faculty members. Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, one of the world's leading psychiatrists persuaded Columbia Medical Center students to endorse the strike. Rollo Reynolds, Principal of Horace Mann School, led his charges to the Columbia strike meeting. In addition, Teachers College, Union Theological Seminary, New College, and Jewish Theological students joined the Columbia strike. 3500 students repeated the Oxford pledge after Roger Baldwin. John Cripps of the Students L.I.D. and the University Labor Federation of England received a tremendous ovation after he spoke.

*Cornell U., N. Y.*—All classes were dismissed by administration for a meeting in Bailey Hall organized by student councils. 2500 attended. *Cornell Daily Sun* commented that, "The Cornell undergraduate seems to have finally cast aside his usual cloak of apathy towards world problems. . . ."

*George Washington U., Wash., D. C.*—This university is attended mostly by government employees. In trying to prevent the strike the administration attempted to intimidate students in government employ. It attempted to discredit the strike as Communistic. All the patriotic organizations with headquarters in Washington attacked the strike. When the students gathered for the strike meeting, they waited for their three chief speakers, Congressmen Maverick, Sisson, and Amlie to appear. However, President Marvin had called the Congressmen on the 'phone, told them the meeting was not official and backed chiefly by the Student L.I.D. which was communist, according to the President. When the Congressmen later learned the truth, they bitterly attacked Marvin for his action. Representative Sisson in an open letter read in the House, accused Marvin of aligning "himself with the Army and Navy lobby here in Washington, the munitions and armament makers, the Shearers and other provocateurs of war, and what is even worse than that, should deny the right of free discussion upon those vital questions." Together with the afternoon session, 1200 students struck.

*Goucher College, Md.*—Together with students from Morgan College and Johns Hopkins a strike meeting of 2000 was held on the Hopkins campus. A large contingent of R.O.T.C. men failed to disrupt the meeting, being even more unsuccessful than last year.

*Haverford, Pa.*—This Quaker college had the majority of its students take part in an administration supported meeting. 150.

*Howard U., Wash. D. C.*—600 students denied the use of university facilities, struck and paraded around the campus. Lyonel Florant, of the N.E.C., was one of the speakers, and leader of the strike.

*Hunter College, N. Y. C.*—2200 girls struck in the various



divisions. President Colligan bids fair to follow in the footsteps of President Robinson. Before the strike 3 girls had been suspended in connection with anti-war activities. On the day of the strike, a delegation of 150 students visited Colligan to demand their reinstatement. When talking to newspapermen, Colligan had piously said that he was having the buildings heated up so that the girls who went out into the rainy streets, would not catch colds—that he held nothing against them. But he suspended three more students who were on the delegation. Police have taken to patrolling the campus. Plainclothesmen escorted Joe Cadden, Editor of the "National Student Mirror," from the building when he came up to speak at Hunter. Colligan in a statement to the students and staff of Hunter College opposing the strike quoted Edmund Burke, "The proposition is peace. . . . It is simple peace, sought in its natural course, in its ordinary haunts. It is Peace sought in the Spirit of Peace; and laid in principles purely pacific."

*Lafayette College, Pa.*—A special convocation was held which was addressed by President Lewis and a student. While the President urged study, he said he was not against the R.O.T.C. He declared he was neither a preparedness enthusiast nor for passive resistance. Fortunately, the student speaker was more definite and militant in his commitments. 1000.

*N. J. College for Women*—Joined together with *Rutgers* and local high school students for their strike meeting. 1000.

*N. Y. School for Social Work*—700 went on strike.

*N. Y. University*—Adding up the different sessions. 2000 went on strike.

*Penn State College*—Organized by the Student Christian Movement. 1500 students and faculty people joined the strike.

*Pennsylvania University*—Norman Thomas was given a tremendous ovation at the strike meeting of 3000 students for which classes had been suspended and which had almost unanimous support on the campus.

*Pittsburg U.*—Even in this citadel of reaction 800 students.

*Princeton U. N. J.*—Norman Thomas speeding up from Philadelphia managed to reach the strike meeting at his alma mater in time to address it. He urged the 1000 students to have the guts to fight for peace. Practically all the important religious, political and literary groups supported the strike. The *Princetonian* declared ". . . the thinking and farsighted youths of this country have finally arrived at a stage where they will no longer be restrained, but will shout their defiance of war so all may hear and heed it"

*St. Lawrence College, N. Y.*—Although the administration seemed to support the strike it sent around the following notice to the faculty on April 10th, "On Friday, April 12th, the first three classes will begin on the hour, leaving time for chapel at 10:50—11:20. Eleven o'clock classes will recite at the time scheduled. *This will give students an opportunity for a meeting in commemoration of our entrance into the World War.*" (italics ours) The attempt by the administration to make the strike appear one in support of our World War policies was resented by many students. 400 took part.

*Swarthmore College, Pa.*—Classes were adjourned so that 500 students could take part in strike. Dorothy Detzer was one of the speakers.

*Syracuse University*—For the first time an L.I.D.-N.S.L.

action received campus-wide support. Although Syracuse was founded by the Methodists it has been extremely reactionary and the L.I.D. is an illegal organization on the campus. Initial hard work by Gregory Bardacke and Eleanora Deren obtained support for the strike from the *Syracuse Orange* from some of the undergraduate groups, faculty members, and womens' dorms. The Chancellor had received a letter from the Methodists urging that the April 12th peace demonstration be supported although not as a strike. Instead the Chancellor in an open letter to the student body criticised church participation in a demonstration organized by other groups. The Vice-Chancellor ordered all peace placards destroyed. Nevertheless, 1000 came out on strike, and stood in the mud and rain for the demonstration.

*Temple U., Pa.*—Likewise here 2500 stood in the rain to hear Norman Thomas and Harold Libros, undergraduate L.I.D.er, who had led in building strike sentiment at this college. Although originally hostile, because of sentiment for the strike, the administration was compelled to dismiss classes, erect a speakers stand, and rope off the street for a meeting.

*Vassar, N. Y.*—Although we reported in the April issue of "The Student Outlook," that Vassar was to have anti-war plays instead of a strike, on April 12th, the entire college marched in an anti-war demonstration. President McCracken was one of the speakers. The students sang:

<i>Not one cent</i>	Bankers expect
<i>Shall be spent</i>	They can collect
<i>For an imperialistic war.</i>	Money for war.
<i>We will spend every cent</i>	Students refuse
<i>We can get to prevent</i>	You've nothing to lose.
<i>An imperialistic war</i>	Keep up that roar;
(Repeat Chorus)	

*Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D. C.*—Administration supported assembly brought out 500 students.

## SOUTH 9,945

*Berea College, Ky.*—In the first demonstration of its kind, 1500 took part.

*Chattanooga U., Tenn.*—Two ministers speaking to the students of Chattanooga University during the Peace Day observance condemned Fascism and "imperialist war." Following the meeting, a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution whose name was not learned protested because Communism was not condemned also, but when the protest was voiced the speaker fled before ridicule. 200.

