

# REVOLT

Vol. I - No. 1

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October, 1932



*"Remember, Bill, how we stopped Notre Dame that year?"*

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PUBLISHED BY INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDENT COUNCIL OF LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY



# Blueprints of Action

## A HANDBOOK FOR STUDENT REVOLUTIONISTS

*While there is constant need for clarification and thinking about one's stand, there is today a more urgent need for action. The radical movement has too many sideline commentators; the great need is for participants. Besides, action is one of the best ways of getting clarification. The following are recommendations made by L. I. D. student members at the Tamiment and Waukegan conferences.*

### 1.

#### POLITICAL ACTION FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Get into the presidential and local campaigns for the candidates who best embody the ideal of the L.I.D., a new social order based on production for use and not for profit. The L.I.D. does not presume to dictate what your choice shall be. Thomas-for-President clubs are being organized on scores of campuses and you can get in touch with the headquarters of this drive by writing to 549 Randolph Street, Chicago.

### 2.

#### ORGANIZATION

No effective work can be done on or off campus without a well-organized club. The first fall activity should be a drive for members with carefully planned "Blueprints of Action" to put them to work immediately.

### 3.

#### CAMPAIGNS FOR DECENT WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR COLLEGE EMPLOYEES

Mobilize sentiment on your campus against low wages, long hours of work, and insecurity of tenure for janitors, power house employees, cafeteria workers, etc. Get specific cases of lay offs and reductions, names, dates. Valuable suggestions for procedure can be derived from the experience of the Harvard students in the famous "scrub women" case or from Texas University L.I.D. members in the fight they have been waging to force contractors constructing university buildings to pay living wages.

### 4.

#### FORUMS, DEBATES, SPEAKERS' BUREAUS, STUDY COURSES, AND INTERCOLLEGIATE CONFERENCES

Regional conferences should be held as a means of stimulating students who have had little contact with the radical movement. If your college is within or not far from New York state, do all you can to promote the Cornell University State Liberal Club Conference, October 22nd, at Ithaca, N. Y. Eloquent speakers on one campus ought to be exchanged for those on other campuses. Organize a study course in Socialist theory and practise on your campus. Get radical literature into your campus bookstore or start a bookshop of your own. Sell L.I.D. literature on your campus. In response to dissatisfaction with stodgy and complacent teaching in some economics classes, the University of Wisconsin L.I.D. Chapter organized last spring a course in "The Economics of Depression" given without credit or formal enrollment as complementary instruction to the conservative courses. Taught by some of the more radical instructors and advanced students, the course was an immediate hit. Write your own pamphlets as Karl Kahn did at Chicago.

### 4a.

#### EDUCATION

Whether your college courses will give you the power to teach college courses yourself or to engage in polite conversation or will give you a clearer vision of the world in which you live will depend on the independence of thought which you bring to bear on the substance of classroom lectures. But independence of thought is merely sophomoric when it is based upon a contempt for fact. You will bring food as well as fire into economics, government, history, literature and philosophy classes if you familiarize yourself with facts and ideas expressed or indexed in L.I.D. pamphlets and books.

For students contemplating original research the Industrial Research Group offers bulletins on neglected problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism, in which available sources of information, academic and non-academic are outlined and vital research projects formulated. Address communications to Lucy M. Kramer, Secretary of the Industrial Research Group, 408 Schermerhorn Annex, Columbia University, New York City.

### 5.

#### INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

Cooperate with groups trying to organize the unemployed by providing entertainment, funds, and Jimmie Higgins work. Become acquainted with industries near your campus. If there is a union perhaps you can be of help (caution: you are not a godsend to the labor movement—take orders). Teach labor courses, form workers' education groups, boycott businesses unfair to labor. At the University of Illinois in order to dramatize the labor struggle a boycott campaign was begun against a product made under sweatshop conditions. The commodity in most universal use which offered a choice between union and non-union manufacture was found to be women's silk hosiery. A list of union-made brands produced under at least

fairly acceptable conditions was secured from the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers' union. Copies of this list were distributed among all woman students along with statements giving the reasons for boycotting the other brands. Speakers were sent to the various sororities and women's dormitories. Articles were written for the college newspapers, and merchants urged to discontinue non-union brands. The campaign succeeded in acquainting many students for the first time with the realities of the workers' struggles under capitalism.

Another form of industrial activity that has been successful is the staging of Christmas Parties for mining camps. Several colleges could stage one for several camps. Books should be collected and sent to the Women's Clubs in West Virginia which were started by the L.I.D. Chautauqua. Cooperate with the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

### 6.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

The L.I.D. should be the first group on the campus to protest if civil right, freedom of the press, or assembly are violated, or if racial discrimination occurs.

### 7.

#### ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-R.O.T.C. ACTIVITY

Parade with anti-war banners and floats from the campus to the business center of town on Armistice Day. Distribute "No More War" leaflets. Sell *Disarm!* Quote figures on the cost of war and percentage of the federal tax consumed. Secure anti-war speakers for the same day. Where R.O.T.C. is compulsory a student strike is advocated as the most effective weapon; where it is voluntary, a campaign of ridicule is thought most effective. At Washington University recently students opposed to militarism invaded an R.O.T.C. field day with protest banners and posters.

### 8.

#### AGITATION FOR THE RELEASE OF WORKING CLASS PRISONERS

Tom Mooney is still in jail. Another miner, Chester Poore, accused of taking part in Evarts battle in Harlan County, Ky., has just been convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. Publicize these injustices through meetings. Visit political prisoners where possible; get a story. Raise defense funds on your campus. Picket homes and offices of the guilty capitalists and public officials just as was recently done by students and professors in Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and New York, who picketed Insull, Ford, and Morgan, as owners of Kentucky coal mines. (See L.I.D. MONTHLY, May issue.)

### 9.

#### COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS

Write letters to your college papers. Supply them with news about student radicalism. Cite specific grievances if they arise. Get your people on the staff. Publish if necessary your own mimeographed or printed paper.

### 10.

#### FEES

Fight all raising of student fees. To combat the high cost of living in the college town follow the example of Michigan University students. The Socialist Club there organized a cooperative house to accommodate about thirty men students at the basic rate of two dollars a week for room and board. Every member of the house is expected to work a certain number of hours a week. The furniture of the house was donated by liberal Ann Arbor residents and the faculty. The Club also plans to present a few literary men, such as Dreiser, Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, to university audiences and with the proceeds subsidize a few needy but brilliant students who otherwise would have to drop from college.

### 11.

#### DRAMATICS

Enlist the support of the college dramatics department in producing such plays as "The Weavers," by Hauptmann, "Mill Shad-ows," by Tom Tippet, "1931," by Paul and Claire Sifton, "Singing Jailbirds," by Upton Sinclair, "Steel," by John Wexley. Manuscripts are available through the L.I.D. Give plays in community centers before groups of unemployed. Have the unemployed participate. Write your own morality plays about incidents on campus.

### 12.

#### REBEL ARTS

Be sponsor to a rebel arts group on your campus which would study the implications of socialism in the arts and bring the resources

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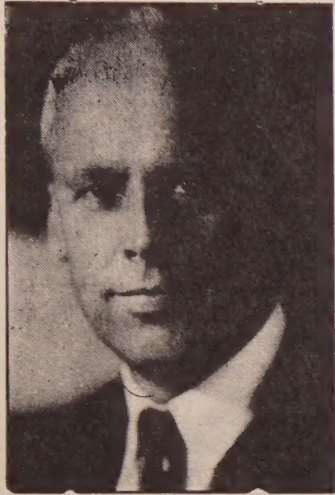
# REVOLT

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## NOTES FROM A SOAPBOX



I AM A SOCIALIST because I believe that in our dark and troubled world, which blessed with the machinery to abolish poverty, lives in the shadow of unemployment and economic insecurity and the deeper shadow of ever threatening war, socialism—international socialism—is our only hope of averting catastrophe and establishing plenty, peace, and freedom.

—N. THOMAS

FALL SETS IN around the college campus. Leaves swirl up. In warm dormitories there is talk of football prospects. Classes have begun and with them the familiar intimate closed life of the college community. Yet not even the monastic security of college walls is proof this year against the cries of a distressed world. Who can sit calmly contemplating eternal verities when everywhere the boundary between peace and tumult is so precarious? Here the farmers are in revolt. In Illinois the miners have been marching. The unemployed are billeting in Khaki Shirt encampments. Few talk of petitions now; they have been disregarded too often. At such a time how can one apply oneself to the seeming irrelevancies of a college education? If textbook knowledge of economics and history were supplemented by planned participation, college might seem a more important place, but except in a few isolated places such as Commonwealth and Antioch colleges this is not being done. So on every campus this fall conscientious students will have to evaluate for themselves the call of a scholar's cell against the cry of a world in distress.

THE PRESENT economic crisis has caught no one so flatfooted as the college graduate and the professional man. The same lack of foresight in providing for the needs of society that prevails in industry prevails in the professions. Witness the present glut of lawyers, doctors, teachers and engineers. The same slowing down of productive processes that put the industrial worker out of a job has put his educated comrade out in the street. And both adopt the same form of protection—association. Whether the professional man will see the benefits of unionism or make unionism a significant thing has still to be shown, but the formation of the Association of Unem-

ployed College Alumni and Professional Men in New York City is itself a sign of the changing times.

FOR stupidity of action few can outdo our Secretary of Labor, Doak. His latest motion in defense of our home citizenry is to withdraw from foreign students the privilege of working their way through college that they have had for many years. This is done, says the Secretary, to give our own impoverished college students a chance at the jobs. The Secretary does not consider the amount of good will and understanding that is a product of the foreign students coming here as worth the 2000 odd jobs they hold. This action is on a par with his insistence last year that a Chinese student studying at New York University be deported to his own country, because he was a Communist; although Doak knew full well that as soon as the fellow set foot in China he would either be imprisoned or executed. For cruelty and obtuseness it is difficult to beat politicians.

Doak has been roundly denounced for his most recent action by American educational leaders. President Butler of Columbia was not too harsh when in a letter to Dr. J. H. MacCracken he said that the action was "reactionary, stupid and clearly against the interest of the American people and their influence in the world." Now let the student body tell Secretary Doak that they don't need his protection.

THREE HUNDRED youthful, belligerent Socialists and an almost equal number of student Communists came to a political symposium staged by the New York Intercollegiate Student Council of the L.I.D. And to the surprise and bewilderment of the 40 or 50 newcomers who were there to be converted these young radicals heckled—not Langdon Post, the Democrat, or Allan Fox, the Republican—but one another. The hall rocked as one faction thundered out accusations at the other, stamped feet, shook fists, sang the Internationale. It was a hilarious, swashbuckling evening; but no one went away from that tumultuous gathering convinced of socialism who did not arrive in such a state of mind. Radicals instead of fighting one another ought to concentrate on the main enemy, Capitalism.

ONE LESSON which L.I.D. Chapters everywhere can learn from the fraternity system is that of training lower classmen to take over the reins of leadership in their senior year. In the past the L.I.D. on many campuses has been disrupted by the graduation of the student representatives and by having no one on the campus to replace them. It should be our business to form executive or steering committees and get members of the lower classes on them. The work of the L.I.D. should not be sporadic, and continuous effort can only result from a more systematic scheme of training future "reps."

AT TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE they are firing members of the faculty who are so radical that they profess the economic liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and believe in the evolutionary conception of life! At least this is the way the action



of the Board of Directors of the College in summarily dismissing Dr. John C. Granbery, head of the history department, is interpreted by the students of the college who have sent in a protest against the tyrannical action of the Board.

The tenure of an academic position is indeed precarious when the most distinguished member of the faculty, as Dr. Granbery is acknowledged to have been, one who has been with the college since its foundation can have his contract abruptly terminated with no explanation whatever except the feeble one of "economy." The only encouraging element in the situation is the sensitivity of at least the student body to social changes and to such violations of the rights of men.

