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"KEEP UP THE FIGHT FOR AMERICANISM."—T. R.

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# THE Youth Movement in America

By R. M. WHITNEY

"The new struggle of the working class in Germany can assume such proportions that they will be in a position to bring about for us the beginning of the Socialist era in one of the most important parts of the world. The young generation of proletarian youth which has grown up since the great victorious Russian revolution of 1917 and the unsuccessful German Revolution of 1918, is the one to decide in a great measure the fate of the approaching crisis. The German League of Youth must be the light cavalry of the proletarian army which is entering into difficult struggles against capitalism. The Communist Youth of Russia, and with it the other sections of the Young Communist International, must consider it the greatest honor to help its brother army, the Youth of Germany, and through it the German Revolution."

From letter of Zinovieff, President of the Communist International, of Moscow, printed in *The Worker, Communist Weekly* published in America, October 13, 1923.

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## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

By R. M. WHITNEY,  
Director, Washington Bureau, American Defense  
Society, Incorporated.

THE NATIONAL STUDENT FORUM would like to be recognized as the intelligence back of the Youth Movement in America. Purporting to be an open forum, it is working double tides for Socialism, and the sort of Socialism which is only another name for Communism. It works in cooperation with such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union.

It is the purpose of the National Student Forum, and the other organizations which it supports by its sympathy, to undermine and sink, or overthrow, the Government of the United States, and to set up in this country a soviet form of government, such as Russia now boasts.

This ultimate goal toward which Liberalists, Socialists, Pacifists, Internationalists, Intelligentia and Communists alike are striving is always referred to as "the new social order."

### Modeled on Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

The National Student Forum is not a pioneer in its field. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, to quote its founder, Upton Sinclair, was "the first organized efforts of college students to educate themselves, and, incidentally, to educate their educators." Mr. Sinclair goes on to explain:

"We were careful to specify our purpose: 'To promote an intelligent interest in the study of Socialism; but even with that moderate statement, only a few institutions would let us in under our own evil name, AND WE HAD TO DISGUISE OURSELVES AS LIBERAL SOCIETIES AND OPEN FORUMS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUBS!'"

Later, as Mr. Sinclair himself says, "the name, 'Socialism' became so unpopular . . . that the organization now calls itself the League for Industrial Democracy." But it is a change in name only: The League for Industrial Democracy is working as hard for Socialism and "the new social order" as ever the Intercollegiate Socialist League could have worked. Harry W. Laidler is still its secretary, and one of the board of directors. Alexander Trachtenberg, advocate of direct action, contributor to the LIBERATOR, Communist Monthly, is still the executive head. Trachtenberg "represented America" at the

meeting of the "Enlarged Executive" in Moscow last June (1923).

Norman Thomas, then one of its directors, summed up the preceding year's work of the League for Industrial Democracy in an article in the New York Call of June 21, 1923, in which he said that:

"Its representatives have spoken in more than 50 colleges and universities before college classes, forums, assemblies, chapel audiences and faculty groups, ESTABLISHING IN THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THESE INSTITUTIONS SOME MORE OR LESS ENDURING CONNECTION THROUGH STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS."

The CALL, while ostensibly fighting the Communists, carried in its upper left-hand corner the Communist slogan, "Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

The Worker, which fights the right wing Socialists, and makes no pretense of loyalty toward anything but the Communist International at Moscow, carries in its upper left-hand corner of its first page the slogan:

"Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Norman Thomas, in 1923, took over the editing of the New York Call. Soon afterward the Communist slogan in the upper left-hand corner disappeared. Still later, even the name of the paper was changed—to the New York Leader—but its policy was not changed up to the time it suspended publication. It remained the organ for the Socialist Party, and Norman Thomas, its editor, is still a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a writer of Socialistic pamphlets and articles. He is also a lecturer on pacifism, at \$100 the lecture.

Norman Thomas is one of the Literary Advisers to *The New Student*.

Upton Sinclair, contributing editor of the Liberator, Communist monthly, founder of the I. W. W. and the American Civil Liberties Union, follows his dissertation on the League for Industrial Democracy with this:

"Recently another student organization has entered the field, the National Student Forum, product of the labors of a group of young Harvard Liberals, with John Rothschild as secretary."

John Rothschild is a Socialist. He admits that he is a Socialist, but he said, when a protest was made to him against turning the student bodies socialistic through his National Student Forum, that he did not intend to make the organization a Socialist body. Mr. Rothschild, if he was speaking the truth, must have let the organization get away from him.

#### Constituent Organizations.

The National Student Forum is to the Socialists and Communists in colleges and universities what the National Council for Prevention of War is to the Pacifists and Internationalists—a clearing house for their organizations. It now lists as its constituent organizations:

Barnard Social Science Club.  
Bryn Mawr Liberal Club.  
Dartmouth Round Table.  
George Washington University Free Lance Club.  
Harvard Student Liberal Club.  
Hood College Contemporary Club.  
Hollins (Virginia) Student Forum.  
Howard (colored) Student Progressive Club.  
Mt. Holyoke Forum.  
Miami University Round Table.  
New York University Law School Liberal Club.  
Northwestern University Liberal League.  
Oberlin College Liberal Club.  
Park College Social Science Club.  
Rockford College International Relations Club.  
Radcliffe Liberal Club.  
Stanford University Forum.  
Swarthmore Polity Club.  
University of Chicago Liberal Club.  
University of Colorado Forum.  
Union Theological Seminary Contemporary Club.  
Vassar College Political Association.  
Wellesley College Forum.  
Western College Forum.  
Yale Liberal Club.

THE NEW STUDENT, "an intercollegiate fortnightly published by the National Student Forum," in the preamble to the constitution of the National Student Forum, says that the students:

"dedicate this organization to the scientifically enquiring mind; they declare it unbiased in any controversy, yet permitting within itself the expression of every bias; they declare its one principle to be freedom of expression."