*College of the Ozarks, Ark.*—Entire student body of 800 met from 11 to 12. No cuts given.

*Emory University, Ga.*—This place is suffering from a bad red scare. In Atlanta membership in the L.I.D. is considered treason. When Glenn Hutchinson put up strike posters, he was called by a Hearst reporter who told him the strike was inspired by the Communists. When Hutchinson said the Methodists were behind it, the reporter replied, "it sounds fishy to me. I believe the National Council of Methodist Youth is just a phoney name being used by the Communists. Anyway I surely hate to see Methodists lining up with the reds." 250 students took part in chapel meeting which emphasized a protest against the Pacific maneuvers.

*Florida State College*—This college, *Rollins*, and *Tampa*



*University*, all in different parts of the state supported the strike which, as in most other southern colleges created historical precedents. 1000.

*Jackson, Tenn.*—1000 students from the three institutions in this town, *Union University, Lambuth and Lane Colleges* walked out of their classrooms at 11 a.m. shouldered banners and placards and marched through the streets. Despite faculty opposition a group of students from the *State Teachers College* in Murfreesboro, Tenn. supported the strike. 100.

*Louisville U., Ky.*—350 students participated in a strike convocation. The evening before, the campus had been dotted with white crosses. Following the strike reactionary students organized a Student League for National Defense "to preserve the sacred traditions on which our country is founded."

*Mercer U., Ga.*—Although reactionaries tried to brand the movement as Communistic, 100 students struck. Tom Johnson of the L.I.D. writes, "one of the most persistent members of the opposition was almost in tears on the day before the strike. He said the whole campus had gone communistic."

*Morehouse College, Ga.*—At this Negro college, 100 students struck.

*Nashville, Tenn.*—Some 250 students, from *Vanderbilt, Peabody, Fisk, Scarritt, A. & I. the Y.M.C.A. Graduate School*, came out in the rain for a strike meeting. Pacific maneuvers strongly condemned.

*North Carolina U.*—President Graham: "Go to it; I am for you." 1000.

*Southwestern U., Tenn.*—200 took part in heated discussions at Peace Chapel.

*Tennessee U.*—100 students turned out to hear speakers.

*Texas U.*—1500 took part in strike, the first demonstration of its kind on this campus. Organized by Student L.I.D. Although some members of the faculty supported it, Dean T. U. Taylor of the College of Engineering denounced the whole movement commenting that: "The whole thing was started by a bunch of Russians from the East Side of New York."

*Texas Christian U.*—At this college and at *Southwestern* some 1600 students took part in strike meeting.

*Tulane U., Louisiana*—500.

*Virginia U.*—1000 students cheered J. B. Matthews. Classes suspended by administration. Undergraduate editorial: "Pro Patria Mori Is Bunk." Local papers commended University for breaking with conservative tradition of south.

*West Virginia U.*—90 in peace meeting.

## OHIO 8,474

*Akron U.*—250. Emphatic demand for continuation work.

*Antioch College*—Although this college has a reputation for radicalism its political composition is like any other. 350 on strike.

*Denison College*—600 at meeting. Unprecedented.

*Fenn College*—Classes were suspended. 200.

*Marietta College*—175.

*Miami University*—500.

*Muskingum College*—500 took part in assembly under the sponsorship of Student Council.

*Oberlin College*—Classes dismissed. Strike supported by administration. 1200.



*The strike at Harvard.*

*Ohio State U.*—400 strikers were challenged by Robert Lehman, cousin of the New York Governor, to show they weren't yellow.

*Ohio U.*—1200.

*Toledo U.*—600.

*Western Reserve*—Attempts by the administration to capture the strike and make it a milk-and-water affair were thwarted by the determined opposition of the L.I.D. led by Ernestine Friedl, the N.S.L. and the Law School delegates. Chief object of attack at the peace meeting was Newton D. Baker, one of the trustees of the University whom the administration wanted the students to have as chairman. Villard did the attacking. 2000 students voted on resolutions among which were condemnations of fascism, communism, and even "subversive socialism." There's a big educational job at this University.

*Wittenberg College*—700 met in chapel.

## MIDDLE WEST 19,900

*Butler U. Ind.*—200 students cooperated. Administration neutral.

*Central Y.M.C.A.*—500 students at assembly, then paraded down South Street. Al Hamilton slugged leaving meeting at this college.

*Chicago U.*—3500 applauded Paul Douglas thunderously when he declared, "This is not a gathering of irresponsible students." After the meeting in Mandel Hall the crowd adjourned to parade around the campus. Showers of rotten eggs from R.O.T.C. and Public Policy Association (a red-baiting organization) boys, failed to discourage the marchers. The fascist bunch then tried to break up the parade. They were so severely beaten up that they left the battleground in a hurry.

*DePauw U. Ind.*—At special chapel meeting students sang "America, the Beautiful." President Oxnam personally stood the cost of the trip of movie actor, Francis Lederer. The latter was later to condemn the strike. Program quotes Methodist statement on world peace including among other things, "grateful to our government for leadership in the movement toward reduction in armament. . . ." Wake up, DePauw. 1000.



*Drake College, Iowa*—300 struck and paraded downtown in cars.

*Eden Seminary, Mo.*—100 students and faculty members went on strike. Exchanged greetings with U. of Missouri.

*Hamline U., Minn.*—With faculty consent, 500 students gathered in anti-war meeting. Undergraduate paper, the *Oracle*, declared that it was not enough to passively urge peace, "We must have vigorous action. . ."

*Illinois U.*—At this center of R.O.T.C. strength, 300 students held a strike meeting in the stadium.

*Illinois Wesleyan*—Together with the State Normal University, also located at Bloomington, some 500 students voted to refuse to bear arms in case of a war of aggression.

*Iowa U.*—250 heard Roland White, contributor to the Student Outlook, denounce war. 50 hecklers.

*Lewis Institute, Chicago*—500. Police broke up post-strike meeting parade of 75.

*Michigan State College*—Some 50 pacifist students had their meeting disrupted by 400 R.O.T.C. led oppositionists. 6 students, including a minister, were thrown into the icy river by the disrupters. J. A. Hannah, secretary of the College, had said, "The college will have no objection if other students toss radicals in the river."

*Michigan U.*—Two demonstrations—one was conducted by Faculty Student Committee in the afternoon, another jointly sponsored by N.S.L. and Michigan Youth Congress at 11 a.m. Brought out 1000. The evening before William Randolph Hearst had been hung in effigy.

*Milwaukee State Teachers College*—Met together with the Extension Division of the U. of Wisconsin, 2500.

*Minnesota U.*—Preparations for the strike were made amidst great confusion and opposition. There were daily attempts to discredit the strike. The Wesley Foundation refused to support it. The paper wanted to know by what right five radical organizations could throw a monkey wrench into the workings of hundreds of universities. The so-called practical pacifists threatened a counter-demonstration. The administration wanted the meeting at four with Newton Baker as chief speaker. Nevertheless, on April 12th 3000 striking students cheered Governor Olson's declaration that no government has the right to compel its citizens to bear arms in aggressive warfare.