The group of L.I.D. students at the University of Texas are just as conscious of the revolutionary changes that our generation must bring about. They managed to get a widely reprinted petition to the Board of Regents which said in part:

"In violation of the state law, the contractors on the campus are paying their laborers below the current wage. The wages are not enough to support a family in decency. The Building Committee has been notified twice by Mr. Gragg and has made no response. Surely you gentlemen have heard of the affair, and surely, since three of you are lawyers, you knew of the labor law when you let the contracts. But what have you done about it? Only a week ago, long after the labor dispute was started, you granted a contract without saying anything about the wages of labor. There are innumerable specifications for brick, steel, cement, etc., but scarcely one word about the treatment of the worker. Yet in the laboratories of these new buildings, methods of alleviating the ills of mankind will be studied!"

The students who led this fight have graduated. Their undergraduate successors should not let the embers die off. Such a campaign is worth reams of social exhortation in educating the students and Texans.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS ARE WELCOME

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

### Source Book of Capitalist Culture

(Send in quotations from the lectures of your professors, from your textbooks which illustrate a comic ignorance of economic realities or a thickskinned, dishonest indifference to them. Accompany them with drawings if possible.)

"... 'What this country needs,' said another, quoting Frank Adam's version of the famous *mot*, 'is a good five-cent nickel.'"

"The President of the United States was pleased with this, which he had not heard. 'Yes,' he said, 'there's a lot of interest just now in seeing that every dollar does its job. . . . Perhaps what this country needs is a great poem. Something to lift people out of fear and selfishness. A great nation can't go along just watching its feet.' The kind of words I imagine needn't be very complicated. I'd like to see something simple enough for a child to put his hand on his chest and spout in school on Fridays."

#### What the President Reads

By Christopher Morley  
Saturday Review, September 27

"Of course, our greatest delusion is money. It exercises a strange magnetism on most minds."

"The so-called rich have practically disappeared."

"The system of living off the labors of others . . . is done."

"It is not true that there isn't enough work, but it is true that there are not enough men with the spirit of self-help and invention and courage to find the work that it is necessary to do."

#### We are in Revolution!

By Henry Ford  
Pictorial Review, October

## Politics and the A. F. of L.

*When President Green asserted at Newark that if 'organized labor anywhere desired to establish a party of its own, such action would not conflict with federation policy, New Jersey delegates got up to cheer. Last week a resolution in favor of an independent labor party was adopted unanimously at the convention of the United Textile Workers. What do these signs mean?—EDITOR.*

THE EVER-RENEWED hope of socialists and others that the American Federation of Labor will sometime or other enter politics as a labor party is doomed to disappointment. The American Federation of Labor is a complicated structure but it has one simple unifying principle. When appearances are ignored and reality considered it is found that the American Federation of Labor is an organization of, by and for trade union officials. These officials are found in the Executive Council. They dominate the annual conventions, the national and local unions, the State federations and the city centrals. When some national union like the United Textile Workers gets out of hand and endorses an independent political policy it simply means that the organization has been weakened to the point where the officers are satisfied with holding their jobs.

Trade union officials in the Federation cannot support labor party politics for the simple reason that they are already up to their necks in regular party politics. Neither can they support one of the two major parties because they are already members of the party machines of both parties. This explains the so-called "non-partisan" political policy of the American Federation of Labor. It is not a policy in the ordinary sense of the term but a condition which has grown up out of state and local political situations. It is not "non-partisan" but bi-partisan.

There has always been a close alliance between trade union officials and the political machines in their districts. It began one hundred years ago when Ely Moore was made first president of the General Trades Union of New York. Moore was a Democrat and was rewarded by an appointment to a state commission, by four years in Congress, by six years as surveyor of the Port of New York and, for the rest of his life, by a job as Indian agent in Kansas. An examination of the record of trade union officials will show that their politics depend upon the industry and the locality in which they are found. In a protected industry, like steel, they are certain to be Republicans. In a Democratic stronghold like New York they are equally certain to be Democrats. In the recent autobiography of Frank Roney there is to be found a wealth of information on the political affiliations of trade unions and their officers, and it would be well worth while to make a study of this subject.

The belief that the American Federation of Labor might sometime support a labor party arises especially from British experience. But there is a basic weakness in this analogy. In Britain the local rewards of political regularity are insignificant; in the United States they are very great. Thus in the United States local, that is, city, and state political considerations are more important to the trade unionist than national affairs. Long before the American Federation of Labor was formed the officers and members of local and national unions were influential in local politics. It is sometimes said that

(Continued on page 11)



# This Is Our Fight

**W**HEN THE AUTUMN SUN slants its showers of warm gold onto the gridiron and the day seems splendid—remember the six youths languishing in a dismal California jail.

When Halloween parties dot the country's campuses and you are secure in your firelit study—remember that six of your comrades are having their holiday cheer behind bars.

When you are discoursing on this country's ills and you are caught up on the rhythm of your own eloquence—remember these six youths who struck a real blow for freedom.

Remember them: Ann Davis, Ben Boots, Ethel Dell, Meyer Baylin, Edward Palmer and Jess Shapiro, sentenced on September 1 to nine months in the county jail of Los Angeles.

They struck at the deepest set prejudices of Californians; for the Sunkist state is sensitive about Tom Mooney; for the Sunkist state is afraid of Tom Mooney.

The "crime" which these six committed was to stage a "Free Tom Mooney" demonstration right in the Olympic Stadium in Los Angeles on August 14—the last day of the games. Dressed in track suits they ran around the race course in the presence of 100,000 spectators from all parts of the world, displaying banners that called for the release of California's famous prisoner. No wonder the assembled Californians almost became choleric. Wouldn't they ever be allowed to forget Tom Mooney? Down came the fist of the imperial state: "Nine months for disturbing the peace and disturbing a public meeting." And when Ethel Dell told the judge, "Tom Mooney would not get justice if he were on trial here," he gave her fifty days for contempt of court and one hundred extra days to Meyer Baylin for contempt of court, because he questioned the procedure, Baylin who had to attend the proceedings

when sick with a temperature of one hundred and two.

But California is not beggarly in the way it metes out justice. Professor Leo Gallagher, for ten years instructor of corporation law at the Law School of Southwestern University had the presumption to defend the six youths. Attorney Gallagher has been active in defending persecuted radicals in Los Angeles for many years. So Californians don't like Gallagher. Although he had taught at the School for ten years, although six hundred students dedicated last year's annual to him, he was dismissed from his faculty post. Said Dean McNitt to the press: "Lawyers who defend political minor-

ities have no place on the teaching staff of Southwestern University." Said President Schumacher plaintively, "I don't know what we can say to our students when they return." The President admitted the desirability of keeping Prof. Gallagher, but he said, it was in the interests of the Law School that he should let him go.

A journal in Los Angeles asks: "Did President Schumacher, of Southwestern University Law School, want Attorney Gallagher to quit? No. Do the students—six hundred of them—want their respected teacher to quit? No. Are the alumni, most of whom graduated under Gallagher's supervision, in favor of his quitting his professorship? No. Does Attorney Gallagher, himself want to quit? No! Who, then, wants this American professor of law to quit an American school of law where American students are learning American law in a legally American way?"

The journal itself supplies the answer as to who were the powerful influences forcing President Schumacher to act. The list it gives is one of familiar redbaiters:

The Better America Federation

The leaders of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association

## Is There a Case Against Tom Mooney?

The last person to plead for the freedom of Tom Mooney was the former Mayor of New York, James J. Walker, who travelled all the way to California to make his dramatic speech before Governor Rolph. Walker no doubt took the journey to advance his own political fortunes, but he would not have done it had he not believed that Mooney's imprisonment had taken on all the features of a Dreyfus case.

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings were convicted of setting off a bomb which killed ten persons in the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco.

The reply of Governor Rolph, prepared by advisers, although he knew more about the case than any other official in California, denied Walker's plea and consisted chiefly of proving that Mooney and Billings were "bad characters" and that consequently they must have set off the bomb. The language of the report of the Governor's commission illustrates the considerations which moved this so-called judicial hearing: "Their insensate hatred of our present form of government and their fanatical desire to substitute the red flag for the Stars and Stripes impelled them to commit the deed."

Nothing was said against the fact that it had been shown that all four of the chief witnesses against Tom Mooney were perjurers and that the most important was not even in San Francisco when the explosion took place.

Against the fact that there are photographs which show Mooney, in pictures which also contain the face of a clock, a mile away from the scene of the explosion, seven, four, and two minutes from the time of the explosion.

Against the fact that Judge Franklin Griffin, all but one of the surviving jurors, and the captain of detectives who assembled the evidence against Mooney have either asked that he be pardoned or that he have a new trial.

Against the fact that a federal commission appointed by Woodrow Wilson held that the trial had not been fair.

Against the fact that only a few months ago the Wickersham Commission asserted that the trial had been accompanied by flagrantly illegal acts on the part of the prosecution.



The leaders of the Daughters of the American Revolution The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

The university and Judge Thurmond Clark, a new appointee of Governor Rolph, have been flooded with telegrams and messages protesting these gross miscarriages of justice.

**BUT THIS IS OUR FIGHT.** Into the face of American students and the faculties of American colleges is the gauntlet flung. We shall take up the struggle for these six youths, for Professor Gallagher, for Tom Mooney.

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## What the L.I.D. Stands For

**T**HE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a "new social order based on production for use and not for profit." That is a revolutionary slogan. It means that members of the L.I.D. think and work for the elimination of capitalism, and the substitution for it of a new order, in whose building the purposeful and passionate thinking of students and workers today will play an important part.

Twenty years ago Jack London declared war "on the passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence." The listless following in the well-trod ways was good for the mild and milky Men and women who would change a world must blast their way through the impenetrable rock. They need not step softly. They should stride boldly. In short, there seemed to be a choice.

Such an appeal to idealism has on it what glistens like the dew of the turn of the century when, they say, hearts were young and days were halcyon. Today after three years of living during capitalist collapse, the terror of unemployment alone frightens students into attention; the stark prospect of war reveals to students that they fall neatly within the age group of those who are, the first to be drafted; the universal, frantic unhappiness drives the iron into them. What's to be done?

They may turn from the indefiniteness of chaos into the steep constricting walls of dogma. Burning with a desire for change some students may find a haven in the precision and exactness of revolutionary orthodoxy. This is not a veiled allegation that Karl Marx, though a kind grandfather, was a poor doddering, bewhiskered fellow. If Marx himself were alive today, and able to behold the breaking of one revolutionary head by the stalwart wielding of another's revolutionary blackjack, accompanied by the mutter of Marxian phrases like biblical shibboleths and sibboleths, Marx himself would declare again, "If this is to be Marxian, I am no Marxian."

Of no slight importance is it to understand Marx and the men who came after him; to understand the problems of Russia today and of international socialism. But for students in America to act and think according to directions given elsewhere or years back would be as intellectually, emotionally inert as for Marx and Engels to be satisfied with their work in their young manhood and remain nothing more than left-wing Hegelians. Socialism is an international movement. But within each country are conditions which we must understand and by which understanding we must be guided.

To obtain that knowledge and act by it the League for Industrial Democracy is active on many fronts: on the college campus, the industrial front, the platform, through city chapters and publications and over the radio.

In over 200 colleges of the United States thousands of the L.I.D. members are the active leaders in thought and action. No stewing over drinks of tea or gin, no lofty down-from-my-

favorite cloud, thinking-more-radical-thoughts-than-thou attitude makes a student movement or a radical movement. L.I.D. students talk and write about conditions, L.I.D. students act about them. In the peace of college towns now-a-days is heard the hum of machines from sweat shops which have run away from New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. A student radical no longer has four years of secure theorizing. Through L.I.D. research, there is intensive thought and hard thinking on our industrial life. The universities of large cities are a cross section of our social life. The sons of the organized workers and the sons of the unorganized workers can tell the difference. Students have the responsibility of thinking and acting on the conditions they find. What the League has done and is doing to encourage such activity and thought can be seen in this month's "Blueprints."

On the platform a staff of six or eight leave the Chicago or New York offices to help co-ordinate activities. They get into class rooms, they talk to classes. In small denominational colleges as well as cosmopolitan universities they discuss with the student the plans for the year. In addition these speakers furnish a valuable link between students and their activities later on. After graduation the work continues unabated. In City Chapters, in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore the work of education and action goes on.