#### Radical In Aims.

This "freedom of expression" about which they make such ado seems to apply only to revolutionary ideas. If a student, an outside speaker, or a professor in one of the colleges has anything to say along sane, conservative lines, the National Student Forum is not interested, or expresses itself as emphatically antagonistic. Upton Sinclair, in his praise of the National Student Forum, and with particular reference to the preamble, says:

"As an illustration of the activities of this group I mention that the Harvard Liberal Club,

during the year 1922, had sixty luncheon speakers in five months, including such radicals as Clark Getts, Lincoln Steffens, Florence Kelly, (Wischniewetsky), Raymond Robbins, Frank Tannebaum, Roger Baldwin, Percy MacKaye, Clare Sheridan, Norman Angel and W. E. B. Du Bois."

To say that anyone that Upton Sinclair acknowledges as radical is radical is like saying that saffron is yellow. Sinclair, Scott Nearing and H. W. L. Dana are of those who do not recognize lukewarm Socialists. Therefore, it is hardly necessary to dwell on the radicals who spoke before the Harvard Liberal Club, the parent organization from which the National Student Forum sprung. Mr. Sinclair says the radicals were "properly balanced by a group of respectable people including Admiral Sims, Hamilton Holt, President Eliot and a nephew of Lord Brice."

Let's take a look at the "respectable" people who balanced the radicals.

#### "Respectable" Speakers Pink.

Admiral Sims, the first "respectable" mentioned by Upton Sinclair, stated September 10th that he had never spoken for the National Student Forum. If he spoke at all at Harvard during 1922 his having done so should not have been used "as an illustration of the activities of this group"—the National Student Forum.

Hamilton Holt, the second "respectable" on the list, is an Internationalist and a Pacifist, as his own activities show. He is director of the Church Peace Union and the League to Enforce Peace. He is a member of the Friends of Russian Freedom; of the International Conciliation Society; of the Italy-America Society, the Netherlands-America Foundation, and the Poland-America Society. He is president of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and his name as chairman, headed the list of officers of the American Neutral Conference Committee, which was organized under the direction of Rebecca Shelley, who got her ideas direct from Carl Lindhagen, the Socialist mayor of Stockholm. As a member of various committees working against preparedness, the name of Hamilton Holt is bracketed with that of such well known enemies of our present government as Oswald Garrison Villard, the millionaire Socialist Morris Hillquit, born in Russia, and Lillian D. Wald. Considering his affiliations, one would hardly think of Dr. Holt as doing anything to counteract radicalism.

President (Emeritus) Eliot of Harvard was born in 1834. Age has privileges no one can question.

From this it is easy to see that no great weight was thrown into the other side of the scales to "balance" the arguments of the radicals. On the other hand, it looks as if those who are out to upset the belief of young Americans in their Government and its institutions had things pretty much their own way in their talks before the Harvard Liberal Club, which is a constituent and very active part of the National Student Forum.

#### Radical From Its Inception.

In the June 2, 1923, issue of *The New Student*, John Rothschild, first executive secretary of the National Student Forum, tells of the organization of the Intercollegiate Liberal League, in 1921. Mr. Rothschild is a Harvard graduate. Reading between the lines, one could easily discern that the Harvard Students Liberal Club was back of the Intercollegiate Liberal League, which, merging with the National Student Committee for Limitation of Armaments last Spring, formed the National Student Forum. Mr. Rothschild does not call the club by its name. He says:

"Some of us—then students in a great Eastern University—had a feeling of the new era back in 1919. There were those among us who felt themselves filled with the truth—who thought they understood what was happening in the world, and how events would shape themselves. . . . Others knew their own confusion, but were eager to find an orientation to what they felt, that eventually they might know what parts to play in the new world. Those who knew burned for action, and those who were less sure, wanted enlightenment. So the group had two functions: discussion and study, PRIMARILY FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, and in general, what were thought to be important phenomena of the new age; and for those who sought action—missionary work in the student body at large."

After paying a tribute to the "honest of the group," Mr. Rothschild admits that "anxious as some of us were to rouse the social sympathies of our fellow students, we saw that the way to establishing intelligent belief lay in a fair presentation of fact." Then he goes on:

"In private discussions and in open meetings we welcomed the testimony of radicals who gave satisfaction to one element among us, and conservatives who reassured the others. Facts strengthened the social idealism of the unsure, and in some cases focussed it; facts modified and matured the convictions of the possessed."

Knowing the patter of all Intellectuals, Liberalists, Socialists and Communists, it is not hard to reckon what Mr. Rothschild would consider "facts." To Mr. Rothschild and his followers, a statement is a fact only when it bears out one of their contentions. Of Mr. Rothschild's brand of "facts" here are some illustrations:

"The Russians won their point through economic justice at home, propaganda and open diplomacy. . . . The cause for which the workers are contending in Russia will triumph. . . . because they have built a higher form of civilization than that which exists anywhere else in the world."—SCOTT NEARING.

"A great many of these people (Americans) are incurably conservative and by the passion of their biased convictions dominate the masses they lead. Their notions about 100 per cent Americanism, about Christianity, about education and about international affairs are as narrow and as dangerous as the Prussianism they pretend to have destroyed."—PIET ROEST.

"Storm and Stress. What is born in the depths of your adoring, loving soul, which you make so humble, so trembling with thanks, can never be unclean, can never be ignoble."

—JOACHIM FRIEDRICH.

"Capitalism can no longer make a tolerable world, or preserve for us the heritage of civilization. International Socialism can do these things. . . . Those who oppose the advent of Socialism take upon themselves a very grave responsibility."—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Piet Roest of Holland and Joachim Friedrich of Germany are two of the six foreign students brought to America by Messrs. Rothschild and Pratt. Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell are Socialist writers and lecturers in high favor with all the Intellectuals.

In his article in the New Student, which he called "Retrospect, Forecast and a Personal Confession," Mr. Rothschild says that in the Spring of 1921:

"We called the Intercollegiate conference of students who, like ourselves, were puzzling about the world, and the result was an articulation of the movement in an organization. We called ourselves the Intercollegiate Liberal League."

And in the spring of 1922 the Intercollegiate Liberal League lost its identity by merging with the National Student Committee for the Limitation of Armaments to form the National Student Forum. The policy of the new organization is the combined policy of the two older organizations, to which has been added support of the German Youth Movement.