*Missouri U.*—The anti-war demonstration here obtained wide campus approval owing to Fred Graham's skillful management as chairman of the strike committee. 800.

*Northwestern U.*—1200 took part in hastily prepared meeting.

*People's Junior College*—100 per cent turnout at meeting which had unanimous approval of school. 750.

*Washington U., St. Louis*—400 demonstrated against war together with 300 students from local F.E.R.A. college.

*Wayne College, Detroit*—500.

*Wisconsin U.*—The *Daily Cardinal* estimated that one-third of the student body or 2000 students cut classes for the strike. The opposition could muster only 25. President Glenn Frank refused to call an all-university convocation for April 12th.

*Wright Junior College, Chicago*—Despite four arrests and one suspension. 50 students left their classes for meeting near school.

## ROCKY MT. REGION 8,388

*Baker U., Kansas*—This is a Methodist Episcopal school. It held a prayer meeting instead of a strike. The World Almanac lists the college population of this university as 38. Shall we count them in our strike total?

*Colorado U.*—500 students took part in strike meeting. Administration denied the use of Memorial Building to the strikers although it was regularly used by Company F. of the National Guard. Reverend James Crowther expressed the sentiments of many of those who supported the strike when he declared, "I have reached my decision as a pacifist because I love America."

*Dakota Wesleyan, S. D.*—Every church in town cooperated, every college organization and the art dept. worked on signs and posters. At 11 a.m. all classes were dismissed and the library was closed. Greetings were exchanged with *Sioux Falls College* and *Augustana*. The 400 students at the college participated, along with many townspeople. At Sioux Falls and Augustana 600 took part in first joint meeting in history.

*Denver U.*—Persistent urging by Carl Campbell, L.I.D. stalwart, brought the strike to this campus. The strike which was sought by the Student L.I.D. at this college was overruled by the other organizations on the committee. An administration approved memorial meeting was held in the chapel. Preceding the chapel meeting a parade moved across the campus with such banners as "Down with Imperialist War," "Scholarships, not Battleships" etc. 800 at chapel meeting.

*Friends University, Kansas*—300 at convocation.

*Idaho U. Southern Branch*—600 took part in the strike. The *Idaho Bengal* said, "cumulative effect and many of these moves, stretching over a period of years, is bound to be great."

*Idaho U. Moscow*—Scabbar and Blade, tried to purge the campus of the anti-war movement which the L.I.D. was bringing there. 500 at meeting.

*Kansas State Teachers College*—500 at convocation.

*Kansas Univ.*—The greatest impetus was given to the strike at this university when the new editorial board of the *University Daily Kansan* repudiated the hostile attitude of the editor and publisher, and came out in support of the strike. A newspaper correspondent tried to convince strike leaders that the movement was instigated by the Third International in Moscow. However, in the end he said: "I do not believe communism will realize anything from the strike as you propose to conduct it. The object of the Third International is to weaken defense in every country so that the Red Army, conceived as an instrument for emancipating the world from capitalism, will find little resistance to its ultimate revolution." They say those things in Kansas. 1000 at meeting.

*Montana U.*—500 students listened to faculty sanctioned speakers.

*Nebraska U.*—500 students opposed the naval maneuvers.

*North Dakota State Teachers College*—400 students joined strike approved by administration and later paraded downtown led by a band.

*North Dakota U.*—A two-hour demonstration against war was held at the University of North Dakota at Grand Forks on Peace Day. Several professors spoke to the students. Leaders said that the classes were not attended by common consent.

(Continued on Page 16)



## In the High Schools—50,000

The total number of students in the high schools who went on strike or participated, in the form of an assembly or peace meeting, in the April 12th demonstrations, totals some 50,000. The most successful demonstrations were held in Cleveland. In Collingwood High School the administration sanctioned peace assemblies and held four such assemblies on April 12th so that all 4,600 students were given a chance to participate. At West Tech High School, 200 students walked out of classrooms and stood in groups around the halls, not knowing what to do next. "What are you doing?" asked the Principal. "We're on strike against war," said some of the participants. "Well," said the principal, "you can't hang around the halls." So the students returned to their classrooms. At John Adams, a strike meeting was held of some 500 students, under the leadership of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

In Boston, the distribution of 10,000 leaflets at eight high schools led to the arrest of eight students from Harvard and other colleges. Boston city officials met the situation by launching, "a Red scare." Special assemblies were held to impress loyalty upon the students and threats of expulsion were made against anyone who attempted to leave the schools on April 12th. On the latter date, all high schools reported that the doors were barricaded by the police making it impossible to carry out the strike.

In Los Angeles a campaign of intimidation was carried on right from the beginning against all students who wanted to organize the strike. The Hearst paper in Los Angeles tried in every way to incite one part of the student body against that which was organizing the strike. Two students were suspended, Bernice Gallaher of John Marshall High School and Harold Breger of Fairfax High School. On the day of the strike a general school assembly was held at Belmont High School from 11 a.m. to 12. No classes were held at all during the day. Despite the guards around the building about 400 students came out on strike. Lacking leaders, who had been locked up in the building, these students milled around for a while and then dispersed. At Fairfax, only one student could get out of the building. At Belvedere Junior High School, 40 students carried anti-war signs on them all day. It is estimated that on April 12th approximately 1000 high school students unsuccessfully milled around the halls wistfully wanting to strike yet unable to hold their meetings. Crowds of policemen were mobilized around the school buildings—200 at Belmont alone. After

the strike, pressure from Epic, church, Utopian and cultural groups in Los Angeles compelled the Board of Education to reinstate the students who had been suspended for anti-war strike activity.

Similarly in Chicago arrests for leaflet distribution, special examinations, the drizzling rain, fascist (we use the word advisedly) intimidation, failed to break the spirit of the strikers. At Tuley High School, 200 students struck at 11 a.m. and held a meeting at the Tuley flagpole. They gave a tremendous ovation to the five students who had been arrested in the morning for leaflet distribution. At Crane Technical High School a group of students, who tried to organize the strike, were terrorized by the administration. One of their number, Lester Schlossberg, was turned over by the school authorities to a group of students who took him down to the cellar and in the dark beat him, pulled his hair, put a rope around his neck as if to lynch him, in order to get the names of the other students organizing the strike. Schlossberg was compelled to go to the hospital because of the treatment he received.

In Syracuse 100 students took part in an auditorium meeting. In Duluth, Minnesota 800 joined an after-school meeting. In a few places such as Swarthmore, the local high school cooperated with the college strike group. The ideal situation occurred in West Allis, Wisconsin where led by Mayor Marvin Baxter, a Socialist, 800 high school students took part in an 11 o'clock anti-war rally and then headed by Mayor Baxter paraded through the business district.