L.I.D. publications are the most widely used pamphlets in the country. In addition to work by radical economists and researchers, students sometimes incorporate into a pamphlet the results of their own research and activity. Such a pamphlet for instance, is *Southern Textile Strikes*. The L.I.D. emergency publications, the UNEMPLOYED and DISARM! have reached a circulation of one-half million. This required a campaign of no mean proportions. It meant cooperation of members in city chapters and in student clubs. Students organized squads of salesmen to sell these magazines, containing slashing attacks on capitalism and the war system, at the same time it enabled the unemployed to keep alive.

In November of this year a training school for recent graduates will be opened in New York. The attempt will be made to find methods of activity, to equip students by field work to perform their tasks in the labor movement, to harness the willingness to work to a knowledge of how to work.

The L.I.D. therefore, works to build a new social order not by thinking alone, though a high order of thought is required; not by outraged indignation finding an outlet in a futile banging of fists against the citadels of capitalism; but by the combination of thought and action, an understanding of what is the strength of capitalism and its weakness in order to bring about Socialism in our own life time.

## REVOLT

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDENT COUNCIL

of

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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Joseph P. Lash, Editor

Carrie Glasser, Paul Ritterskamp, Paul Porter, Felix S. Cohen, Riva Stocker, Sam Friedman, Irwin Hoffman, Fred Lowenstein, Mary Hillyer, Sidney Hertzberg, Ruth Schechter, Joel Seidman, J. B. Matthews, Lucy Kramer, Robert Asher, Maurice Neufeld, Charles Cross, Molly Wilson, Associate Editors. Mary Fox, Paul Blanshard, John Herling, Advisory Board.

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# Fascist Goat Glands for Capitalism

By PAUL PORTER

**S**OCIAL SYSTEMS do not commit suicide. Societies grow senile and shaky but their ruling classes hold to the last their power and privileges against the class ultimately destined to displace them. It is this fact which makes so grave the prospects of fascism, in America as well as in Europe.

Because political democracy, for all its weaknesses and delusions, is a power instrument in the hands of the workers, the ruling class will attempt to divest them of it. The resultant state would be akin to the corporate state of Italy, and deserves, I think, the name of fascism.

Romantic persons are accustomed to think of fascism in terms of marching legions of Black Shirts or Brown Shirts, whipped to a fervor by the demagoguery of a Mussolini or a Hitler. They picture a fascist revolution as a spectacular march upon Rome or Berlin or Washington after which a few unfortunate dissenters will be dosed with castor oil.

These events have flared large in the daily lives of the Fascisti and the Nazis, yet they bear about the same relationship to the fundamentals of fascism as gold epaulets bear to soldiery. They are the trimmings. At heart fascism is an economic phenomenon.

The essence of Revolution is a redistribution of economic and political power. A Socialist Revolution means a redistribution on an equalitarian basis. The essence of fascism is a concentration of political power corresponding to the concentration of economic power that has taken place in the earlier life of capitalism.

When bread becomes scarce workers and farmers grow conscious of their economic exploiters and contemptuous of their political manipulators. Though they may in time discard all political action their recourse now is to form a political party which they themselves control, and through which they might conceivably obtain State mastery over the owning class.

It is at this stage when mass discontent is swelling like the waves of an angry sea that the ruling class reveals the government as a stout protective wall for its privileges.

These considerations, more than the sprouting of several incipient fascist organizations, cause me to anticipate the possible establishment of a fascist state in America. Perhaps, as the depression deepens, we may get the essence without the trappings in a suddenness of action that will leave most of us uncertain of exactly what has happened. When Community Chests are more barren than Mother Hubbard's cupboard and workers begin to help themselves to necessities in stores and warehouses, when bankrupt municipalities stringently curtail normal services, then vigilante committees of business men, abetted by selected gangsters, might quickly and efficiently assume command of governmental functions.

The Army and the National Guard would almost certainly be called into their use. Not without significance were the secret instructions issued by the commanders of the Illinois National Guard concerning procedure in quelling riots, which the Socialist Party procured and exposed last winter; nor the precedent set by the President when he sent tanks, cavalry, gas, sword and fire against jobless veterans on July 28; nor the dress rehearsal of New Jersey Guardsmen dispersing "strikers" in a sham battle at Governor Moore's luxurious summer estate in Seagirt.

The assumption of power by vigilantes in a few key cities

would quickly spread. The President (Hoover or Roosevelt) would declare a national emergency and dispatch troops to zones where vigilante rule was endangered. Probably he would create a coalition super-cabinet composed of dominant men in finance, transportation, industry, radio, and the press, a considerable number of whom would be reserve officers.

The bull-doing methods of the war-time Council of Defense would be employed against protesting labor groups and some individuals might be imprisoned or shot, though several "cooperative" A. F. of L. officials might be given posts of minor responsibility.

The time will come when mass anger must be reckoned with. Then capitalism will find real need for a master showman and a fascist movement to absorb and dissipate that anger. The movement may denounce the conduct of the ruling class and may be swept along by the accelerating misery of thirty million people. But whatever changes it might make in the profit system would be, even though unintentionally, in the direction of fortification.

The component elements of a fascist movement already lie at hand like the parts of a jig-saw puzzle waiting to be pieced together. The American working and middle classes are, politically and economically, among the most illiterate in the world. Large portions of the middle class, whose small holdings have been partially confiscated by the processes of deflation, are reacting in an unintelligent radicalism which finds expression in some economic snake-oil such as bi-metallism or consumer credit. Insofar as they comprehend the class structure of capitalist society their impulse is not to welcome union in struggle with the working class into whose ranks they are being pushed, but on the contrary to vent their humiliation in resentment against militant labor.

Many workers, for their part, are disgusted by the impotence of most A. F. of L. unions and would quickly respond to demagogic fascist agitation, even as many once flocked into the Ku Klux Klan. Unemployment to them is not an inevitable consequence of maldistributed income but simply that Mexicans, Filipinos, Negroes and "a lotta foreigners" have taken their jobs. Nationalism, already strong, is already developing into resolute opposition against debt cancellation (thereby forcing European workers to lower standards and their masters to a fiercer competition in the struggle for markets). But Europe may stew in its own juice. Meanwhile, these same workers will discover the menace of Japan's truculence in the Pacific and will support demands for a bigger navy, which after all, would provide construction jobs.

Given the ripeness of the times it is strange that no country-wide fascist organization has yet appeared. For a while it seemed that the B. E. F. might furnish the nuclei. But its leaders were weak. W. W. Waters, in-again out-again commander, may have a vogue this winter as a lecturer on the history of the trek to Washington, but he lacks the decisiveness and magnetism to be a leader of masses. The Blue Shirts of Father Cox may gain a considerable following in industrial areas, particularly among Catholics. But even if he were otherwise fitted for the job Father Cox's religion would fatally handicap him in a movement that would rely heavily upon the Ku Klux spirit. Conceivably Huey Long, who possesses bombast and color in a superlative degree, might



rise to the occasion, but hailing from a so unrepresentative state as Louisiana is no easy obstacle to overcome.

At the moment the most likely main stem seems to be the Khaki Shirts of America, an offshoot of the B. E. F. though not of the Waters leadership. Trekking to Washington, a Hollywood contingent had reached Kansas City on the Bloody Thursday when Hoover, Hurley and MacArthur wrote a fitting epilogue to an imperialist war. No sooner had Waters announced to fleeing veterans that a khaki shirt organization would be formed than Commander Art J. Smith of the Hollywood group proclaimed himself supreme commander and established headquarters in the Defenders Temple of Kansas City. Scouts were despatched to neighboring states and new divisions were soon established.

Strength of this organization, modelled on the military lines its leaders learned when they were called upon to save democracy, is difficult to gauge, but unquestionably it gained grateful approval of thousands of farmers when it sent pickets to aid the Iowa farm strike, and it is making headway among the unemployed neglected by other groups. Some of its leaders, as I know from acquaintance, are earnest if somewhat confused radicals, and would be willing recruits to a revolutionary socialist movement. If they are lost to Socialism it will be the fault of Socialism's advocates.

Justifiable doubts arise concerning Commander Smith, who, in his own words, is a "soldier of fortune." In the first issue of the *Khaki Shirt* he describes his career as follows: "Two years as commander of the Air Force of Feng, 'The Christian General' in China, rank of Brig. General; 14th U. S. Cavalry; 5th Regiment, Marines; Capt., R. A. F. in France; Officer, Russian Cossacks; fought with the Riffs in Morocco against Spain; French Foreign Legion; with Gen. Escobar, Mexico, 1929, as Chief of Air Service." He has rounded out these qualifications, so he informs me, by having served as a ward committeeman under Mayor Cermak in Chicago.

If Smith's Khaki Shirts wax powerful he will be in a favorable position to bargain with the leaders of similar organizations (there are in fact several other groups that claim to be the one and original khaki shirts). If powerful enough he might become the supreme commander and would then be in a position to bargain with those industrialists and bankers who are ready to hire a dictator. Already, I am reliably informed, Smith (or one of his aides) has been in conference with the Department of Justice agent who assisted Chicago business men in the formation of their "Secret Six," the crime fighting machine which is also the central nerve of the Chicago vigilantes.

If Smith cannot fill the bill there may arise some other potential dictator yet unknown. Or, as I have previously suggested, a fear-driven business class may brush aside in a "strictly constitutional" coup the inherited rights of the American Revolution before a popular fascism has had time to crystallize, and would achieve thereby the essence without the epaulets of the corporate state. How long it could hold its power without the services of a marionette demagogue is a question that can be answered only in the temper of the masses.

The day seems not far ahead when the masses will enter the political scene. For a long decade the American working-class movement has been blanketed with defeatism and apathy. But did you ever observe the way a blanket thrown over a bon-fire is consumed? The fire is almost smothered. It seems to have died out. Then after a time a small, sharp flame darts

after a wisp of smoke. In another corner appears a second flame, there a third. All the while the entire blanket is being eaten away from underneath, until in one short second it is a mass of mounting fire.

Watch now those little flames of mass unrest. Here, some twenty thousand veterans have converged, almost timidly, upon Washington. Here, ten thousand coal-diggers in Illinois are marching about the state, closing working pits, fighting doggedly for the maintenance of a doomed wage-scale. But in that corner—who ever expected to see the farmers fired to mass action? But there they are in a strike that soon spreads from Iowa to almost all sections of the agricultural west.

Great energy will be generated by those flames of mass revolt. But revolt is not revolution, and even though new blankets of cruel repression fail to smother the fire and in the end only add to its intensity, that energy may be lost unless it can be translated into purposive action. Boilers in which steam can be generated—if we may work hard our metaphor—need be erected over the fire, and that steam forced into engines of reconstruction.

Trotsky, in describing the role of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, has hit upon a happy figure of speech which we may borrow in this instance. No man, no group of men, created the Revolution; Lenin and his associates were but the pistons driven by the steam power of the masses. The Marxist Bolshevik party saved that steam from aimless dissipation, directed it into the proper channels.

To catch and to be driven by that steam is the function of the radical parties in America today.

Which, if any, of the existing parties can best serve that function? Conceivably the Communists might have done so. They possess a wealth of verve and courage, but the jealous bitterness with which they have fought other groups that seek a common goal, their rule-or-ruin trade union policy, their internal splits, their yes-man relationship to the Comintern, and a confused zig-zagging between ultra-left phrases and an opportunism that sometimes descends, as in Pittsburgh, Kansas, to such incongruous demands as a radio in the county poorhouse, has deprived them, I think, of any claim of working class leadership.

On the other hand, can the Socialist Party adapt itself to this imperative role? Its second growth in the new economic climate since 1929 has been rapid, in some places almost mushroom, and therein is a danger as well as a strength. It is not yet a consistently revolutionary party. There are members who would pattern it after the German Social Democracy and the British Labour Party, despite the disastrous experiences of two great parties of the Second International. There are members who have lost to age and comfort their one-time fervor, and members who would shrink from struggle in time of crisis.

Yet allow for these weaknesses, and there is still a spirited body rapidly gaining in power, and perhaps, in political acumen. They must probe more deeply into social theory, they must overcome the quiescent influence of those whose socialism has been dulled by intimacy with the bourgeois world, and they must speak boldly and convincingly to the American working people in the workers' language.

If their party can rise to these tasks then perhaps capitalism can be decently buried before it has found temporary rejuvenation in a fascist dictatorship.