#### Noted Radicals Speak at Organization.

The first issue of the New Student, the official organ of the National Student Forum, carries on its first page three titles only. The Intercollegiate Liberal League; Academic Freedom, by Professor Edwin R. Seligman; Report of the National Student Committee for the Limitation of Armaments. In the first article, which is an account of the organization of the Intercollegiate Liberal League, mention is made of "persons of eminence" who "tent themselves to the occasion." The speakers mentioned are: Charles W. Eliot, Dean L. B. R. Briggs, Walter Lippman, U. S. Senator Ladd, Andrew Furuseth, Henry B. Mussey, Francis Neilson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Arthur G. Rotch, John Haynes Holmes, H. N. McCracken.

Let's take a look at some of these "persons of eminence." Respect for the aged lays the finger of silence on our lips. We pass over the first speaker mentioned.

The second, Le Baron Russell Briggs, A. B., LL. D., etc., was president of Radcliffe College, which has its Student International Assembly and its Radcliffe Liberal Club.

Walter Lippman, formerly an editor, now a contributor to The New Republic, is the author of numerous radical and Socialistic articles.

U. S. Senator Edwin F. Ladd, Russian sympathiser, upholder of Soviet Russia; visitor to Russia in 1923. He is a Harvard graduate.

Andrew Furuseth is a Socialist from Norway. He is now a resident of San Francisco; official secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and president of the International Seamen's Union of America. His education was had in the common schools.

Henry Mussey is an acknowledged Socialist; left Columbia University because of his radicalism; now connected with the New School for Social Research in New York. In Washington he was correspondent for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Francis Nielson is an Englishman by birth, member of British Parliament in 1910-15. He is a founder of the Brotherhood Movement in England. With John Haynes Holmes he is editor of Unity, "a journal of the religion of democracy," and with Albert Jay Nock, Suzanne La Follette, and others, he is editor of The Freeman.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman is a Socialist and the author of several Communistic songs as well as a lot of Socialistic articles and books.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes in "The Revolt of Youth," a pamphlet, Series 1923-24, says:

"We old folks have long expected and exacted obedience from our children. Nothing could be

more intolerable or unlovely. In no relationship between human beings has obedience any proper place. To the person who gives, it is a humiliation; to the person who receives, it is an injury. Obedience means subjection—the subjection of the weaker to the stronger; and this is as abominable an attitude in the home as in the state. Hence democracy, which ends sovereignty of every kind!"

"What stands out transcendent, it seems to me, is the fact that we have here a new Declaration of Independence—a declaration of independence for the young. We have freed the slaves; we freed, or are freeing, women; now youth arises and asks its turn—nay, asserts and takes its turn! Our young people have come to the time when they propose to be free of the domination of their elders—free to follow their own courses and seek their own goals. . . . To my way of thinking this Declaration of Independence is as glorious as all previous declarations of the same kind; and the Youth Movement, which embodies it, not a peril but a great hope to humanity."

"From the very beginning of life, the child must be protected from intrusion, interference, warping and moulding influences of every description. He must be left to be himself, trained and educated to be himself. Not obedience and reverence, but courage, self-reliance, experiment, adventure, rebellion, must be the spirit of his life."

Comending, in highest terms of praise, the Youth Movement of Germany, Dr. Holmes says, on page 16, of the pamphlet, "Revolt of Youth":

"Our purpose, say the *Wandervoegel*, is 'to form our own life in sincerity and upon our own responsibility.' With this idea in mind, they refuse to recognize adult leadership or counsel. They will not have older people among them. In the beginning, when they went off on their hikes, they took chaperones along. Later they refused to accept supervision of this kind. Now they organize always in pairs, a boy to every girl, a girl to every boy, tramp off to their *Herberger*, or rest huts, hold their festive ceremonies and dances, spend often the night, sleeping in the hut or under the trees, and always without adult control . . . !"

#### Served Prison Term.

Of the speakers who have appeared before the National Student Forum, or some one of its constituent organizations, within the past year, mention might be made of a few of them, with a glance at their records.

which amounts to conclusive proof, is found in a telegram dated March 4, 1918, and signed by him and Louise Bryant. The telegram was addressed to Lenin and Trotsky, Smolny Institute, Petrograd, and read:

"Important you designate unofficial representative here who can survey situation, weigh facts and cable conclusions you might accept and act upon. Will undertake secure means of communication between such man and yourself."

#### Hammers United States Supreme Court.

Florence Kelley (Wischnewetzky), like Steffens and Gets, a speaker for the Harvard Liberal Club, has been a radical all the sixty-four years of her life, it seems. She has small use for any of the departments of the United States Government, but particularly she hammers the Supreme Court. She hammers it in season and out of season. Wherever two or three are gathered together in the name of "Liberalism," there may be found Florence Kelley (Wischnewetzky), abusing the United States Supreme Court.

Clark Gets, luncheon speaker for the Harvard Liberal Club, served a term in Leavenworth prison because of his war activities. After his release he was associated with the Federated Press, which supplies news for all Communist publications.

Lincoln Steffens, member of the Amnesty League, picked up Socialistic ideas when he was a student in Germany (1889-92). He was a member of the Bullitt mission to Russia, and, while his own country was at war, and needed the help of every man, woman and child under the protection of the Government of the United States, Lincoln Steffens was working with Lenin and Trotsky. Evidence of this,

Mrs. Kelley was born "Kelley." She got her right to be called Mrs. when she married one Wischnewetzky. She is an ardent advocate of socialised government. As long ago as 1897 she was the editor of ARCHIV FUR SOCIALEGESTZEBUNG. She was one of the much applauded speakers at the meeting of the Trade Union Educational League in Washington in May, 1923, and at the June conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, where she declared that the Judges of the United States Supreme Court worked overtime to upset all legislation that was for the benefit of the children, the women and the general workers of the country. She had a good word for Judge Brandeis, but said that he, working alone, could do nothing to stop the evil acts of the capitalists associated with him on the supreme bench.

Mrs. Kelley (Wischnewetzky) was the first president of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. She is

now one of the vice-presidents of the organization under its new name—League for Industrial Democracy—the other three vice-presidents being the late Charles P. Steinmetz, Evans Clark and Arthur Gleason.