In Philadelphia a resolution by the Board of Education permitted the auditoriums of Philadelphia high schools to be used for meetings of pupils who wished to take part in the 11 o'clock strike. The resolution instructed Dr. Edwin C. Broome, Superintendent of Schools, to "ask the principals of high schools to do the best they can to satisfy student opinion on that occasion by allowing assemblies with as much freedom as possible for student expression." Different principals had varying ideas as to what this "freedom" meant. At Overbrook High School the student speaker had his talk severely censored, while the faculty speaker declared, "war is like a contagious disease, it can't be prevented." An L.I.D.er who got up to present resolutions was told to sit down and the principal adjourned the assembly before she could make herself heard. 1000 students led by the L.I.D. then tried to get out of the building but found the doors guarded by police. At South Philadelphia High School for Boys there was a spon-



taneous walkout of 1000, but no meeting since no preparation had been made. At Gratz High School, a flying squadron from Temple University brought 200 students out into the streets following an innocuous administration-sponsored assembly. Teachers prevented other students from joining these 200. Norman Thomas, who had just spoken at Temple, leaped to the running board of a parked car and addressed the 200 on strike, as well as the hundreds who lined the windows of the building. Walkouts were prevented in other schools by the utilization of athletic teams, plainclothesmen and teachers. Assemblies were held in almost all of them.

Two influential groups threw their support behind the strike in the New York high schools, the United Parents Association and the Teachers Union. The U.P.A. declared, "To us it seems fitting that one hour be granted to the living youth in which they may express their desire to avoid future wars, inasmuch as days are set aside in memory of those who gave their lives in the wars of the past." However, the Delegate Assembly of the U.P.A. reversed this action. Why this was done can be understood from a letter the National Student Strike Committee received from Mr. Henry S. Pascal, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the U.P.A. The following are Mrs. Pascal's personal comments:

"It is my earnest belief that the final verdict would have been quite different if parents had considered the question without pressure from school authorities. A letter from two of the Associate Superintendents was read to the Delegate Assembly that listed as some of the reasons why the school authorities deemed a demonstration unwise such points as: the safety of pupils in the streets; the possibility that they may be misled by speakers or agitators; the possibility of injury through quarrels or conditions of traffic; the possibility of damage to property. Also that a bad precedent would be established which would open the way for other demonstrations on a number of controversial issues.

"I cannot for the life of me see why traffic would be more dangerous to boys and girls of high school age at this particular hour on April 12th than it is at any other hour of any day. In answer to the question that young people may be misled by agitators, I feel that as the parent of an adolescent child, she should be exposed to all shades of opinion in order to arrive at any worthwhile social philosophy. It would seem that schools and parents would welcome this procedure as an educational experience for the child. As far as injuries are concerned, a few bruises in this particular demonstration seem as nothing to the havoc in life and property brought about by war.

Following the retreat of the United Parents Association, the Board of Superintendents sent a statement around to all the schools barring the student strike as an unwise gesture. Principals were ingenious in devising methods for preventing and discrediting the strike:

1. Students were encouraged to disrupt strike meetings by hooliganism.

2. Strike leaders were locked up in the principals' offices.
3. Corridors were patrolled by policemen who also massed outside school buildings.
4. Teachers barred entrances on day of strike.
5. At Seward Park High School, Principal Brodie pulled strike tags off students and told them "to sue for assault and battery."
6. Suspensions.
7. Notations on record cards.
8. Removal from Arista and other extra curricular activities, such as school papers, prom committees, etc.
9. Students were threatened with non-recommendation to college.
10. Mid-term examinations were scheduled.

On the day following the strike, Superintendent Campbell smugly boasted that not even 800 students had participated in the high school strike. The figure is nearer 8000, but every student in the New York high schools was influenced in some way by the student strike against war. The bad faith, the brutality, the hypocrisy of school authorities in trying to break the strike was an object lesson to the high school students of the obstacles they would have to meet in the fight against war. Before the strike the only encounter a few students had had with police was being chased from park grounds for ball playing or for shooting dice. Now the great majority have learned that school authorities do not hesitate to turn to the police in order to prevent free expression in the anti-war struggle.

#### "JUSTICE IN THE GOLDEN WEST."

*Los Angeles Judge Sentences 20-Year-Old Girl Student to 25 Days for Distributing Peace Handbills.—News Item*



*Reprinted from The World-Telegram*



# LITERATURE OF REVOLT

## A Reply to Professor Cohen—II.

By SIDNEY HOOK

3. Perhaps the most significant of Prof. Cohen's misinterpretations is his attempt to spell out of the Marxian theory of social revolution, as interpreted by me, a bloody "force and violence" doctrine. Now this aspect of Marx's doctrine cannot be properly understood unless the following points—all of which Prof. Cohen ignores—are borne in mind. First, by a social revolution Marx meant a political act that transfers power to an oppressed class which creates a new state form, and through which fundamental legal property relations are altered in the interests of the class that has acquired power. Most of the illustrations considered by Prof. Cohen (like the so-called Jacksonian revolution) are not social revolutions in the Marxian sense at all. Nor does any Marxist ever claim that a social revolution is the only way by which an oppressed class makes gains: he holds that the development of the economic productive relations are such that a time comes when the retention of these gains and reforms, together with the further steps necessary to complete them, demands a transfer of political power to the rising class. Secondly, Marx as distinct from Blanqui and others did not believe in a minority revolution. And as a matter of fact nowhere does he say that the working class *alone* can achieve the revolution although he held it must *lead* the movement. The gaining of allies from among the radicalized petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, professionals and national minorities is not, as Prof. Cohen seems to imply, a doctrinal innovation foisted by me upon Marx but was always a fundamental principle of Marx's political strategy and tactics. The criticism which Marxists level against German Social-Democracy is not that they believed in cooperation with other classes (e. g. peasants) but that they collaborated with the chief enemy of the working-class, (the bourgeoisie), that they supported the war and abandoned their socialist program. Thirdly, according to Marx there was sufficient historical evidence to justify the contention that in most countries the bourgeoisie, in control of the armed forces, would not peacefully submit to any fundamental social change, even if it were desired by a majority of the population, which would strip them of their economic and political power. In such situations, in order to prevent the imposition of naked force by the minority in power, the working class and its allies—the majority of the population—must counter with every weapon at its command. Where it is *compelled* to use force, it has historic, moral, and intelligent justification. The chief responsibility in all large social changes rests, as Prof. Dewey has pointed out recently, with those who control the existing instruments of power.

There are two possible arguments which may be advanced against this position. The first is the extreme pacifist argument which asserts that the use of force is always an *unmitigated* evil in social affairs and must forthwith be condemned even when it is employed as an instrument to combat force. The second is the objection that such a view makes it likely that force will be justified even when it is unnecessary, even when the same results may be achieved by other methods.