## Painter of Proletarians

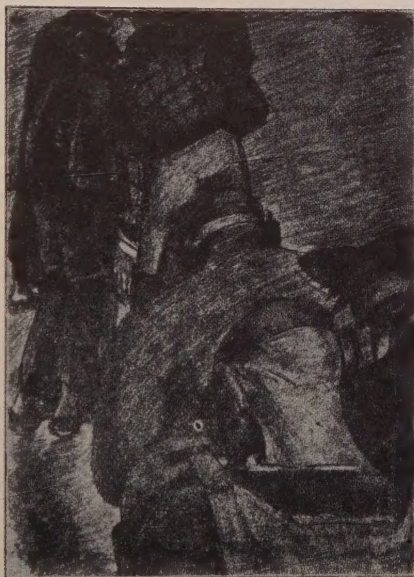
**C**AMILLO EGAS is spontaneously a painter of proletarians.

As a youth in Ecuador he considered himself one with the Indian population, which exists there in a state of peonage. Now in New York he has eyes only for the men digging our subways, the fellows in blue denim atop a girder, for the men on the breadlines. He is for the underdog. So it is natural to find that a favorite theme among his paintings is that of groups of Indians harvesting the luxuriant produce of Ecuador while they themselves starve.

So extensive is his emotional unity with the proletariat that his most constant hope is that some community of workers will call him in to rear a monument in stone to the worker (for he is also a sculptor). The money for the materials for this undertaking, he says, ought to be raised from the small contributions of the workers themselves in order to give them a sense of sharing in the building of a new culture. His own wage "would be that of a stone mason," he told me. The importance of this monument he believes rests in the spiritual sustenance and feeling of dignity the proletariat itself would get from such a communal culture venture.

I mention these things first because Egas himself speaks slightly of his craftsmanship; for he always subordinates his technique to his principles—and by principles Egas really means his emotional sympathy with the workers. I asked him if he had read Karl Marx, since a knowledge of the German seems to have become essential for significant artistic activity (cf. the Summer issue of the *Modern Quarterly*). Egas looked at me a bit puzzled, a bit afraid that he might offend me if he said he hadn't read him; and finally asked if the gentleman

was now living in New York. But though he hasn't read Marx, Egas feels certain that without the vision that he has of a new society, his instinctive feeling for design, his sensitivity to color, would be valueless. Indeed I have never met an artist who was so completely a craftsman (here



are some of his accomplishments: graduate of the Academia de Bellas Artes of Ecuador; prize student of the Ecuadorian government in Rome; professor of painting and design at the Academia, 1917-1920, 1922-1924; his works have been extensively reproduced; at present he is working on a giant mural for the New School for Social Research) yet who is so scornful of colleagues who exalted their medium above the ideas it conveyed. I asked him what were his interests and he answered, "I just paint and paint." He rarely leaves his studio in Greenwich Village except to go to the New School where he is teaching the technique of oil painting. He told me explicitly that he never goes to the theater, never to a neighboring night club, rarely to exhibitions by other painters, and then he makes it a point to forget what he has seen; and doesn't read a book unless it has

something to do with his art. He prefers to be alone and considers himself very unsocial, an opinion which his extreme courtesy to visitors absolutely belies. However, owing to this temperamental bias toward loneliness and a general preference to be independent he has kept away from the political parties that embody his own desires. The notion of having to do things at the dictate of a politician horrifies Egas. If people find fuel for the revolution in his paintings he is glad; nevertheless he prefers to see his own way. —J. P. L.



# Journal of the L.I.D. Chautauqua

By CARRIE GLASSER

**T**HE ELEVEN students of this summer's L.I.D. Labor Chautauqua come back to tell of more than the bitter existence and starvation in the coal camps, and the despicable treatment we received from official West Virginia, the puppets of the vested interests in that state. We can tell also of heartening accomplishment, of the seeds of new thought we have planted, of clubs organized for working men and women, of labor plays written and acted, of songs composed by the workers themselves—and herein we see the hope of a fruition of social discontent which will lead to social change.

What are the conditions the eleven found in West Virginia crying out to be remedied? The following excerpts from letters and daily reports will show you what we saw:

From Tom Tippet (instructor at Brookwood Labor College and coal-field organizer) to Jean Benson (head of the Chautauqua group):

Gene Shifflet's little girl died Saturday night. The baby is now dying. We finally got Health Authorities up here (Ward) today . . . are there now. Disease caused, they say, by open privies and flies, etc. . . ."

Reports from the group (initials are of the member reporting):

ESKDALE, JULY 21 (C. G.):

Mrs. Gilbert is the mother of six children. Husband black-listed for striking. Receives no county relief—claims discrimination. Evicted from her home. "The company didn't evict us until this spring, waiting until after we had gotten a good garden started before notfin' us." During the winter she and her children went down Cabin Creek in a boat at 4:00 A.M. and got some flour at the junction. It was 1:00 A.M. the next morning before they got back again and had something to eat. "No ma'm I'll never let my man be called out on strike again. I'll pack him in (into the mines) and let him be shot down as a scab. I'll never let him strike again."

Comment by L.I.D. worker—not only are many of these people practically starved to death, but their spirits are hungry and exhausted—just so do the coal operators prefer to keep them.

During the winter, she collected potato peels from the garbage cans and used them to feed her children and herself. She got scrapings from a boarding house. They had no covers nor bedclothes. Her youngest child got paralysis.

DRY BRANCH, JULY 13 (A. C.):

Heard of a good many cases of flu among the babies. Death cases described as "took with the rickets after flux." . . . The girls say they cannot go back to school in the fall because they have no clothes and can't buy books.

ESKDALE, JULY 26 (R. W.):

We finally found a man who is working and he tells us that from his \$3.30 a day he gets only \$1 on account of his indebtedness to the company — and that in scrip — which means that he gets some forty cents worth of goods at the company store.

ESKDALE, JULY 26 (B. S.):

One of the men with whom I talked today was formerly in the employ of the Appalachian Power Company at Cabin Creek. He was laid off at the age of 45 because he was too old to work. A friend of his who has been working for the company for 13 years was laid off about the same time for the

same reason. They formerly employed about 400 men, but now about 100—when working.

County relief has been terribly inadequate. Below is a typical order for a family of eight—given out Saturday to last an entire week.

11½ lb. very fat salty bacon  
½ lb. coffee  
½ lb. sugar  
½ lb. rice  
½ lb. powdered milk  
24½ lb. bag of flour given out every other week. A 5 lb. bag of cornmeal substituted on alternate weeks. No butter, eggs, potatoes, salt, fruit, nor soap.

"No matter how hard we try," said Mrs. Shanklin of Eskdale, "we just can't make it last through Tuesday."

And the order is given out on Saturday. The poor quality of foods, its insufficiency, the absence of vitamin food—all have led to the death of many, children as well as grown folk, from bloody flux and starvation. Almost every miner and member of his family suffers from some disease due to malnutrition.

Not only has relief been inadequate, but its distribution has been nothing short of criminal and malicious. Union miners' families very often find their order "skipped." Non union men and company stool pigeons receive more than union men. At a time when the orders had been cut at Dry Branch, a truck load of Red Cross flour was delivered at the company store. This was later sold to the workers—flour that should have been included in the relief orders. Distribution takes place at the store—and it is the company that determines who shall get the county dole. With brazen disregard for the unemployed miners, they dictate—only those who work, shall eat. That is, only those men who are willing to work for the company for nothing (what they do earn is checked off for back rent, fixed charges, etc.) can get the county relief. Up those "hollers" one starves whether one works or not. Neither company scrip nor a county dole can keep a miner's stomach half full nor is it enough to prevent his children from dying of bloody flux.

Will the coaldiggers stand for much more? 1921 saw an armed march by the miners. June, 1932, speaks of the "Hungry" march to Charleston—as a result of which the benevolent mayor gave the hundreds of miners \$10 (his from his very own pocket) to appease their hunger. Citizens of wealthy Charleston demanded that the mayor get rid of the "slimy coaldiggers" who threatened to contaminate the city with their "filth."

Conditions have not improved—they have become worse. The pulse of Labor warns of a coming "Armed Hungry" March.

ESKDALE, JULY 18 (B. S.):

Mr. Woods, an active union man, was in Charleston all day today, returning about 5 o'clock. He reported that some one told the authorities in Charleston that the men would not take work which had been offered them, and that the county relief was apt to be cut off. If so, then the only way to get food is to go and take it—so he said. "And I'm not going to say 'go and get it, boys,' I'm going to say 'Come on, fellows, let's go get it.'"



The picture is not complete without a word about conditions in the mines. Some of the miners who are willing to accept company terms, have been working one day a week. Although bituminous coal has been selling for \$8.75 and \$8.25 a ton, the men have been paid \$.17, \$.22 and \$.30 a ton for mining the coal. This does not cover time spent in doing "deadwork." The miners themselves have to chop down trees, cut and haul the logs to the mines to be used as safety supports. If a piece of slate or bonehead as large as a man's fist is found in among the rest of the mined coal, the miner is docked for a period of one to three days. Before he begins to work, he is in debt to the company. After working with additional charges for doctor, hospital, burial fund, lights and rent, he finds himself further in debt. Fear of eviction from their homes if they refused to work in the mines, is the reason why many of the men work yet starve.

The West Virginia mine workers have learned through bitter experience that the fight for better conditions cannot be won when the sheriff, the state police, the courts, in short, the government of West Virginia, is controlled by the parties of the coal operators for the protection of property rights as against human rights. The Independent Labor Party is the coal miner's party and will function this fall in Kanawha, Putnam, Boone, Raleigh and Fayette counties, the territory where the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union is established.

"The Labor Party is an attempt on the part of the workers of West Virginia to fight for the control of the machine of government which has so consistently been used against their interests in the past." (West Virginia Mine Workers' Bull.)

Why then—education for starving miners and their wives? I quote from the bulletin of the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union (No. 18, July 2, 1932). The paragraph is headed "Why Education."

"All the miners and their families who want to know why they got into the place where they have no food to eat, no power to protect them, and how they can get out of that place, should come to these education meetings. (L.I.D. and Pioneer Youth clubs). This isn't the time to sit on the railroad track, and to chew tobacco.

"Now is a time for thinking and a time for action. Brains rule the world today. You have brains too—don't let them rot in your head—use them to make you free. Come to the education meetings."

The eleven men and women connected with the Chautauqua were primarily concerned with making the miners and their wives aware of the problems which workers in the United States all have in common. Each afternoon classes were held in Ward, Hughes' Creek, Eskdale, and Wet and Dry Branch. Eighteen clubs were organized with an average attendance of fifteen. In these classes, the miners were encouraged to lead the discussions and through their own experiences try to understand the problems facing all workers in all trades. We supplied direction and tried to fill in the gaps where technical and wider knowledge was needed. Each Monday night was set aside as Town Night. At these meetings the average attendance was about 60. One or two of the members of the Chautauqua spoke on such problems as Unemployment or Imperialism and led a discussion around these problems. On each of the other nights the Chautauqua as a whole travelled to the towns and gave a program of singing, Chautauqua plays, local plays, and speeches by local and L.I.D. speakers. There were five Chautauqua night programs in each mining camp with an average attendance of 120. In all, the



Labor Chautauqua was able to reach over 1000 workers who are eager to know the "Why" of their condition and prepare themselves to change it.

It was laying a constructive foundation that irritated the coal operators and led to open opposition such as occurred at Gallagher. With the organization of every new club, the coal operators feared the added light that broke through the darkness of the miners' lives. In all towns where such clubs were started, a labor library was begun. To this, additional material will be added during the winter. Discussion outlines on subjects of workers' interest will be supplied to each club from September 1 through the succeeding months.

What has the Labor Chautauqua accomplished? An incident will perhaps answer this best.

The Women's Club of Eskdale composed of twenty members met three times a week. At this particular meeting, there was interested and enthusiastic discussion on the Socialist Party platform for 1932. The husband of one of the women approached and whispered something to his wife. Apparently, what he asked did not please her, for she said, "Now you men have been listenin' and learnin' about this for a long time. And you haven't done much about it. It's high time we women learned what it is all about and *did* somethin'. Now you go home, and 'tend to the beans."