Florence Kelley (Wischnewetzky) was part of the Conference for Democracy which held forth during the war, and advocated:

"The American people, joining hands with the new democracy of Russia, must lay the basis for permanent world peace by establishing industrial democracy."

All the speeches at this conference, where Mrs. Kelley (Wischnewetzky) was chairman, were in opposition to the policy of the United States.

#### Prominent as Anti-American and Pro-Russian.

Raymond Robins, another much lauded speaker of the most active constituent member of the National Student Forum, is believed to have used his post as commander of the American Red Cross in Russia (1917-18) to arouse sympathy for Soviet Russia. Colonel Robins has spoken many times in this country of Russia and Russian affairs, and always with a favorable slant toward Soviet Russia. He calls himself a Social Economist. He has done a lot of social settlement work, which, according to Amy Woods, secretary of the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is calculated to make internationalists of nationalists. He is an advocate of organized labor and of land value taxation, and is a "progressive" Republican in politics. His speeches have a decidedly socialistic trend. His book, "Raymond Robins' Own Story," having to do with what he would have the public believe were his experiences and impressions while he was in Russia with the American Red Cross, is heartily recommended by the Communist press.

Raymond Robins first came into prominence as the husband of Mrs. Raymond Robins (Margaret Drier) who, May 20, 1907, "led thirty-seven hundred cheering, boisterous, Socialist, anarchist, trade-unionist members of liberal societies and sympathizers through down town and west side streets in a demonstration" in Chicago.

Frank Taunenbaum is one of the accepted "mouth-pieces" for amnesty and pacifism. His well camouflaged Communistic articles appear intermittently in *Century*, which Pacifists and Liberalists now claim as being "with them." He is one of the speakers mentioned by Upton Sinclair in connection with the National Student Forum.

#### Director of American Civil Liberties Union.

Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which organization is dubbed by

government officials as subversive to the best interests of the Government, has not only spoken for organizations that are members of the National Student Forum, but is a man very much praised by Mr. George D. Pratt, Jr., now active secretary of the National Student Forum. Mr. Pratt says, in a letter to me, copies of which he liberally distributed:

"Mr. Rothschild did indeed declare himself a friend of Roger Baldwin when you tauntingly spoke of the latter as a draft-dodger. He (Baldwin) was a conscientious objector in the most noble and best recognized meaning of that term, and served his sentence in prison bravely."

Mr. Baldwin was an officer of the American Union against Militarism during the war. He was also an organizer of the People's Council, in which capacity he wrote to the Communist, Louis P. Lochner: "We want also to look like patriots in everything we do." This is the man Mr. Pratt calls a "conscientious objector in the most noble and best recognized meaning of that term."

W. E. B. Du Bois is a mulatto member of the Intelligenzia who stands for complete social equality of white and black. He is clever, and has made more than a local name for himself by his writing, much of which appears in the *LIBERATOR* (a Communist monthly). The policies he advocates are directly in line with the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Communists of Moscow. Du Bois has spoken for units of the National Student Forum.

Clare Sheridan, another speaker for the Harvard Liberal Club, a unit of the National Student Forum, is British, a sculptor and writer. Norman Angell is also British, with an American wife. He is a Pacifist. Percy MacKaye, the poet, comes from good old New England stock, but has become a Socialist malcontent.

Paul Jones, at one time Episcopal Bishop of Utah, is the active head of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a contributor to the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Jones was one of the speakers at the Camp Tamiment Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy last June, when he said:

"Clear thinking on the subject of war is needed before 'next steps' can be considered. The first thing is to dismiss all ideas of glory, nobility, heroism or patriotism in regard to war."

Frederick J. Libby, Pacifist, and head of the National Council for Prevention of War, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, well known for his pacifism, are both advisers to the National Student Forum. Rabbi Wise was born in Budapest. He came to New York when he was a boy, and studied at the College of the

City of New York. He is founder and director of the Eastern Council of Liberal Rabbis, and founder of the Zionist organization in America. His daughter, Justine Wise, is on the executive committee of the National Student Forum.

Mary Church Terrell, of Washington, D. C., is the colored member of the executive committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Like DuBois, she is advocate of complete social as well as political equality for the negroes. She is a contributor to the *New Student*.

Harry F. Ward, of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Federal Council of Churches, is one of the literary advisers to the National Student Forum through the *New Student*. In the last issue of the second volume, June 2, 1923, Dr. Ward most urgently advises all students to read "The Decay of Capitalist Civilization," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. In praise of the authors, he says that the Webbs are the "original labor-researchers of England . . . mainly responsible for the educational policy and propaganda of the Fabian Society." He recommends all the many books of the Webbs, mentioning particularly "The Decay of Capitalist Civilization," which he outlines, and "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain."

Other books recommended by Harry F. Ward for the students of the National Student Forum are "Labor and the New Social Order;" "Incentives in the New Industrial Order;" "Liberalism and Industry;" "Organizing for Work;" Towney's "Acquisitive Society," and Veblen's "Theory of Modern Business Enterprise."

Dr. Ward is a member of the executive board of the National Student Forum, and is himself the author of several books and pamphlets. It is significant that *The New Student*, in announcing his membership on the board, thought it worth while mentioning that he was the author of "The New Social Order."

Another member of the executive board is Dr. Joseph K. Hart of the University of Chicago, associate editor of *SURVEY* and director of the Philadelphia School of Social Science. He is a lecturer also for the New School for Social Science in New York, boosted by Upton Sinclair.

William Palmer Ladd, an Episcopal clergyman and chairman of the Social service Commission for the Federation of Churches; Dr. William F. Ogburn, sociologist, author of "Social Change;" Beatrice Lowndes Earle, "who served as secretary of the New School for Social Research," (*New Student*); Sylvia Kopald, who is "lecturing on labor problems in a sociology seminary," (*New Student*), and Harold Evans, "a Philadelphia Quaker lawyer, member of

National Young Democracy Committee and for some time in the Friends' child-feeding work in Germany" (*New Student*) are more of the graduate members of the executive board of the National Student Forum. All of them are Socialists or socialistic.