As far as the first argument is concerned it is clear that in absolute pacifism we are confronted by a religion and not by a critical social philosophy. It is a religion practiced by none of the forces *opposed* to the working class. It is a religion which would condemn as immoral not only the American revolutionists of 1776, not only the Unionists of '61 but also any man or woman who paid taxes which went to the support of the army, navy or police. It is certainly a religion which Prof. Cohen cannot support, for has he not told us in a recently republished writing (*Student Outlook*, March, 1934) "As a citizen I should have been glad, if conditions permitted, to volunteer for military service?" Far from being absolutely opposed to force, on occasions Prof. Cohen can write very poetically about it. At about the same time when he indicated his willingness, conditions permitting, *to volunteer* (!) for military service, he also wrote: "Are not the portals of our houses sprinkled with the blood of our sons who bled to death that we may be safe?" (*Jour. of Phil.*, 1918, p. 685, reprinted in 1931).

Consequently, Prof. Cohen is compelled to fall back on the second argument. Those who think that it *may* be necessary to use force are apt to place their chief reliance upon it and end up by *preferring* social change brought about by "bloody revolution" even if the same results can be brought about by less sanguinary methods. Undoubtedly there is this danger—just as there is the danger that surgeons who perform necessary radical operations upon patients may end up by preferring to perform such operations when they are unnecessary,—just as there is the danger that those who fight prairie fires by using backfire may end up by preferring to fire wheat-fields for the sheer fun of it. The danger would indeed be great if the people who believe that the use of force in social affairs under certain conditions is necessary and defensible (e.g. 1776, 1789, 1917) had no theory to guide them in recognizing such situations; the danger would indeed be even greater if we were speculating on the probable actions of men whom, on other grounds, we had reason to believe were maniacs. Professor Cohen's argument, however, certainly does



not apply to Marx and his followers. Their theory of the nature of "the revolutionary situation" indicates what objective conditions must be fulfilled before the final revolutionary act, broadly conceived as a defensive measure supported by a *majority* of the population, can amount to anything more than a mad adventure. To my astonishment however I discover that on this point Prof. Cohen does not regard me as a genuine follower of Marx. It would appear that I belong to the greater danger—presumably to the revolutionary pyromaniacs, for some unaccountable reason still at large, who enjoy the rumble and flame of revolt for their own sake. He so much as says that I reject Marx and Lenin for not being "revolutionary enough":—

" . . . Prof. Hook is more "revolutionary" than either of his masters. He seems obsessed by a Kantian subordination of human happiness to an absolute or categorical imperative; only his imperative is "Be revolutionary!" Like other romantics who set up categorical imperatives, he thinks that people can be self-respecting only if they follow his direction. But why should society submit to a bloody revolution from which it might never recover if the same result can possibly be brought about by less sanguinary though slower methods? Prof. Hook's assumption that anything is better than the present state of affairs is a personal preference which to many will seem reckless."

To anyone who has read my book such a characterization of my position will appear not merely reckless but as verging on the irresponsible. I am prepared to maintain that even if something less than the desired results can at *any* time be attained without resort to force, peaceful methods should be used. Nor do I believe that the use of force is at any time *literally* inevitable. How can I, since I deny that socialism is literally inevitable? I explicitly make the whole question one of historical probabilities, admit with Marx that there is "always the *abstract possibility* that power may be won peacefully," (p. 290) but deny with Marx that history is determined by abstract possibilities. Prof. Cohen has every right to maintain that I do not read the historical probabilities aright, that once a majority of the population indicates its desire for fundamental social change *there is no likelihood whatsoever* that zealous defenders of the old order will use chicanery or force to set its will at nought and that therefore there is no necessity at *that* time to prepare for the eventuality. He has the right to maintain this even though it is not compatible with other things he has said elsewhere. He has not the right coolly to disregard the historical evidence I present that this contingency is unlikely, and then proceed to attribute a view to me which no one who makes the slightest pretence to being civilized can hold. The fact that I believe that both Marx and Engels were wrong in making an exception to the general rule for England, America and Holland on the question of how the working class will take political power, constitutes no ground for the absurd statement that I criticize Marx for not being "revolutionary" enough. I have indicated that historically considered all of the countries of Western Europe and America (in 1872) were in the same boat and that in the light of the evidence (which runs to four pages and which Prof. Cohen consistently ignores) it is difficult to understand the

logical justification of these exceptions. Space does not permit extensive citation but for a defence of the "thoroughly human motivation" of Marx's theory of social revolution let any interested reader turn to the pages (296-297) with which I close the chapter dealing with this theme.

Of a piece with Prof. Cohen's attempt to make me out a bloodthirsty and fire-eating romantic is his ascription to me of the notions (a) that the goal of the socialist movement is not socialism but the seizure of power for its own sweet sake, and (b) that immediate reforms or demands have no place on the Marxian program. And with a gallantry which is a little surprising from one who is so bitterly anti-Marxian, he defends Marx against me as one who was relatively free from such errors.

"Prof. Hook," he writes, "deliberately sets up the seizure of power as itself the goal." Some years ago I had occasion to point out that Prof. Cohen's arguments often owe a great deal of their force to the fact that the views with which he contrasts them are so stated as to make them appear to be obvious nonsense. I never dreamed that some day my own views would serve as a striking illustration of this procedure. I do not believe that any human being can be found who sets up the seizure of power as itself the goal. Certainly Mussolini does not believe in taking power for its own sake. Neither does Hitler. For them, as for every other politician, power is used either to prevent certain things from taking place or for achieving certain ends. Yet Prof. Cohen would have his readers believe that I seriously hold the amazing and essentially unintelligible doctrine that power should be taken for the sake of taking power. I cannot account for such a grotesque distortion save on the assumption that what Prof. Cohen reads on one page he does not relate to what he finds on the pages preceding and succeeding it. In discussing the criticism of German Social Democracy made by Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin, I call attention to the criticism they passed upon Bernstein's dictum that the goal was nothing but the movement everything. Bernstein could not relate the two because he understood by the goal, the classless society of the future which could not *now* practically influence daily activity. Luxemburg and Lenin point out that from the point of view of the movement in the *present*, the practical goal must be the conquest of state power. But state power itself is not the end in itself but, as I explicitly state not only in this connection but throughout the book, the instrument by which socialism is to be achieved. The context of my remarks to anyone who is interested in rendering my meaning faithfully is unmistakable. And the wording of the passage in which I speak of the conquest of political power as the realistic goal of the movement, as conceived by Luxemburg and Lenin, shows that I have not at all forgotten that socialism is the ultimate goal of the socialist movement. The point simply is that the ultimate aim becomes relevant to daily activities *after* political power is acquired: until then, what guides the political strategy and tactic of the movement is the question of political power. This is the distinction which



Luxemburg and Lenin draw between a party of social reform and a party of social revolution. Summarizing their position I say:

"... The revolutionary dictatorship of the working class, ruling in the transition period from capitalism to socialism—only that could be the realistic goal of the movement. Here was an end which was organically related to the means used in the daily struggle. The ends must be recognized in the choice and character of the means employed. And there could no longer be any serious dispute about the means; they could not be of a kind that hindered the fulfillment of the end." (p. 58.)

And for a discussion of the way in which the proletarian dictatorship (workers' democracy) develops into socialism, Prof. Cohen could have consulted the whole of the final chapter.