She was heartily supported by the nineteen other women—and the meeting continued as it had begun with the discussion of the Socialist Party platform.

## POLITICS AND THE A. F. of L.

(Continued from page 4)

Tammany was able to "capture" every political labor movement in New York but the fact is that the "captives" were not only willing but eager to gain Tammany recognition, and not infrequently were organized with that in view.

The president of the American Federation of Labor, then, could not if he wished control the labor vote or secure the support of the national and local officers. He could, as did Gompers, camouflage his personal support of one of the major parties, especially the one in power, by clamorous insistence on the "non-partisan" policy. He might also get a friend, as did Gompers, to write a large, fuzzy book to prove that support of the Democrats was non-partisan. But he could not fool the Republicans and since 1920 the American Federation of Labor officials have had to scratch desperately for crumbs from the Republican table without ingratiating themselves with the Democrats.

NORMAN J. WARE



# A PICTURE OF

By CHARL

It is a problem in economics. But

## IMAGINE A PAIR OF SCALES

On this side, the making of all things:  
Here stand 11 million factory workers  
canning foods, making furniture,  
assembling cars;  
7 million farmers' growing wheat,  
corn, potatoes;  
2 million miners and quarriers digging  
coal, iron, stone;  
5 million railroad, building, ranch,  
power-plant, and all other workers.



Here stand all the producing forces of America

Now the great problem is this: **To make the scales balance.**

And if they don't balance?

Too much wheat on the producing side. Not enough bread on the consuming side. Too much cotton on the producing side. Not enough coats on the consuming side. And so on.

The matter of balancing the scales is a delicate one. A little disturbance anywhere will begin to upset it. Put in a harvesting machine, take a hundred farm laborers' jobs away. Run oil pipe lines across the continent, throw a hundred thousand miners out of work. Move the textile industry from New England to the South; close the doors of hundreds of stores in Fall River, Pawtucket and other Eastern mill towns. . . . Workers begin to lose their jobs; and workers' wives, their incomes.

Then the difficulty deepens.

When incomes are cut, buying is cut.

Things begin to pile up in factories on the producing side. The producers are laid off. But **the producers — alas are the consumers, too.** As men working in shops, they are producers. As heads of families in homes, they are consumers. Consumers without jobs cannot buy. The **bad** condition gets **worse.**



# THE PROBLEM

ROSS  
s make it a problem in people



re stand all the consuming forces of America

On this side, the consuming of all things:

Here stands the homes of our 28 million families. Into America's homes come the things made by America's industries on the other side of the scales—all the food to be eaten, all the clothes to be worn, all the furniture, all the cars, all the final products of America's factories, farms, mines, power plants, mills.

One upset leads to another.

Soon there is no semblance of balance at all.

The scales move violently. They dip suddenly.

There is another DEPRESSION.

There is too much to eat and wear on the production side. And, on the consumption side, there is suffering from lack of things to eat and wear.

So it is not enough that we are the cleverest nation on earth in the art of making things. We must be just as clever in the art of **regulating** the making of things.

We must learn, as the economists put it, to balance the scales of production and consumption

We must keep a steady eye and hand on the production side. We must not allow things to pile up on this side of the scales. We must distribute things better. We must regulate our present machinery and install new machinery so that what we make is what we need. No more. No less. Then producers will not be put out of jobs. And continuing to be producers, they will continue to be consumers. And the scales will continue to balance.

A problem in economics? A problem in human happiness, in the banishment of poverty, in the building of a new world, too!

REVOLT is indebted to the author and Simon and Schuster for permission to reprint this chapter from *A Picture of America*



# Students Meet Students in Soviet Russia

By MARY DUBLIN

**W**E WERE the first foreign students to come to visit them. The twenty-six of us must have been as interesting to them as they to us. We were Chinese, Hindoo, South American, English Canadian, South African and American, and they were a special committee of the Students of Heavy Industries in Moscow, welcoming us to their Residence Hall. The room seethed with excitement. Dozens of little children peered solemnly in at the windows at the vivid colors of the Hindoo turbans and shawls some of us wore and at our strange clothes. Men in shirt sleeves, women with bright kerchiefs about their heads, some with babies in their arms, crowded around us.

"Greetings Comrades!" The leader at the head of the table rose. "We the students of Heavy Industries in Moscow, welcome you. You have come to ask questions about our educational system, our methods, our way of life. We too, are eager to hear of yours. Any questions you may ask we will answer gladly. Welcome." As he finished speaking his words were translated to us by our student guide who was attached to our group for the duration of our visit.

They were the first students we had met. In no way did they resemble university or college groups we had known. They were considerably older. They seemed much more determined. They were very simply dressed. They lived in family groups together in their residential hall. Judging from externals they resembled a group of skilled workers in our own countries more than university students.

This was the gist of some of the more interesting things we learned that evening. One of Russia's greatest needs today is expert technicians and workers in the industrial field. Before the Revolution the major Russian industries were largely in the hands of foreign owners and were managed to a great extent by their own technicians. This meant that after the establishment of the new order and the retreat of foreign owners and their technicians to their own lands, thousands of trained Russian workers were vitally needed to meet the new industrial plan. It was natural then that the educational emphasis was laid on specialized, practical training which would send highly qualified people into every field; mining, metallurgy, textiles, chemistry, physics, aeronautics, forestry, agriculture and so on.

To meet the need a system of technical and trade schools was quickly established. Although there are beside these specialized institutions, factory apprentice schools, professional schools for training in medicine, education, the arts and the like, research institutes, colleges and universities, all preparing for every conceivable profession, we restricted the conversation that evening to the technical schools alone and more particularly to the life of the students we were visiting.

Emphatically we were told that all students are selected on no other basis but their proved ability in their chosen field. No discrimination is made between men and women. A worker may distinguish himself in a factory or mine and be selected by his trade union to come to the Institution for further training. He may be a student who has shown promise in a lower school and who on going for a trial period into his chosen field proved his ability. In other words all students before entrance have tested out their "trade" and have been themselves "tested."

To this Institute we were now in, had come workers from every corner of the Republic. The Residence had been built by the Commissariat of Heavy Industries as a dormitory. It was located in a new section of workers homes housing over 60,000 people all in fine new buildings of simple and geometric design. If the student were a man he might bring his wife and children, we learned; or if a woman—her husband. The number of rooms given to each depended on the size of the family, and each family had a separate apartment—no different from the usual apartment save that it lacked a kitchen.

Cooking for the group was done on a large scale—and all the families ate together in a community dining room.

We learned that in this particular student group about 35% were women, despite the fact that the work was of a more strenuous nature, from the purely physical point of view, than that undertaken by women in other countries.

Students paid no tuition but were given a salary to pay for their accommodation, food and other expenditures.

The year in the Institute is broken into three periods, we were told; a five months period for theory and research, a five months period in active industry where their recently acquired knowledge is put to work and a two months' vacation period in the summer. Throughout the entire four year course the emphasis is put entirely on practical work. The factory is the laboratory. No lectures are given under this system. Learning is acquired instead through the accomplishment of research projects undertaken by brigades of four or five students and which are set weekly or at similar intervals in consultation with professors. Even mathematics is taught by this brigade or group project method. But in everything the important thing is practical work. Theory too, is taught through practice. Even after graduation further practical work may be required in the field for a year or two before a certificate of higher study is given.

In this particular Institute, they told us, other subjects outside of their technical ones were not neglected: fifteen percent of a student's time being given to the social sciences, political economy, foreign languages, the study of historical and dialectical materialism, Marxism and Leninism.

Above all they wanted us to know that all students are convinced that a communist order is the only and best order for Russia and the rest of the world. They had come here only to learn those techniques which will help to make the destiny of the new order secure.

They described to us in great detail the nurseries attached to the residence where their children were being cared for by trained teachers until they were old enough to go to an outside school. They spoke of the religious life or lack of it among the students, of their cultural activities, athletics and entertainment. But space will not permit repetition of this here.

And we in turn described the striking differences between our own universities and theirs, and our methods of study. They knew and were interested in curious sociological facts about our colleges. They believed military training played a very large part in our educational institutions. They had heard that negroes were excluded from American colleges, and that in the English speaking world quotas were established for various racial and geographical groups within the univer-



sities. They were especially eager to learn of the limitations, if any, placed on the expression of Socialist and Communist student opinion in our various universities.

In one evening, indeed, in many evenings, one could not hope to get a truly adequate picture of anything so vast and complicated as the Russian educational system. But in this

evening and in subsequent similar ones spent in different student groups—we carried away the feeling that if throughout the country there are other groups as hopeful, as enthusiastic for the new order, as eager to throw their whole energies into the building of the new state as these—the Russian experiment cannot fail.

## Undergraduates Fight for Editorial Freedom

*Greetings to the City College Student, a rebel paper that appeared on the campus of the New York college, after alumni attempted to regulate editorial policy of the established paper, The Campus. The following is a report by a former editor of The Campus of the fight for editorial freedom waged by Campus editors since 1926.—EDITOR*

**A**FTER twenty-five years of tortuous development against authoritarianism of one sort or another, *The Campus*, undergraduate newspaper at the City College, looks ready to be "put to bed," in the journalistic jargon, for the last time. It looks finished, that is, as a critical college journal, and the last rites were administered last week when twenty-four members of the staff resigned in protest against alumni imposition in the choice of the student editor. The resignation caps a quarter of century of wrangling—intensified in the past six or seven years—between successive student editorial boards and both the administration and the alumni controlling board, punctuated by censorship, suppressions, and the oppressive use of legal powers.

Incidents of the past seven years on *The Campus* point to one or two conclusions: (1) That *Campus* editors and writers are designed, by an inexorable finger of fate, to be persistent trouble makers, who perfunctorily enroll in courses so as to have the legal liberty to annoy administrative and alumni officials, or (2) that members of the C.C.N.Y. administration and the Campus Association (the alumni controlling board), are, like most people in authority, finicky and fearful of having their dignity ruffled, wary at vague intimations of radical thought, and quick to use their powers to discourage and stamp out such fearful heresies, either for lofty moral principles or for financial reasons. The writer inclines to the latter thesis, and points to the following short historical survey as proof for his belief.

In 1926 Felix S. Cohen, waging what proved to be a successful fight against Compulsory Military Science, was forbidden by the administration to print any news about the delicate subject of Military Science—delicate, it should be added, not in its teaching of civilized murder, but delicate only when discussed by young editors studying in colleges devoted to the search for wisdom and knowledge for the benefit of mankind. Here, then, was downright censorship. The following year Harry Heller, editor of *The Campus*, was relieved of his position by the Association because of an editorial entitled "Oracular Mysticism" in which he intimated that omniscience was denied even to faculty members, and that it might be profitable to have student reporters present at faculty meetings. In the next three years, two writers of the paper's humor column, "Gargoyles," were suspended from school by pure-minded administrative officials for the tone of effusions in which the words "harlot" and "contraceptive" were used. In 1931 the editor of *The Campus* was suspended by the Association, to put it briefly, because he criticized the Dean of the Business School. And last year the *Campus* editor escaped with only a few censures, but the paper itself was subject to

an attack along financial lines, as the Administration not only removed lucrative financial privileges from the paper, but also went into business itself. It issued a paper of its own—*The Faculty Bulletin*—which is distributed free of charge to the student body. President Robinson called this paper the only official source of news in the College and dismissed all the other periodicals by saying that they were of small circulation.

This year the Association decided that the financial fortunes of *The Campus* could be rehabilitated if the editorial policy were softened; the two staff nominees were rejected because the Association was looking for somebody, as they expressed it, "to play ball" with the Administration. The Association chose as Acting Editor-in-Chief (also as Business Manager) a student who had officially been on the business board of the staff for some seven weeks, who confessed that he knew nothing of editorial work and who did not want the position. When the staff overwhelmingly rejected him, the Board of Directors denied the right of the staff to review the appointment; twenty-four (the number was later swelled to thirty-two) staff members thereupon resigned, feeling that no paper at all was preferable to one which tempered its editorial policy to suit financial exigencies and over which they had not the final control.

These students are planning to issue a paper of their own, and whether or not they succeed now, it is hardly to be thought of that the group of independent-minded undergraduates at City College will long tolerate a controlled non-student newspaper.