Eleanor M. Phelps, as associate secretary of the National Student Forum in 1922, gave, in the October 7 number, a list of "some of those who have expressed their willingness to assist the students." This is the list given by Miss Phelps:

"In the Discussion of American Foreign Relations, European Rehabilitation, etc.:

"Dr. B. M. Anderson, of the Chase National Bank and the Institute of Politics; Dr. James G. McDonald, of the Foreign Policy Association; Dr. Scott Nearing, Mr. Oswald G. Villard, of *The Nation*." (One conservative; three radicals.)

"In the discussion of the coal situation:

"From the viewpoint of the operators—J. D. A. Morrow, of the National Coal Association;

"From the viewpoint of labor—Mr. Robert Bruere, of the Bureau of Industrial Research; Mr. Christ J. Golden, member of the Nationalization Committee of the United Mine Workers of America." (2 Rad. No Conservative).

"From the viewpoint of the technician—Mr. Hugh Archibald, author of 'The Four Hour Day in Coal,' and Mr. H. Foster Bain, director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines;

"From the viewpoint of the journalist—C. H. Lesher, Editor *Coal Age*."

Search the *New Student* issue by issue and you will not find one advocate for patriotism, for our government and institutions as they now stand, who is upheld by the National Student Forum.

"Class Struggle" and "I. W. W."

What you will find upheld is the Youth Movement, which started in Germany; industrial democracy; amnesty for "political" prisoners, and such arguments as these:

"Maybe the I. W. W.'s have a real cause."

"Maybe it could be demonstrated that the Germans are not a cowardly race."

"Maybe our professor fails to see the class struggle because he is temperamentally incapable of understanding any struggle."

Nothing criminal in any of these "maybe's" if they were offset by arguments showing the other side of the question—but they're not. Instead, you will find such statements as this:

"WE WOULD RATHER SCRAP THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS BILL OF RIGHTS THAN DISTORT OUR MIND WITH POPULAR ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGIC SUPERSTITIONS."

The "superstitions" so much feared are belief in the Government, the Bible and its teachings, and the support of recognized moral and social standards for right living and right doing.

The issue of March 3, 1923, was a fat "Special Supplement Published in Germany," with only a leaflet for the American edition. John Rothschild had the lead story, "Why Young America Looks to Young Europe." "The Sense of Community in the German Youth Movement" is an expurgated account of the Weltjugendliga, the World League of Youth. Much stress is laid upon the community life of the young wanderers. Says the writer of this article, Adolph Reichwein:

"Whether they sang, played, danced, did gymnastics or wandered, they did everything in common. . . . They became reunited with nature and experienced a new feeling toward the body . . . ." . . . "The movement in its first instinctive revolt was of a purely romantic character. All that was artificial, conventional and complicated, they opposed with the freshness and natural bloom of youth and good fellowship. . . . Then they began the struggle with the capitalistic order of things."

After the War the Youth Movement split into two wings, says Reichwein:

"The left Radicals, the Communists, and the right Radicals, the Voelkische (People's Party), who, in the ensuing fights, often opposed one another weapon in hand, although they were united in their resolution to sever all ties with the past."

#### Whole Movement Socialist.

Reichwein, in his New Student article, explains that the whole movement is Socialist. The political grouping was, he says, according to the temperament of the individual:

"Those acting on instinctive feeling joined the ranks of the People's Party, while the more logically inclined went over to the international-socialistic party." (Literally, the Communist Party.)

However much others may seek to obscure the aims of the Youth Movement, the German writers in the German Supplement of the New Student make its purpose clear enough.

"Youth has, as a movement, one thing above all others to do now," says Hans Alpert Forster of Leipzig,—"to turn their knowledge into action, that all work in the service of the small and smallest things may merge and become with the great onward route of the organic world revolution."

Hans Schlichting of Hamburg asks: "What does the Youth Movement mean to us young Proletarians?" and answers himself by saying that it means:

"Our support of the class combats of the Labor Party, our faith in the higher development of man, and our refusal to accept the intellectual conception of history of the bourgeoisie. . . . Our mental attitude toward our time leaves us no alternative. . . . than to assist in the destruction of the capitalistic spirit as hostile to the personal and economic world."

Erna Behne of Hamburg told "Why We Wander." She puts it delicately:

"Something came over us that was stronger than every-day custom—we could not breathe within the high walls—some unknown force impelled us to seek for real living life in nature. . . . We went in sandals, bareheaded, and in loose clothes that gave us a triumphant bodily feeling of being one with the air and sun, and that strengthened and tanned our bodies."

#### Christians No Longer.

Walter Pahl of Leipzig, in his article entitled: "The Religious Movement in the German Youth Movement," says:

"We must regain the body if we serve God without the severe beauty of our blood. We must regain the body through our yearning, we must reconstruct matter if we wish to find God. . . . We are Christians no longer! We wish for man the entirely—and not a part of him. And so we released the body, and danced the dance of the earth and the stars within us. The struggle towards this release marks the stage in which the German Youth is at present. But we know we are on the right road—and we see the torch is burning to light us beyond the path of priests and churches!"

Siegfried Kawerau of Charlottenburg, in his New Student article called "Youth and Eros," exclaims that:

"Youth and Eros are two different things! Eros is much vaster. Eros is the god of the unity of body and soul, the god of overwhelming joy. . . . Eros is the ever-streaming, flowing, trickling force which moves and inspires our whole soul and body. . . . sexuality is restrained need of the body, concentrated and tormenting."

Paul Lambrecht sums up the Youth Movement in his article under the head: "The Common Front of Youth," in which he appeals to the "young people of the earth" after this fashion:

"Comrades! Do you not feel the pain and profanity of life everywhere? Do your eyes not

fill with tears, your hearts with wrath, and your souls overflow with desire for other things? Do you feel all this when you listen to the call of your young blood? . . . Then you will know, too, that help only comes through those who dare all to be what they really feel—to those who attempt no compromise, but tear the miserable balance sheet of their elders in pieces, and venture to live, live, LIVE!"