Just as amazing to me is Prof. Cohen's contention that—as distinct from Marx—I do not believe immediate demands can be linked up with the struggle for power. And in support of his reading he refers to a page which actually asserts the precise opposite of the view he again gratuitously foists upon me. This time Prof. Cohen accomplishes the feat by taking a sentence in a paragraph independently of the sentences which precede and follow it. This is what Prof. Cohen says:

"But Marx was relatively free of that error and cannot be cited as an authority for Prof. Hook's view that we cannot significantly relate a struggle for increased pay or reduction in number of hours with the conquest of political power."

He refers to p. 59 of my book in support of this statement. Let us turn to p. 59! Here is the whole passage:

"The logic of the dilemma which Luxemburg and Lenin hurled at the official Social Democracy was clear. If practical reforms are the be-all and end-all of the movement, emphasis upon the goal conceived as the conquest of political power is bound to get in the way. When such emphasis is taken as something more than poetic myth, it becomes an irrelevant intrusion into the specific tasks in hand. One cannot significantly relate a struggle, say, for a two cent per hour increase in wages or a Saturday half-holiday with the conquest of political power. Bernstein was right in claiming that he had given theoretical expression to the reformist practices of German Social Democracy. If, on the other hand, the goal is the conquest of political power, reforms are to be regarded as the *by-products* of the class struggle. Immediate demands are not thereby stricken from the program—this was one of the errors of Daniel de Leon, the most orthodox of American Marxists—but are made the spring-board of political agitation. No issue then could be too small if it served to intensify the class struggle. But every class struggle must be regarded

as potentially a political struggle. It is directed not only towards improving the condition of the masses—which is important enough—but towards wresting control of the state from the hands of the dominant class."

With this I wish to rest my case against Prof. Cohen's "review." Space does not permit me to discuss some glaring errors in Prof. Cohen's cavalier treatment of Marx, such as the invidious comparison he draws between Marx and Blanqui as revolutionists, the interpretation of the relation of Marx and Engels to German Social Democracy, the downright carelessness of saying that "Marx failed to judge the situation (the Commune) any better than the followers of Blanqui" when the historic record of Marx's warning to the French workers not to revolt is open for all eyes to read,<sup>1</sup> the transplantation of a sentence from the *Communist Manifesto* to *Capital*, etc., etc.

It is surprising that a scholar of Prof. Cohen's learning and acumen should have laid himself open to charges of carelessness in reasoning and irresponsibility in reporting. I am far from suggesting that his "review" is deliberately guilty of misstatements. But I offer it as an additional exhibit that where the discussion concerns Marx or the class-struggle the most "impartial" of philosophers is apt to write with more fury than accuracy and to substitute scattered irate notes of disagreement for a considered review. Professor Cohen is entitled to his bias and partialities but it is unseemly for him to pretend any longer, when social and class issues are at stake, to a philosophic detachment he obviously does not feel and to a political neutrality which he cannot sustain even to a point of stating objectively views with which he disagrees. A strange neutrality which supports an imperialist war but not the resolute, organized movement of the working-class against war!

I make no exaggerated claims for my book. Its shortcomings are many and obvious. But in respect to the difficulties which Professor Cohen has raised, I wish to say that practically all of them are presented in the book together with reasoned attempts to answer them. My answers may be inadequate. The function of the critic is not to ignore them but to indicate the grounds of their inadequacy.

<sup>1</sup> *The Paris Commune*, p. 42, Eng. trans., N. Y. Labor News Co., 1920.

## COHEN on HOOK on COHEN on HOOK

An author is generally the best judge of what he meant to say; and as Prof. Hook is former pupil of whom I am justly proud, and a friend to whom I feel greatly obligated for his many kind tributes, I have no desire to foist any particular opinion on him. As I have a painful sense of the inherent difficulties in the communication of ideas, no pride would prevent me from freely expressing my regret at any failure to understand; and I should have been glad indeed if my Notes led Prof. Hook to make his position clearer. But, alas, his reply fails to meet most of the issues as I see them, and he certainly argues against views which are not mine. In the very limited space allowed me I cannot controvert or even enumerate every one of his contentions that seem to me

unwarranted. I may barely indicate why I do not find his reply convincing.

1. A careful reading of Prof. Hook's book and of my Notes on it will not, I think, find that his reply succeeds in reconciling his belief in moral free will<sup>1</sup> with Marx's economic determinism and dialectic materialism. Nor are his attacks on the "fatalism" of German socialism consistent with Marx's persistent assertion that history is subject to inevitable "iron" laws and that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness."<sup>2</sup> Let the reader note that

<sup>1</sup> *Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface to the Critique of Political Economy*.



in thus pointing to the difficulties of combining pragmatism with Marxism I was not attacking the latter. Though I do not assume that in the course of nearly 40 years of writing Marx was always consistent and right, it is not true that I am "bitterly anti-Marxist." On the contrary, Marx's contributions to the theory of history, to the understanding of the invariant laws governing social changes, have seemed to me of the greatest value (though subject to certain obvious qualifications), and they seem to me to be in a stronger position when based on objective and rational grounds than when viewed as the expression of class bias to be justified by the pragmatic test of truth or verification. I was clearly not attacking Marx (as interpreted by Engels and the German Socialists) when I urged that on Prof. Hook's view of proof, the triumph of nationalism and fascism in Germany and Italy would be a refutation of Marxism. Indeed, Prof. Hook sees this himself in his criticism of Sorel. But he does not consistently recognize that the truth of history cannot be altogether reduced to a party preference or program of action. How can we change the past?

These and other difficulties are not successfully evaded by attributing to me such ridiculous views as "that the future is completely undetermined," or "that it makes no difference what our faith is." What I do believe and have said is simply that we do not know enough of the determining factors to predict the future with the certainty which Prof. Hook at times assumes, and that to the extent to which we act on faith beyond our knowledge, we have no good *reason* for feeling superior to others who pursue different conceptions of the "good" and the "best." Most emphatically do I deny, as contrary to all my views of logic, the implication that "only a hypothetical deductive system which would enable us to predict the future without reference to the consequences of human activity in the present is a science." As to the error of formal dichotomies, this is exactly the error against which my use of the principle of polarity is directed; and that is precisely why I cannot accept the stark dichotomy of "communism or chaos." It is Prof. Hook who so obsessed by this absolute dichotomy that he denies the possibility of an "intelligible alternative which will bear historical examination." But history shows no actual regime of pure Communism or purely individualistic capitalism but always combinations of elements of both in varying proportions under different circumstances. Thus our present regime is communistic to the extent that it taxes incomes and inheritances and serves everyone's needs for protection against plagues, fires, and other perils to life and limb, provides free education, free parks and other recreational facilities, etc. Now just as no violent revolution brought these services into being, so our own recent history suggests that in a similar way these services may be extended to include necessary food and shelter, so that no one need fear starvation any more than death from thirst—all this without eliminating all individual enterprise in the production of additional personal comforts, artistic and intellectual goods, and the like. There is neither a priori nor historical reason for ruling out such a possible piecemeal progress to socialism. This does not, confessedly, offer a complete set of blue prints. But at times Prof. Hook agrees that we must leave something for the future to decide. In general, the logical consequences of my (and the ordinary)

view of science is not that verifiable knowledge of the future is impossible but that it is incomplete. Prof. Hook's pontifical objections to my logic overlook this obvious distinction.