MEYER LIBEN

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### REVOLT

Death of workers be a cyclone  
Engulfing little winds of indecision.  
Impassioned sweep this land of opulence  
Smearing your prophecies of naked war  
On lofty lintels of aristocrats  
For all their flags and genealogies;  
On iron lintels of grim-faced police  
For all their gatlings and parade of hate;  
On ivied lintels of fat scholiasts  
For all their *propters* and *nonsequiturs*.  
Now will this doubt, this sulky queasiness  
Be gathered to the dignity of rage.

JOSEPH P. LASH



# Class War in Germany

By J. B. MATTHEWS

THE GERMAN political situation is highly explosive in character—productive of a greater sense of uneasiness than living on the slopes of Vesuvius. For this reason it is impossible to predict very far in advance the political developments of the Reich. It is, however, possible to understand the continuing forces which have brought the Republic to its greatest crisis. These are, roughly speaking, the *right* and the *left* groups of the economic struggle.

More important than the election returns of July 31st is the bitter and violent class war which has brought an end to the epoch of parliamentarianism. So uncertain has the functioning of the constitutional system been during the past year, that the Republic may be said to have ended with Bruening's first appeal to article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, which suspends regular parliamentary procedure and vests the power of government by decree in the president of the Reich.

In their most significant aspect, the elections were only indicative of the trends of the basic struggle. They were far from decisive in pointing the future course of that struggle—a conflict which has reached a stage too acute for estimating it on the basis of the meeting of parties in the Reichstag. The comfort found by the press of France and the United States in the opinion that Hitlerism had at last reached its peak was groundless. Political journalists proved statistically in September, 1930, that Hitlerism had reached its maximum voting strength. Equally groundless was the jubilation of the Moscow press over the 700,000 increase of communist votes. The reality, nature and consequences of the class struggle do not bear too close a relation to election returns. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find the Marxists of Moscow hailing an indecisive parliamentary gain as a socialist triumph.

I am one of those who once rhapsodized over the German Youth Movement. On one point now all observers seem to be in agreement, and that is the fact that youth has aligned itself with the fascists under the leadership of Hitler. The class of 1932, young men and women who were two years old when the war broke out, has given its overwhelming support to the party of the swastika. Students in particular have been active in the growth of Hitlerism. Some estimates place their allegiance to the expatriated Austrian as high as ninety per cent of the total student group of the universities, with twenty-five per cent of them enrolled in his Storm Troops. The injustices and inequalities of the post-war settlements have made a deep emotional impression on Germany's youth. This is not surprising. In recent years I have thrown out in as casual a manner as possible the question, "Will there be another war?" and have received the instant response from many of my friends in the German Jugendherbergen, "Ja, und ich gehe erst." No one of course will deny that many students are to be found in the ranks of working class movements.

The support which Hitler has attracted to his movement from the youth of Germany is probably more of a psychological phenomenon than an economic one. The economic causes of Hitlerism are, however, the more important ones. His is the party of the industrialists, the landlords, and the middle class. Smaller parties that served as the political homes of these elements have more and more been swallowed up by his militant movement. There is also a surprising number of misguided working class people supporting Hitler.

It has taken no inconsiderable financial support to carry on the work of the Nazis. This has been the gift of big industrialists and financiers, though many of this class in Germany look with thinly veiled contempt upon the Nazi leader's demagoguery. They are, nevertheless, desperately determined to prevent further encroachments upon their capitalistic prerogatives, and like their kind in other lands have turned to fascism as the political saviour of capitalism. On Germany's political midnight they have looked into the heavens and seen the swastika and exclaimed: *In hoc signo vinces!*

The conservative landlords as well as the individualistic farmers, especially in great agricultural sections like East Prussia, have given their support to Hitler. In the absence of any other militant defender of the *status quo*, this has been natural; and oddly enough such economic groups in all parts of the world have often placed more importance upon maintaining the economic, moral and social *status quo* than upon the price of agricultural products.

The mass support of fascism has come from the great middle class of Germany, once the most advanced middle class of the world. The economic crisis has swept this group into the great non-owning class, but its economic ideas have not been liquidated along with its small property holdings. It too clings desperately to the ideology of the capitalist system under which it held an uncertain tenure of privilege.

The program of fascism, which may be had in printed form for fifty pfennigs on almost any newsstand in Germany, is in keeping with the ideas of the audience to which it addresses itself. Lest the word "socialist" in its official title be taken too seriously, it hastens to assure the anxious that "National Socialism recognizes private property as fundamental and places it under state protection." It further guarantees that it would not tamper with the rights of succession and inheritance of property. Landed estates it would leave intact, as it would all private ownership of the land, except where Jews and Jewish banks have robbed the farmer of his home. An agricultural protective tariff would be in keeping with its principle of protection for labor, whether in factory or on farm. A more complete old-age insurance system is about the liveliest hope it holds out to the middle class. "Germany is the homeland of the Germans," it announces euphemistically, which means that if Jews are to be suffered to live at all in the fascist state they must be content with the status of "guests" of the Germans. The unjust treaties it would abolish instantly on the assumption of power. The August number of the Nazi Monthly is devoted to a discussion of "France and the Negro," and "The Shame of French Civilization in Its Prisons." The title for the latter article indicates clearly enough the nature of its contents. The point of the former is that French Colonial Africa is maintained as a sort of cannon fodder factory. In the next war, France will hurl millions of black troops against Germany, and the truth of this "bestiality" is established out of the mouth of a French General. Marxism and Parliamentarianism are twin pests which must be driven from German soil. Finally, the worker who does not find anything in this program which stirs him profoundly, is offered "Freiheit und Brot."

With the marked tendency of political and economic lines to coincide with religious ones, Hitlerism has become the



Protestant political and economic faith of Germany. The official program of the party contains religious poetry in good Ku Klux style. Thus a chapter ends with these sentiments:

"Father in Heaven,  
I believe in Thy almightiness, righteousness and love.  
I believe in my beloved German people and the Fatherland.  
I believe that our people will rend and destroy irreligion and treason.  
I believe, nevertheless, that the longing and the power for freedom dwell in the best.  
I believe that freedom will come through the love of the Father in heaven, when we believe in our own power."

Dr. Hugenberg's Nationalists, which in 1924 polled 6,600,000 votes and constituted the second party of the Republic, have now been relegated by the voters to fifth place. His gradually vanishing support has gone to Hitler, though in 1928 large defections from his ranks apparently went into the column of the Social Democrats—a year in which both Hugenberg and Hitler lost seats.

Few aspects of recent German political history point so clear a story as the fate of the once powerful *Deutsche Volkspartei*, of which Gustav Stresemann was so long the distinguished leader. Back in 1920 it possessed a voting strength of almost four million; now it has been practically wiped out. Here is the moral: it was, economically speaking, the party of middle class liberals; and there is no room for such a grouping when the lines of the class struggle are sharply drawn. True enough, it did outlive its economic significance for several years through the political prestige of Stresemann and the somewhat reckless pouring of foreign credit into the German economic structure under his regime of Locarno and rapprochement. The Germany of Locarno, rapprochement, and fabulous foreign credits died with Stresemann. The Germany of accentuated class war was born with the world crisis. It is safe to say that only a very small proportion of the old voters of the *Deutsche Volkspartei* have gone over to the parties of the left. The rest have gone where middle class liberals are wont to go, into the arms of fascism until bitter disillusionment does for them what intellectual processes failed to do.

The substantial nucleus of the *Zentrum*, though by no means the entire voting strength of the party, is Roman Catholic. It has had evangelical representatives in the Reichstag, and in 1930 had Jewish candidates on its list in Berlin. It has always tended, however, to oppose the Bismarkian order of Prussia which has been Lutheran in complexion. It was on this ground a logical member of the Weimar Coalition to uphold the Republic, even though that coalition included the Social Democrats. In its economic philosophy the *Zentrum* represents an attenuated capitalism, having some proletarian sympathies and curbing some of the rapacity of a system of private property in its more rigid adherence to the ethics of Christianity than is the wont of Protestant disciples of *laissez faire*. A coalition with Social Democrats to preserve the Republic is one thing, however; and a coalition with any party of the left when Capitalism is at stake is an entirely different matter. Bitter as the pill may be in the latter situation, economic interests will bring either the tacit or active support of the Centrists to the parties of the right.

In the Reichstags of 1930 and 1932 the Social Democrats and the Communists have had a combined strength representing some thirteen million voters. In 1932 the Social Democratic loss was a little more than matched by the Com-

munist gain of 687,000 votes. Probably this communist gain represents the precise number of Social Democratic voters of previous years who protest against what they consider undue effort to preserve the Republic, when such effort means a coalition with the Centrists and support of the aged military hero, Von Hindenburg. It is expected that the Social Democrats, now relieved of their anomalous position in the Weimar Coalition, will turn a more undivided attention to socialism. Along with the Communists, they are equally the recipients of Hitler's diatribes against Marxism. One of the campaign slogans of the Nazis, directed against the Social Democrats no less than the Communists, declared: "Der Marxismus muss sterben, damit Deutschland leben kann." While the leaders of the left parties remain as far apart as ever, it is reported that in smaller communities the rank and file of their memberships are presenting a united front against the fascists.

In the elections of 1928 there were seven parties which polled more than a million votes each, only one of them, the Social Democratic, exceeding five million. In 1930 there were nine such major parties with votes of a million, two of them passing the five million mark, the Social Democrats, and the Nazis. This year there were only five major groupings, and four of them topped the five million figure, the Social Democrats, the Communists, the Nazis and the Centrists. This is exactly what a sharpening of the class struggle would

(Continued on page 23)

#### THAT BEAUTIFUL DETACHMENT



Art Young in "America For All"

"I doubt whether the student can do a greater work for his nation in this grave moment of its history than to detach himself from its preoccupations, refusing to let himself be absorbed by distractions about which, as a scholar, he can do almost nothing. For this is not the last crisis in human affairs. The world will go on somehow. . ."

—From Walter Lippman's Lecture  
to College Students



## The Middle Western Farmers on Strike

By NATHANIEL WEYL

WHEN I ARRIVED in Sioux City, Iowa, the Milk Strike had just started. Farmers in northwestern Iowa were refusing to ship milk into town until the dairies gave them a 117% advance in price. The strike was directed primarily against the Roberts' Dairy which uses its virtual monopoly position to sell milk to consumers at eight times what it pays farmers.

Within a few days of the strike, cordons were cast over all highways leading into Sioux City, and farmers armed with pitchforks and clubs were effectively stopping and overturning incoming milk trucks. A fleet of trucks comes through Dakota the day I am there. It is guarded by motorcycle police, but the minute it crosses the river and enters Sioux City, the farmers attack, and the trucks are overturned. The one leak is the railroad; and there are pitched battles between farmers and scabs at the yards every time a shipload of milk comes in.

Within three days a ninety per cent tie up in milk! The farmers have organized free distribution centers. You come and get your milk, and give what you can to the strike. The farmer would just as lief give milk away as get a dollar a hundred weight from Robert's Dairy. The result is that consumers and producers stand together in this strike, and public sentiment is with the farmers.

As I write, the Milk Strike has spread to Omaha and Des Moines. It has become mixed up with the Farmers' Holiday Movement, an agreement on the part of associations of farmers in four or five states to withhold all their produce until they receive a price equalling "cost of production." The situation has become serious enough for state governors to take sides. Olsen of Minnesota offers to declare martial law for the farmers if necessary; other governors talk about preserving law and order, for the dairies, of course.

The significance of the farmers' strike is enormous. It indicates that the farmer is losing his individualism. He is realizing that the depression has thrown him into the same ranks as the wage earners, and he is therefore adopting their strategy. This is the first example of an important agrarian strike in America. In spite of the newness of the tactic, it has succeeded in throwing three states into turmoil, in blockading three important cities, and in leading to half a dozen pitched battles.

This action on the part of the Iowa farmers is practically unprecedented. It is not, however, a sudden decision, for the farmer is slow to make up his mind, and equally slow to change it. It is the result of the steady pressure of twelve years of deflation, of mounting debt, and falling prices, which have driven the farmers into a position of abject poverty. Unless these economic conditions tend to change drastically in his favor, one can expect that the farmer will continue to travel along the leftward road.