#### Trickery Has to Be Used.

Sponsors for the German Youth Movement in America have to be more restrained. Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, contributor to the American Civil Liberties Union, is head of the Youth Movement as sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in the United States. Mrs. DuBois attended, and was one of the speakers at the Camp Tanninment Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. In a talk with Harry Laidler, she said that her work was "very radical," but she had to cover it up "under the guise of education" to get it into the schools and colleges. Her work actually, but not nominally, is a part of the Weltjugendliga. She studied the Youth Movement in Germany, and made it a part of the U. S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She is now organizing the young people in Pennsylvania.

#### Just What It Means.

In an article in the New Student, translated from the German of Werner Jantschge by Mildred Wettheimer, the aims of the Weltjugendliga are stated, broadly and vaguely, as a "wish to aid in permeating the aroused consciousness of the time with a spirit strong enough and ideal enough to overcome the customary reliance on force and self-interest in man's dealings with his fellows."

The principles for which the Weltjugendliga stand ready to fight, according to Herr Jantschge, in the New Student, are:

"Against race hatred, profit of men in men, the slaughter of human beings and the destruction of valuable goods;

"Against the glorification of war, education for the use of force and the creation of a thirst for blood;

"Against the falsification of religion, philosophy, love of home and country, in order to unchain and carry out mass slaughter;

"Against the control and hiring of convictions, above all in the press, and the use of lies and conspiracy in creating opinion;

"For the friendly intercourse of peoples and new ordering of society through cooperative industry, peaceful work, and realization of the sacredness of human life;

"For the honoring of peace, justice and human excellence,

"For freedom of opinion and belief, and the subordination of selfish aims in comradeship; for independence of public opinion, for truth and candor between peoples, societies and individuals,

"For a native culture springing from the people themselves."

All these "againsts" and "fors" are very fine and good, if they meant what they say—and no more. Unfortunately, these principles put into practice mean:

Against patriotism, national defense and preparedness; against all military training; against historical facts concerning military heroes, great battles; against all teaching that would breed love of country, reverence for church and religion; against any attempt to curb anti-American propaganda. FOR internationalism, pacifism, socialism, liberalism, "freedom of opinion and belief" only so long as it is radical and revolutionary.

#### "Expression of Spirit"

In the New Student of May 5, 1923, an editorial "explains" the Youth Movement in this country and disclaims any connection with the German Youth Movement. I quote:

"The Youth Movement is spontaneous—a growth out of the youth of this or that country. It has no creed, no organization. It is a demonstration of a large number of young people spontaneously in motion. The living force of the Youth Movement is an attitude, a spirit. . . . Therefore the German edition of the New Student (March 3, 1923) can be of no use to the young people of America except as a national expression of a spirit which is in all of us."

However "spontaneous" the Youth Movement may be, this "explanation" was anything else. It was brought out by a pamphlet by Mr. Ralph M. Easley, foreword by Mr. Conde B. Pallen, showing up the Youth Movement as it is. Read the apology of the New Student for the "explanation" of the Youth Movement:

"It would hardly be necessary to explain a thing of this sort were it not for the fact that a couple of old gentlemen in the National Civic Federation went to the trouble of publishing a frenzied, extremely inaccurate pamphlet on the Youth Movement. . . . How suspicious and self-

satisfied these old fellows are! They have no faith in their young people, and they spent the last years of their lives screaming heresy at a world in which spiritually or mentally they have long since ceased to exist."

A preacher from the Middle West, who is less than a year younger than either of the "couple of old gentlemen in the National Civic Federation," grew witty and sarcastic over the Easley pamphlet, and unb burdened himself of his wit in the August 22 issue of *The Nation*, to this effect:

"The Stars and Stripes still fly over the University. Thanks to Mr. Easley and his Civic Federation, The National Student Forum, in its effort to promote friendship and understanding between European and American students, arranged a tour of the colleges by a select group of students. They came to the University. A brilliant young Englishman. A Czech filled with enthusiasm. . . . And—tread gently!—one of our late enemy, a brilliant lad of 21 years from the University of Heidelberg. They came to tell of the spiritual ideals of the youth of Europe.

"Thanks to Mr. Easley, their (the foreign students') heresies did not foul the pure air of the University. The redoubtable Easley issued an encyclical. It told the dreadful truth. He waxed eloquent over the Youth Movement in Europe. He saw them leading in a concerted protest against war. They were red . . . pacifists . . . socialists. . . . anarchists."

#### Europe "Scoured" to Find Right Men.

Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild visited twelve countries and made an intensive study of the youth of six countries to find the men they wanted to appear before the college students of this country. They were looking for men who could put across the "ideals of the Youth Movement" without giving the general public too much knowledge of what this movement really means. If the men were too openly Communistic, it would not be wise for them to come over. Hear the sad story of Broch.

Theodore Broch, a Communist of Norway, was one of the students they engaged. Broch's activities for the Communist party of Moscow happened to be so well known in this country that the authorities, hearing that he was coming, announced that he would not be allowed to land. Finding it impossible to get this revolutionist into the United States, Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild issued a statement to the effect that:

"Theodore Broch of Norway, with whom we had arranged for a lecture tour in this country, has decided not to come, in view of the fact that

it is quite evident the authorities would object to his landing."

But before it was known to these young men that Broch could not land in this country, Mr. Rothschild had written a letter saying that the Norwegian was a member of the Nascent Anti-Militarist Movement and the Student Christian Movement and of the Nationalistic Cultural Movement of Young Peasants and the Movement of the Communists. In the same letter Mr. Rothschild declares that he and Mr. Pratt have "no prejudice against Communists."

In his letter of introduction to Broch, Mr. Rothschild, laying down the common law of the wool-pullers in the United States, wrote:

"We are concentrating ourselves entirely on the problem of arousing students wherever we may go, and our method may often undergo change."

In other words, some loyal students are mentally more alert than others, not so easily taken in by sentimental twaddle. The same program won't fit everywhere.

#### More Camouflage.

"We plan three or four days' stay at each place," Mr. Rothschild continues his instructions. "One day for the speeches, the rest of the time for social opportunities. We shall travel as modestly as possible—because we believe that the greater our simplicity, the more convincing will be the mission."