2. Prof. Hook is attacking the wrong party when he argues as if I ignored the pervasive influence of capitalism. My analyses of legal institutions, and more especially of the effects of private property in limiting the freedom and real opportunity of the propertyless,<sup>3</sup> is a sufficient answer. But when all that is duly or unduly emphasized, the fact remains that the state does render vital services which are not dictated by capitalists. Many of these services existed before modern capitalism came on the scene and will, let us hope, continue under more collectivistic regimes. Despite his facetious remarks about our water supply, Prof. Hook does not deny any of these services. Indeed, he admits that even the policeman today has other functions besides beating strikers, for instance, directing traffic. The point on which Prof. Hook does join issue with me is his declaration that "in an organized and complex society such services do not require a special coercive force to be administered." Here he seems to me, like Kropotkin and other good-hearted anarchists, to be 100% wrong. Without police force, such services as traffic regulation are not effective, though it is, obviously, to everyone's interest to obey them. To that extent the irrationality or cussedness of human nature is an undeniable fact.

It is bad logic to argue that the reality of social conflicts (not only between laborers and their employers but between different races, different religions, and even between men and women) disproves the reality of common interests. These common interests demand that war be not so ruthless as to wipe out all humane feeling. Otherwise the victory will be altogether profitless.

3. In regard to "the social revolution" Prof. Hook's reply consists of over-emphatic denials not called for by the text of my Notes, concessions which show some shifts from the position of his book, and, in the end, reaffirmations of the positions I ascribed to him.

I am sorry that he feels that I have tried to make him out "a blood-thirsty and fire-eating romantic," "a revolutionary pyro-maniac" who enjoys the rumble of revolt, etc. I know him too well to do that; and on re-reading my Notes he will see that he has exaggerated the force of my words. I am glad that he agrees with me that there is real danger of physicians to the body politic being unduly obsessed by the assumed need of bloody operations. He does, however, hold the position I ascribed to him, namely, that happiness is not the human objective and that a revolution cannot possibly make things worse than the present order. There is also no warrant of any sort for his attributing to me absolute pacifism, opposition to any or all revolutions, or the absurd view (and in italics too) that there is *no likelihood whatsoever* that zealous defenders of the old order will try to set at naught radical or revolutionary achievements. I am at a complete loss to understand why Prof. Hook should attribute such views to me.

While in his book he insisted on the *dictatorship* of the proletariat and criticized Kautsky as un-Marxian for believing in the necessity of a coalition government during the period of transition to the proletarian state, in his reply Prof. Hook shifts the emphasis to the *leadership* of the

<sup>3</sup> See my *Law and the Social Order* pp. 3-6, 28-31 and 41ff.



proletariat and regards cooperation with other classes as a fundamental principle of Marxian strategy. I am glad that he adds to this that he is "prepared to maintain that even if something less than the desired results can at any time be attained without resort to force, peaceful methods should be used." On this basis he and I are in agreement with each other and with various groups of Socialists, and our differences may perhaps be resolved by painstaking analysis of the actual situation and of the probabilities it offers, though not by dialectic diatribes.

I fear, however, that Prof. Hook does not fully realize the significance of these concessions. Despite his rather vehement protest against my statement that he sets up the seizure of power as itself the goal, he does not really disown it. He reaffirms the position I ascribed to him when he says that the practical and realistic goal of the movement must be the conquest of state power through a revolutionary dictatorship, and that only when this power has been achieved will it become pertinent to consider the ultimate goal and to ask for what the power gained is to be used. But this is to assume, first, that no other path to socialism than that of dictatorship is possible, and, second, that a mass-movement seeking the practical goal of seizure of power will automatically, at the proper moment, adopt the "ultimate goal" of socialism. I see no convincing evidence for either assumption. Of course, those who wish to seize power generally also want to do something with the power when they get it. I never dreamed of denying that. But history shows that men with their eyes fixed firmly on the seizure of power do not willingly relinquish it to the masses in whose name they have seized it. The ultimate goal is thus sacrificed to the seizure and maintenance of this power. And recent history also shows that large numbers of men induced to vote for "seizure of power" under a Communist emblem may, as a second choice, vote for "seizure of power" under a Nazi emblem. Contempt for patience, for compromise, and for democratic procedure, coupled with *unconcern for the constructive elements of a socialist program* is likely today in America to serve the cause of fascism rather than the cause of communism.

My Notes were, I submit, quite impersonal, i.e., they tried to develop the implications of certain positions without any personal references to the one who held them. Prof. Hook, however, goes further and makes certain psycho-analytic observations in terms which I am sure he is too generous to repeat after cooler reflection. I should not, therefore, care to comment on them if it were not for the moral which he bases on them—a moral which seems to me dangerous for the progress of philosophy.

It does not seem to occur to Prof. Hook that his views, so clear and convincing to himself, may not be so to others; and so he strains to attribute my difficulties to a strange incapacity. But others have felt the same or similar difficulties. The fact is that Prof. Hook's use of his fundamental categories such as the *proletariat*, the *class-struggle*, the *revolution*, etc. is inherently vague precisely because, while he regards them as historical, he does not adequately apply them to the actual facts of history, but uses them in a predominantly dialectical manner that ignores many actual factors. By confusingly arbitrary definitions he rules out

inconvenient facts such as the change of power in America from the squierearchy to the backwoods farmers, or the acquisition of power by the commercial elements in England. Like other apologists, he loses definiteness by trying to draw too many into the fold. Nor does he make it easy for the reader to correlate what he says on one page with what he says on another. Thus he gives no indication of how, for instance, we are to reconcile the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism in chaos (unless succeeded by communism) with approval of Lenin's position that, "Whoever believed that capitalism, no matter how severe its crisis, had no way out, was being victimized by the fatalistic pseudo-science of orthodox German Social Democracy."