Admitted that the collapse of the Farmers' Holiday is inevitable, will its collapse lead the farmer to despair over the effectiveness of collective action, or will it show him that his demands can only be realized completely with the overthrow of the capitalist system? I feel it will drive him slowly into greater and more decisive mass actions: perhaps political as well as economic.

But the class solidarity is not yet complete. Sioux City has been able to deputize large sections of the unemployed

against the farmers. The Khaki Shirts, a fascist organization, has considered the movement sufficiently respectable for it to offer the farmers its assistance. These things are to be expected, because the agrarian movement is just beginning.

With thousands of farmers picketing the highways, with armed men blockading the cities of several states, how stable are our democratic institutions? A government where such mass movements, as the bonus army, the march of the Illinois miners, and the farmers' strikes, are possible, has clearly lost much of its stability. If these mass economic movements multiply, the slogan of "peaceful revolution" may become a meaningless phrase.

## From the Thomas-for-President Clubs

TWO DISTRICT conferences have already been held. The interest shown, the quiet enthusiasm of the participants were inspiring to leaders of the Socialist Party who spoke at them even in this, the most encouraging campaign of years. Norman Thomas spoke on the place of the student in the labor movement at both conferences, at the one in the Midwest of District VIII (with delegates present from Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota), and at District II (with delegates present from all colleges in New York State).

Fifty-four Thomas-for-President clubs were organized before Labor Day. Three hundred chapters and a membership of at least 9,000 was originally the aim of the National Committee. With fingers crossed active students hope that even this figure will be exceeded. (As we go to press this may be confirmed at the national convention of these campus clubs being held in Chicago. In our November issue we will take up the value and remains of this novel student organization.)

Thomas-for-President clubs are primarily, but not exclusively, for students. They are also for all faculty members and townspeople who see the folly of a vote for Hoover or Roosevelt and are anxious to promote the candidacy of Norman Thomas.

The functions of the clubs are many. They will hold mass meetings and rallies for Socialist speakers and broadcasts, they will distribute literature and get petitions signed, they will aid in publicizing election dates, promoting the use of absentee voters' ballots, holding street corner meetings, talking to everyone, and everywhere advertising the candidacy of Norman Thomas.

## BLUEPRINTS

(Continued from page 2)

of painting, music, photography, drawing, and writing to the aid of the Socialist movement. Such groups should get in touch with Rebel Arts, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

13.

## REVOLT

Send in stories of what is happening on your campus, articles of general interest to radical students, drawings, stories, poetry, photographs. This is your magazine as producer as well as consumer.

14.

## EXECUTION OF POLICY

The executive committee of the Intercollegiate Student Council is composed of the National Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and twenty-three district chairmen. Inasmuch as the district chairmen are widely scattered, matters in which quick decisions are needed are under the direction of a steering committee, consisting of those members of the executive committee available for national office conferences and other designated by the national chairman. L.I.D. executives are ex officio members of the steering committee. Decisions reached by the steering or executive committees are recommended to local groups for execution. There is a flying squadron of students from various campuses to help a student group in any crucial fight carried on in line with the above blueprints.



## The Fight Against Fees

*Various colleges run by cities finding their budgets cut down by city officials have attempted to make up by charging their students tuition fees. The following are accounts where the attempts largely failed because of the protest organized by the students themselves.*—EDITOR.

### IN NEW YORK CITY

**E**ARLY IN APRIL Stewart Browne, lobbyist for N. Y. realtors, asking the abolition of free higher education, wrote in the C.C.N.Y. *Campus*, the student newspaper, "Why Do You Think There is a Shortage of Housemaids Even in These Times of Depression? Because All Your Hunter College Girls Are Too Fine To Do Housework."

The Student Forum of C.C.N.Y. immediately instructed your writer to answer Mr. Browne by suggesting that he offer his wife and daughter as an aid to distressed servant-seekers.

The Young People's Socialist League simultaneously issued a leaflet in all three municipal colleges, C.C.N.Y., Brooklyn College, and Hunter College, calling attention to Mark Eisner's statement:

"The financial condition of our city makes it doubtful that it can continue to offer free higher education." It called upon students in the various city colleges to act through the different channels of student protest, provided in each college.

The following day, the Social Problems Club of C.C.N.Y. called an open meeting at which fees already existent in the various sciences and technology departments were considered.

A floor committee was selected among whose members were some affiliated with the L.I.D., other with the National Student League, and a great many unaffiliated.

Similar action was taken at Brooklyn and Hunter.

Meanwhile the newspapers published the \$1,500,000 economy plan of the Board of Higher Education. On the same day that the Student Forum of C.C.N.Y. called a protest meeting President Robinson addressing C.C.N.Y. students in chapel assured them that they were not affected by the revised fee charges. Not to be outdone Presidents Kiernan and Boylan of Hunter and Brooklyn respectively did likewise.

Thus \$1,500,000 was being saved and nobody was paying for it.

Quite a furor was created by a tentative proposal to the Board of Higher Education that \$5.00 per credit be charged to all students having over 128 credits.

This suggestion being vigorously attacked by the student body and student papers turned out to be a misinterpretation by the Registrar.

Nothing of importance has occurred since except for a rather pompous and belated discovery by the N. S. L. that it is the sole leader of the anti-fee movement and the usual attack upon the L.I.D., in accordance with the general communist policy of "rule or ruin."

WILLIAM GOMBERG

### IN CHICAGO

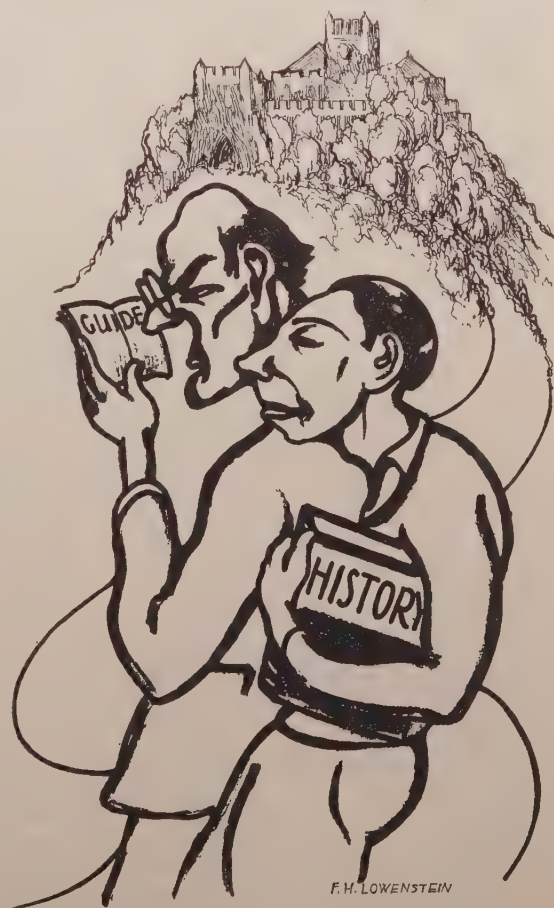
Although the advocates of lower taxes maintained that the reduced budget would not impair any educational function, the Superintendent of Schools claimed that he was forced by the shortage of funds to propose a one hundred dollar a

year tuition at Crane Junior College and the Chicago Normal School. The Board of Education intended to pass this bill during the summer months when neither of these two institutions were in session.

The Crane Junior College No-Tuitions Committee, a student organization, fought the proposed tuition charge. They enlisted the support of various prominent Chicago citizens, civic organizations, labor unions, and churches. Petitions were circulated. The students and parents bombarded the newspapers and the Trustees of the Board of Education with letters. The question of tuition fees at two public schools, that had been entirely free since their inauguration over twenty years ago, became an important local issue. The newspapers ran notices daily of the No-Tuitions Committee's active campaign. In short, it brought so much public pressure to bear that the Trustees unanimously voted against the tuition fee.

HYMAN MILGROM

### THE ADVENTURES OF CANDIDE, JR.



F.H. LOWENSTEIN

I

Shadows deepen on the peaceful groves and ivied towers of the University of Smorgasbord as our young graduate, Candide, Jr., and venerable old Professor Pangloss, set out again to discover for themselves why this is the best of all possible worlds. We shall see them often in their travels, in cities and industrial centers, confirming by their own experiences the profound truths found in college textbooks, namely that everyone should be contented with things as he finds them and that those who complain are lacking in respect for the Flag and the ideals of our ancestors



# Politics and Economics

By FELIX S. COHEN

*Abridged through the courtesy of the Falcon Press, from an essay in the recently published symposium, "Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program." It is reprinted here because the editors believe that so acute an analysis should be made accessible to as many students as possible.*

THE CRUCIAL ISSUE of industrial civilization today is not between laissez faire individualism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. History is deciding that question. The question for us is what sort of collectivism we want. We can not afford to forget that fascism and feudalism are forms of collectivism, just as truly as is socialism. Modern technology makes collectivism inevitable. But whether our collectivism is to be fascist, feudal, or socialist will depend not upon the inevitable march of economic technology, but upon our political ideals and upon the effectiveness with which we translate those political ideals into action.

Seen in this light, the socialist commonwealth is not the inevitable outcome of an evolutionary technological process, and a socialist is not a person who gets on to a divine bandwagon before the messianic password has become known to the general public. The socialist commonwealth is, given modern technology, a real possibility. It is a possibility that will become actualized only if the socialist can show the world more attractive blueprints and more persuasive prospectuses than can his rivals.

The crucial task of drawing these blueprints and prospectuses, of planning the structure of a socialist commonwealth, of defining that structure so clearly that none who seek to attain the socialist commonwealth will ever be misled into support of fascism, is a task worthy of the distinguished names of my fellow-contributors. I can offer towards its accomplishment at most the dissolution of one intellectual obstruction against which a good deal of honest effort and courageous thought has broken. That obstruction is the false dichotomy between "government" and "business" which leads some of us to forget that government is a sort of business and that business is a form of government.

This unholy separation between politics and economics seems to me to be at the root of many sad chapters in the history of the American labor movement. One of the clearest examples of such failure has been the attempt of organized labor to achieve economic objectives without bothering about political technique.

The assumption that economic power and political power are different things can be illustrated in a statement of Samuel Gompers, who as president of the A. F. of L. declared, in 1902:

"I now address myself to this question of the ballot-box. What is to be remedied—the economic or the social or political life? If it is the economic life that is to be remedied, then it should be done through the economic life and through no other medium."

Recently Matthew Woll, in an open letter to Mr. Gerard, the president of the National Civic Federation, gave expression to this same view of a fundamental cleavage between politics and economic life:

"It has been and is the conviction of organized labor in America," he wrote, "that political government, valuable

above price in its field, lacks the competency to govern industry."

The assumption that organized labor can pursue its economic struggles without reference to politics has led American labor on a long wild goose chase. The economic weapons of strike and boycott are met not only by the economic weapons of lock-out and blacklist, but as well by the political weapons of injunction, damage suit, and company police or state militia. Because these political techniques have been thought of as something apart from the economic struggle, the response of organized labor to them has been half-hearted and anemic.

When the United States courts in the Danbury Hatters Case (Loewe v. Lawlor, 208 U. S. 274 [1908]) and the Buck Stove Case (A. F. of L. v. Buck's Stove & R. Co., 32 L. R. A. (n. s.) 748 [1909]) practically outlawed the weapon of the boycott, and decided that labor had no right of free speech in appealing to the public for aid in the struggle against capitalists, American labor meekly accepted this abrogation of its traditional constitutional rights and practically abandoned its most effective lever for swinging popular pressure to its side in labor disputes. The A. F. of L. discontinued its Unfair List, nation-wide boycotts have ceased, and even the Union Label has become an instrument of small and declining importance.

So complete and abject was the surrender of labor on this front that even a comparatively liberal court like the New York Court of Appeals could issue two sweeping anti-boycott decisions within the last six years (Wilner v. Bless, 243 N. Y. 544 [1926]; Nann v. Raimist, 225 N. Y. 307 [1931]—one by Judge Cardozo a year or so before his appointment to the United States Supreme Court. These decisions flatly over-ruled the case which established the legality of the boycott in New York State back in 1902, and didn't even mention the old case (National Protective Ass'n v. Cumming, 170 N. Y. 315) in the written opinions—all this without a murmur of objection from the forces of organized labor in this state.