Mr. Rothschild warns Broch against letting the public know that he is a Communist, but makes this concession:

"If at any time you wish openly to tell people in private conversation what you are politically, and why you are what you are, you are free to do so. This may involve some risks, but there are risks we can not ask you to avoid."

Quite clearly, the "risks" to which Mr. Rothschild so delicately refers are risks to the reputation of the National Student Forum. It is not at all Mr. Rothschild's intention, and it is very far from Mr. Pratt's present wish, to have the National Student Forum looked upon by the general public, or even by the colleges in general, as a Communistic organization, or a disloyal institution. Whether they would admit it or not, "We want also to look like patriots in everything we do," is their slogan now, just as it was the slogan of the People's Council in September, 1917.

Roger N. Baldwin, the admired and honored friend of both John Rothschild and George D. Pratt, Jr., Roger N. Baldwin, the draft dodger, whom Mr. Pratt calls "a conscientious objector in the most noble and

best recognized sense of that term," would most heartily approve of Mr. Rothschild's letter of instructions to the Communist Broch. It is possible that he would say to Messrs. Rothschild and Pratt, as he said to Louis P. Lochner:

"We want also to look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a lot of good flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country, and to show that we are the folks that really stand for the spirit of our institutions."

That is what the leaders of the Youth Movement in this country are trying to do with the Socialist Student Forum.

#### Continental Students All Socialists.

The information about the six students brought over is all taken from the New Student.

ANTONIN PALECEK, Prague University, active in "Student Renaissance Movement," chosen to represent Czechoslovakia; "well acquainted with the youth movements of his own country."

JORGEN HOLCK, Copenhagen, Denmark, "liberal" from the age of twelve; active in the University Settlement of Copenhagen; took part in workers' education; mixed up with Quakers in England; advocate of "cooperation" on the Socialist plan; member of the Student Christian Movement; "spoke for the Youth Movement in all Scandinavian countries."

PJET ROEST, of the University of Leyden; member of the Practical Idealists Association, which is a "fellowship of young people loosely banded together to live their individual ideals."

HANS TEISLER, representative of the German Youth Movement.

W. A. ROBSON, London School of Economics.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH, University of Heidelberg, another representative of the German Youth Movement.

#### Wanted Only Representatives of Youth Movement.

In selecting these foreign students, Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild wanted only representatives of the German Youth Movement, no matter from what country the student came. The Youth Movement was born in Germany. Mr. Pratt, in writing of it as he found it, says:

"It shapes itself very much according to environment and national situation, but owing to its intense idealistic base, it tends to unite internationally. Although it has affected practically every young person in Europe, it is made up essentially of strong minorities, and it is with

these minorities that we must deal, for in them lies the true life of the movement."

He admits in the next sentence that most of the youths in Europe are apathetic toward the movement, "or definitely reactionary," except in Germany.

#### Mixed Up With the "MOT DAG" Group.

While they were abroad Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild became favorably impressed with a "group" of Communists in Norway referred to as the "Mot Dag Group." To Zinoviev of Moscow, who believes in "direct action," the brand of Communism dispensed by the "Mot Dag Group," while calculated to attract just such sentimentalists as Mr. Pratt, is not quite all it should be. At the meeting of the "Enlarged Executive" last June both Zinoviev and Bucharin said unkind things about the "Mot Dag Group," to which Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild had, after their return to the United States, sent affectionate greetings. Nasty words were spoken by Bucharin. Hoeglund, Communist delegate from Norway, protested, whereupon Zinoviev, answering Hoeglund, said:

"Hoeglund defended the periodical, Mot Dag. Hoeglund demands that we should be loyal to the Norwegian comrades. Of course we must be loyal to comrades, but what must we do to people who use such shady weapons against us as the 'Mot Dag Group'? . . . All honor to the Norwegian proletariat! But how can we tolerate it when certain individuals write thus in its name?"

Clearly, this Mot Dag Group, of which Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild approve, is a child of Moscow to be disciplined by Moscow, which shows how close to the Third International the National Student Forum stands.

#### Disciplined By Communist International.

In the same speech Zinoviev made it clear that the "Mot Dag" represented the Young Communist League, and that the Young Communist League was a part of the International at Moscow.

"It is the duty of the Young Communist League," asserted Zinoviev, "to submit to the discipline of the International." (Let the "foaming youths" who have discarded all laws keep this in mind; they must "submit to the discipline of the International.") "We must object to contemptuous manner in which the Youth Movement was referred to. The Youth Movement is the best section of the Communist International and that is as it should be, because they are the heralds of the future."

"Give our regards to the 'Mot Dag Group,'" wrote Messrs. Pratt and Rothschild in their letter to Broch, the Norway Communist who was not given permission to land in the United States. However, it is but just to these young Americans to say that their admiration for the "Mot Dag Group" was not allowed by them to lessen their loyalty to the Youth Movement as a whole. They agree with Zinoviev that "the Youth Movement is the best section of the International."

"That strong, pure, idealistic spirit which is the Youth Movement," writes Mr. Pratt in the New Student for November 4, 1922, "stands far above and ahead of the other movements of the world."

#### Games In Physical Nakedness.

A further reading of the New Student should dispel any doubt that the National Student stands for all that is embraced in the doctrines of the German Youth Movement. Take the issue of December 2, 1922, for example. On page five is begun a long article by Lillian Frobenius Eagle on "A Conference of Youth in Central Europe." A brief quotation will suffice:

"As one of the chief aims of the Young People's Movement is to awaken a new attitude and feeling towards the human body, and the nude is regarded in the Hellenic spirit, many of the participants in the game were naked."

The entire article is a panegyric on the Youth Movement, following closely along the lines followed by Mr. Pratt in his article on the same subject written from Germany. The youths of the Youth Movement are called, in the New Student:

"The forerunners of a new humanity, the prophets and seers, the torch-bearers of those who are to accomplish and fulfill their visions."

Miss Eagle visualizes these spiritual youths for the National Student Forum:

"A lonely hilltop in the darkness of the surrounding world. . . . A red glow of fire shining on the visionary eyes of a new youth whose gaze is bent inwards while they stretch forth hands to the youth of other lands to come and join their ranks."