While Prof. Hook graciously absolves me from deliberately misrepresenting his views, he uses such phrases as "Prof. Cohen chooses to obscure," "chooses to ignore" and the like, for which I can see no justification. My views may be even more obscure to Prof. Hook than his are to me, but that is not intentional on the part of either of us. Nor did I *choose* to ignore evidence. Having read Prof. Hook's book through several times, I am familiar with what he regards as the evidence but am not impressed with its force, and there was no reason for including in my Notes all my points of agreement and disagreement, with their full reasons. Incidentally, it is quite unfair for Prof. Hook to refer to my "review" as he does. I did not call it such nor pretend to write a complete or comprehensive account of his book, but rather notes as I explicitly designated them. I see no reason whatsoever for calling them "irate." But this the reader can judge for himself by comparing my Notes with Prof. Hook's reply. I think also that if the reader will take into account all the historic facts and especially the date of "Marx's warning," he will find that my references to Marx, to Blanqui and to the Commune are not "glaring errors." And any literate person who checks up my references can see that it was not I that transplanted a sentence from the *Communist Manifesto* to a note in *Capital*. I am also satisfied that a careful examination of Prof. Hook's own restatement of his views will itself absolve me from the charge of "irresponsibility in reporting" and from the insinuation that I have not read the last and other chapters of his book. Prof. Hook would be justified if he contended that my Notes contained a somewhat misleading implication as to his views on the value of improving the material condition of the masses. For that carelessness in expression I freely express my regret. He does attach some importance to such improvement, seemingly if it serves to *intensify* the class struggle. But I submit that Prof. Hook does *decidedly approve rather than reject* the statement on page 59 of his book, that "one cannot significantly relate a struggle, say, for a two cent per hour increase in wages or a Saturday half holiday with the conquest of political power." And as my contention was precisely that not only the German Socialists but Marx himself did not so restrict the value of improvements in the material conditions of the laboring class, it is not accurate or fair to charge me with having taken a sentence out of its context to foist on Prof. Hook a view that is "precisely the opposite" of the one he expressed.

All these personal charges form the support of Prof. Hook's moral, to wit, that it is unseemly for me (and, as his book indicates, for anyone else) to pretend to philosophic neutrality



or detachment. Here it is of the utmost importance to avoid the popular confusion between one's duty and one's achievements. I am not so silly as ever to have claimed the attainment of complete objectivity. That is reserved for the omniscient and is assumed only by fanatics blind to their limitations. But I do certainly believe that it is the duty of the philosopher to keep alive the sacred fires on the altar of impartial or objective truth and that nothing can atone for the neglect of that duty. Precisely because complete material truth is unattainable in finite time, the philosopher must keep the ideal of it before his mind, and honestly judge everything which falls short of it as not quite identical with it. Having in fact come to philosophy through the study of Marx, I can neither reject him in toto nor assume him to be infallible. But in my effort to discriminate and to determine how far what he says is logically consistent and conforms to actual conditions or to those that can reasonably be regarded as attainable, I am handicapped by the inadequacy not only of my limited personal knowledge, but of the general

human fund of available and reliable information as to what has been and what actually is going on in the world. This confession of inadequacy is required by the ideal of philosophy and indeed by simple intellectual honesty, and I am willing to stand the wrath of both devout conservatives and revolutionaries who are insensitive to, and incapable of entertaining, such considerations.

It is true that in my capacity as a citizen I must either join some Marxist party or abstain from doing so, just as I must either join a church or take the fatal risk of remaining in the eternal damnation of my *status quo*. But this practical necessity of acting before all the returns are in will not fill the aching void in our knowledge. To ignore this and to hold that practical necessities justify intellectual certainty where there is no adequate evidence, is an ignominious return to the obscurantism of the Dark Ages which I am not willing to make. Nor do I think that social salvation can best be attained by the neglect of intellectual clarity and honesty.

MORRIS R. COHEN

## THE GREAT STUDENT STRIKE

(Continued from page 8)

*Phillips College, Okla.*—Group of unorganized students planned and carried through anti-war strike. 200 or 50 per cent of college took part. No faculty opposition. Slogans said they were against aggressive war. 55 paraded in cars, rest on foot.

*Salina Wesleyan, Kansas*—300 students struck.

*Wyoming U.*—Anti war committee sponsored symposium as part of national demonstration. Classes were dismissed for symposium. 750.

## PACIFIC COAST 15,500

*Cal-Tech., Calif.*—400 out of 600 students participated in peace demonstration. Howard Gluckman writes that their meeting received no publicity in California papers because the latter wanted to paint the strike as N.S.L. and Communist, and there is no N.S.L. at Tech.

*Calif. U., Berkeley*—The strike was carried through without making a single concession to the authorities. Held at Sather Gate. It was a triumphant victory for those who were egged and attacked at the strike meeting last semester. The Berkeley police enforced order, and there was no interruption except for a moment when a student, a grandson of a late regent, cut the wires of the amplifying system. The crowd was estimated at between 4000 and 5000. The meeting was acclaimed as the most impressive demonstration ever held at Berkeley. None of the religious groups helped.

*Calif. U., Los Angeles*—Despite the hysterical opposition of the Los Angeles Hearst press, the intimidation on the part of the college authorities and student vigilantes, the organization of a co-ed group to combat the strike by Marjorie Baird, honorary colonel of the R.O.T.C., 1000 took part in the strike meeting in a vacant lot some five minutes from the campus. There was very little heckling. Nancy Bedford-Jones, L.I.D. stalwart, worked hard to make strike success.

*Linfield College, Oregon*—200 students paraded downtown were joined by high school students and boy scouts, supported by college administration.

*Los Angeles Junior College*—Two girls knocked uncon-

scious by Red Squad, when six plain clothes officers and uniformed policemen pushed their way through crowd of nearly 3000 students. When students began to chant "cops off the campus," a Red squad detective suddenly began swinging his club wildly at random. Demonstration was finally broken up when hose was turned on crowd. Previously at 11 a.m. Director Roscoe Ingalls ordered the crowd to disperse saying he would suspend and expel participants. Ingalls tried to drown out speakers by loud blast on a whistle. Vigilantes tried to start a fight. Nearly 100 members of faculty went through crowd taking down names of students. After demonstration Ingalls suspended four leaders in the strike. Said he would submit names to Supt. of Schools for expulsion. Margaret Lamb was convicted on April 26th for distributing leaflets at L.A. Junior College in connection with the anti-war strike. The sentence imposed was \$50 fine or 25 days.

*Pacific College*—600 students joined parade.

*Oregon U.*—Classes were excused for one hour. College speakers addressed a crowd of 1000. 500 students later paraded through the business district.

*Pasadena Junior College*—500 struck, although administration read letter from Francis Lederer condemning strike as method of preventing war. Two girls arrested.

*Reed College, Oregon*—Entire student body of 300.

*San Diego State College*—500 at administration assembly.

*San Jose S. C.*—Strike meeting held, in spite of Dean McQuarrie, who used every means possible to break the strike, suspending two and encouraging student vigilantes to disrupt the meeting—eggs, waterbags, etc. 500.

*San Mateo, J. C.*—Administration supported assembly held. 800 took part. Attempts to raise red scare unsuccessful.

*Stanford U.*—At this extremely conservative college, the administration finally agreed to an assembly on April 12th. Berkeley papers tried to use the compromise of Stanford as a means of breaking the strike at U. C., but even this peace assembly was an advance for Stanford. 1500.

*U. of Southern California*—The *Daily Trojan*, which can defend Hearst, stated: "Cawms the revolushon today."

*Washington U.*—500 students took part in outdoor demonstration led by Student Christian groups at this University.

*Whittier College*—500 at peace meeting.