And in another paragraph of the same article:

"With eyes straining into the future, they say, 'We are a handful of young people, naked and unknowing, but striving to realize God in a world of gross materialism by the realization of ourselves in a higher life. Let him who feels the Call join our ranks and help us.'"

#### Sex Studies "Ideal."

To the National Student Forum as a body everything about the Youth Movement is "ideal." A curriculum proposed by the Barnard students is called by these students, some of whom are on the executive board of the National Student Forum, "ideal." This curriculum includes: "SPECIFIC HUMAN DEVELOPMENT OF SEX-REPRODUCTIVE CHILDBEARING FUNCTION."

"a.—The facts of structure, function, development and hygiene of the sex and reproductive apparatus of the male and female.

"b.—The outstanding facts of paternity and maternity.

"c.—The effects of sex on individual human development from fertilization to maturity.

"d.—The nature and power of the sex impulse.

"e.—The gradually developed sex controls imposed on the individual by society.

"f.—The pathological effects of perverse and unsocial uses of sex in society."

In this fulsome praise of the "daring young ladies" who sponsored this "ideal" curriculum, which is given in full in the New Student, Upton Sinclair, in *The Goose-Step*, likens it to the work being done in Germany by the World League of Youth, and quotes from the Manifesto Weltjugendliga:

"Comrades! We are united in the hatred of the institutions of our social life and of our time. We ask ourselves: whose fault are these institutions, this civilization? On whose conscience rest these political systems, these schools, these churches, these politics, these newspapers, and so much else? The adult people!"

"The unifying characteristic of the Youth Movement," says one of the German leaders, "is this: we no longer want to obey laws that come from without. We want to form our lives in accordance with the laws that are within us."

There you have it. The adult people being responsible for the present laws and customs, the wise youths, boys and girls alike, will have none of them. They will "roll their own," or have none. And Barnard, with its Social Science Club a working constituent part of the National Student Forum, begins by insisting upon an exhaustive study of sex in the classroom.

#### "The Call of Youth."

Under this head, in one of the New Student articles written from Germany, young Mr. Pratt tells the world his opinion of the "old men." You will have noticed that he writes the word, "civilization," when he refers to the pre-war type, in quotation marks. This, I take it, is meant to show that there was never any prospect of true civilization till youths such as

he and Mr. Rothschild and the Barnard "daring young ladies" took things in hand. In the paragraph which I shall quote Mr. Pratt is referring, of course, to the youth of the Youth Movement. He says:

"This youth knows that the better, firmer social structures must be built by it, and not by the products of that ancient 'civilization' which crashed to ruin in the great war. We in America must realize our position towards the youth of other nations, and toward the development of our own country and its people as a part of the world. That youth is foolish and unreliable, that youth can not be trusted with the responsibility of great things, is the babble of old men. 'It is they,' the wise and youthful Mr. Pratt continues to heap it up on the babbling old men, 'who have shown that they are unfit to govern and decide, and it is upon them the responsibility for the future rests.'

"We students who are to be the guides for the future must get to know each other . . . We must realize the essential unity of our aims. . . . Youth seems to be uniting, determined to bring about a new order."

That the Youth of America might the more clearly hear the Call, the New Student announced in its April 21st number, under the heading: "SUMMER WITH THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT," that the National Student Forum would send five or six students to Germany to study the Youth Movement. As an inducement, the New Student added:

"Our German friends have submitted a plan whereby these students may be matriculated at a German University where will be gathered many of those most interested in the Youth Movement—for it is a simple matter for a German to change his University. The Americans will later be introduced to the new schools, the prison work, etc., and will finally go on a Wandervogel tramp perhaps in Thuringen."

And so on page six of the New Student's issue of November 3, last, Mr. Rothschild has an article telling of the results of that plan. He says that on June 26 "seven American students waved good-bye from the steerage deck of the steamship Reliance to us on the pier."

Those who went were: Arvia MacKaye, daughter of Percy MacKaye and a student of Radcliffe; Helen Stedman, graduate of the University of Oregon and a student at Madison, Wis.; Lenore Pelham, a graduate of Rockford College; Eugene Corbie, a negro student of the College of the City of New York; Howard Becker, of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; Earl Bellman, of Friends University, Wichita, Kan.; and Douglas Haskell, of Oberlin.

Joseph Chassell of the Union Theological Seminary, and Ruth Boardman, a Barnard student, joined the others at Hamburg, and remained, adds Mr. Rothschild, "with them through most of the trip."

#### Works In Harmony With Civil Liberties Union.

Not only does the National Student Forum, through its leader, George D. Pratt, Jr., stand for Roger N. Baldwin, leader of the American Civil Liberties Union, but—again through Mr. Pratt—it defends the American Civil Liberties Union in so many words. Let me quote again from young Mr. Pratt's letter to me:

"Roger Baldwin is an upstanding American and his patriotism, which admittedly runs counter to yours, is that love of liberty and justice which have constituted the greatness of the great men of the nation, and which small men in every generation have mistaken for treason."

Evidently, Mr. Baldwin has succeeded in "looking like a patriot" to Mr. Pratt. He seems also to have succeeded, with his "talk about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country," in making the American Civil Liberties Union look like what Mr. Pratt says he believes it is: "A bona fide American defense society. It defends," continues Mr. Pratt, "the basic American institutions of law and order."

Mr. Baldwin says, and Mr. Pratt knew this to be a fact when he wrote the letter from which I am quoting, the members of the American Civil Liberties Union:

"All of them believe in the right of persons to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence!"

He knew also that the American Civil Liberties Union backs up these "persons" when they are making such advocacy, and try to get such "persons" out of prison that they may continue to "advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Mr. Rothschild is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union by his own admission to me, and Mr. Pratt writes:

"Despite the fact that you see the Civil Liberties Union 'red,' it is, in our observation, a valuable restraining agency at a time when there is a general recourse to violence in suppressing unpopular elements."

The American Civil Liberties Union is a supporter of, and is supported by, the National Student Forum. And the American Civil Liberties Union, as the National Student Forum knows, has been officially listed, after a thorough investigation, as "a supporter of all subversive movements."