The same political ignorance and ineptitude which led to labor's downfall on the boycott question has made its campaign against the injunction an empty farce. After twenty years of campaigning, organized labor secured an anti-injunction law, the Clayton Act, which was hailed officially at the 1914 A. F. of L. convention as "the most fundamental, the most comprehensive, enunciation of freedom found in any legislative act in the history of the world." Any one who takes the trouble to read through the pussy-footing language of the Clayton Act will realize that such optimism could spring only from the lowest depths of political ignorance and inexperience. Organized labor has tackled the problem of the injunction superficially.

In fact, the problem of the injunction is a superficial problem, because the injunction is only one method of administering labor law, and other methods, such as damage suits and criminal prosecutions, may be just as effective in smashing strikes and organization work if injunctions are abolished and the present substantive labor law is left unchanged. The general problem of labor law has never been tackled by the A. F. of L. or any other labor organization. Instead there have been petty settlements of particular legal conflicts, often



by means of methods which have alienated public opinion, and have not brought to labor any permanent gains in its political-legal struggles.

Contrast with this record the record of the League for Industrial Rights, which has for thirty years applied military strategy to its legal offensive against labor, which has known when to leave its defeats in the unremembered records of lower courts and when to prosecute victories which set new anti-labor precedents in the highest courts, which has dictated the most important anti-labor injunctions issued by American courts, which today maintains an up-to-date record of all the labor cases in the country and sends out to its subscribers form briefs for any kind of action against labor, briefs which only have to be filled in with a few local citations and the names of the parties, and you see how much more seriously capital takes its political problems than does organized labor.

You cannot dismiss this record by saying that the courts are predisposed to favor capital. That is true, but the extent to which they will do so depends upon the comparative efficiency with which both sides prosecute the legal struggle. Obviously capitalists would not maintain the League for Industrial Rights if they could obtain favorable decisions in any case merely on the basis of class prejudice.

The point I want to make is simply this: You cannot fight on the economic front and stay neutral on the legal or political front. Politics and economics are not two different things, and the failures of the labor movement in this country largely arise from the assumption that they are. Capitalism is as much a legal system as it is an economic system, and the attack on capitalism must be framed in legal or political terms as well as in economic terms.

I do not mean to suggest that this attempt to separate economics and politics is an error peculiar to organized labor. The error is just as vicious when it leads Marxists to put a damper on all thought of political reform with the religious assurance that the state will wither away when the revolution comes. And the same error which leads some of us to dismiss political reform as a trivial affair leads others of us to look for social salvation entirely in a sort of political reform that has no economic roots. Politics is trivial without an economic basis, and economics is futile when it is politically dumb. Political democracy as conceived by liberals like Arthur Garfield Hays and Harry Elmer Barnes is necessarily superficial because of the failure to recognize that a board of corporate directors is as much an organ of government as a state legislature or a board of aldermen, and that thoroughgoing democracy and liberty are incompatible with autocratic control of the nation's economic life by individuals who are selected by birth and fortune rather than by the will of those producers and consumers whom they rule.

A long academic tradition has given intellectual respectability to the widespread and persistent habit of forgetting politics when we talk economics and forgetting economics when we talk politics.

The error comes to us from two powerful currents of nineteenth century thought. One of these is *laissez faire* economics. The other is political absolutism. *Laissez faire* economics, as developed by Smith, Ricardo, Senior, the two Mills, Say, Bastiat, and J. B. Clark, restricted itself to a rather abstract analysis of the nature of cost, price, value, rent, profit, etc. under a regime of private property and free competition. The classical economists assumed without question or analysis the rules of contract law and property law which produced the

results they schematized. Such rules of law seemed to be of the eternal nature of things, and if new laws tried to upset the classical theories, so much the worse for the new laws.

The result of this provincialism in economic theory was to blind economic thought to the legal foundations of capitalism and so to mislead radicals into the futility of platforms for economic reform which accept the legal structure of capitalism. It is only recently, in this country at least, that economists have begun to be aware of their legal presuppositions, to think of what J. M. Clark has called non-euclidean economics, to talk, somewhat hesitantly, of the legal foundations of capitalism, and to prophesy the economic behavior of a society in which those foundations are removed. It is important to remember that the legal foundations of capitalism will not be removed, except by a divine miracle, until we know exactly what they are. And in this task of discovery Commons, Beard, Boudin, Hamilton, Llewellyn, Hale, and Brooks Adams have made only enough advance to give the rest of us hope and perhaps leads for our own work.

The second ground for the sterile separation of economics and politics has been the tradition of political absolutism. Throughout the nineteenth century, political theorists thought of the state as an organization absolutely unique, and having nothing in common with such other organizations as trade unions, cooperatives, churches, and professional associations. The state was supposed to be uniquely characterized by the exercise of force, and outside the realm of governmental dealing of man with man was supposed to be voluntary and contractual.

This, I think, has been a very serious mistake. The state is not pure coercion. The much-ridiculed theory of the Social Contract has a great measure of truth in it. Not only have some states actually begun with social contracts signed on the dotted line in the presence of witnesses, for instance the Mayflower Compact and the United States Constitution, but, what is more important, government is arising today, in many fields where government has not existed, by a continued process of bargaining, log-rolling if you will, which is neatly exemplified in the shopping tour which a modern corporation conducts when it looks for a sovereign and a charter. And if government, realistically analyzed, reveals a good deal of bargaining, of voluntary choice and compromise, among groups of the governed, no less does the activity of labor unions and corporations and other economic institutions reveal a good deal of coercion. My freedom to bargain with a large public utility is no greater than my freedom to bargain with the city of New York. If I don't like its commands I can move away. That much free choice is offered even by national governments as a rule. The distinction, then, between politics as a function of force and economics as a function of free choice breaks down at every point.

The fallacy in the traditional separation between economics and politics can be seen most clearly in a realistic analysis of the nature of property.

To most laymen and to most courts, property seems to be a somewhat mysterious relationship between a person and a physical object, primarily a relationship of use or enjoyment, which exists apart from law and is only protected by law. But this naive and materialistic view of property is utterly inadequate in an economic order where most wealth consists of intangibles,—mortgages, corporate securities, patent rights, franchises, trade names and good will. If we are to be realistic,

(Continued on page 22)



## Books

1919, by John Dos Passos. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932.

DOS PASSOS is a craftsman with a high conception of the function of the artist. He is also a radical. These two facts make him of interest to kinsprits, namely to others who are in revolt and who appreciate a consummate artistry. Since so much has already been written about 1919 we shall confine ourselves to a few notes indicating the development of Dos Passos as a revolutionist and as an artist.

1. Note the prominence given in 1919 to premonitions of the revolution and to revolutionists. To some of us it may seem plausible to have so much of the book devoted to a radical agitator and to talk of the revolution; but to a conservative it must seem as if these factors were overplayed, as if the author had wrenched events and people out of their proper perspective. This is one aspect of what one means by the importance of social change in literature.

2. The story is told so that class allegiances emerge very distinctly. Each character has his level. They converge at the rarest intervals—either when the characters are drunk or caught by lust.

3. This is a historical novel of a new sort. On the one hand Dos Passos creates or imagines characters who work themselves out in the events of the year 1919. The characterizations here are minute and are fictions. On the other hand selected historical figures of the era, such as Woodrow Wilson, John Reed, Paxton Hibben, are not distorted into particularized analyses but display themselves in a form of biographical interlude which contains judgments on the lives depicted and is packed with feeling. The dignity of being a historical personage is retained, meanwhile emotions are concentrated on the revealing flashbacks Dos Passos has selected.

The device of the Newsreel, also original with Dos Passos, is neither useless nor valuable. It contributes somewhat to the portrayal of an era; but it is difficult to become interested in dead newspaper headlines and defunct copy.

4. The Camera Eye is a lyrical interlude whose exact function in this novel it is difficult to understand. Perhaps its effect is supposed to be like that of music after a day of dull harassing worries. Dos Passos has no exalted view of human nature—no character has a moment of faith, tenderness or peace in all the 400 pages—and he doesn't sugarcoat his bitterness. So that the lyrical passages of the Camera Eye come as a relief.

J. P. L.

SOCIALIST PLANNING AND A SOCIALIST PROGRAM. Edited by Harry W. Laidler for the League for Industrial Democracy. Falcon Press, 1451 Broadway, New York. 1932.

IT IS an old story in the labor and socialist movement of how overnight in some particular locality the movement found itself in power with no blueprint for carrying on the daily governmental tasks along socialist lines. This book is the first to repair this gap. Part of it is devoted to "five-year plans" put forth by capitalists; part of it to strategies of minority groups wishing to get power; but the most important part is framed to answer the question: "Suppose Norman Thomas is elected this November, how do you Socialists propose specifically to change the character of industry and government? What mechanisms in the old order of industry will you retain? What changes will you make in the Constitution? etc." Even in the heat of a campaign the answer to such problems is important and not merely academic; but after it we hope to see

the lines laid down in this book completely and detailedly developed. *Socialist Planning* is valuable for what it contains; but valuable too for indicating the lines of research that must be pursued in the next few years by the thoughtful people in the radical movements.

(This book has been sent for review to Professor Harold Laski. The review will appear in our November issue.)

## POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

(Continued from page 21)

we must think of property not as physical objects nor as a relation between physical objects and individuals, but rather as complexes of rights and duties between individuals.

I have a property right in a given piece of land if I can exclude people in general from that land, either by an action for trespass or by the use of what the law considers reasonable force. My property right is simply my power to command the police force of the state in excluding other individuals from the given tract of land. So, if I have a property right in the name "Palmolive," that means simply that I can command the police force of the state in preventing other people from using the very attractive word "Palmolive" in selling their products. And if I have a property right in a given industrial process, that means simply that I can prohibit other people from using that process, and call upon the police force of the state to enforce the prohibition.

Property is, in essence, inequality of legal status. It is the right to exclude plus the immunity from being excluded. But obviously there is no distinction except a verbal one between the right to exclude or prohibit and the right to command. The right to issue commandments and prohibitions upon the actions of individuals which have behind them the potential force of organized society is the essence of government. It is no less government when it is delegated to private individuals and private corporations.

What difference does it make to me whether a prohibition against radio speeches advocating birth control or public ownership is issued in the name of the Federal Radio Commission or in the name of the Radio Corporation of America? Obviously the difference in label doesn't correspond to any functional difference in the prohibition. The same coercive power looms in the background of each command. Why then should we think of one as economic and the other as political?

An integrated approach to the socialist commonwealth requires that we outgrow the childish dualism between government that is called government and government that is called property. All property is delegated governmental power. Socialism is, fundamentally, the attempt to apply to all government, to the government in Wall Street as well as the government in Washington, the ideals of liberty and democracy and the subordination of personal ambition to the welfare of society. These demands Americans have traditionally made of their recognized political organs and officers. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that they will make the same demands of all their governmental organs when they have been taught to think of government in broad and comprehensive terms.

I cannot, within the pages allotted me, trace all the practical implications of this rather bare and abstract analysis. But one practical implication is the suggestion that a socialist attack on the problem of government cannot be restricted to presidential and congressional elections or even to general programs of legislation. We have to widen our battle-front



to include all institutions of government, corporations, trade unions, professional bodies, and even religious bodies, as well as legislatures and courts. We have to frame the issues of socialism and democracy and fight the battles of socialism and democracy in the stock-holders' meetings of industrial corporations, in our medical associations and our bar associations and our teachers' associations, in labor unions, in student councils, in consumers' and producers' co-operatives—in every social institution in which we can find a foothold and in which the fundamental problems of society and government take form.

I don't think that we can capture the New York Telephone Company or the B.M.T. in a day or a year. But then I don't think we can capture the federal government in that time, and if we did gain control of the federal government without having any experience or any movement in other institutions which govern the country, our control of the federal machinery might not do us much good. Even a single stock-holder in a public utility may have a nuisance value that modifies the activity of the corporation in the interest of its employees or its consumers, and may have a voice that reaches the public outside of the corporation in impressive terms. Paul Blanshard has done more for socialism with his two shares of stock in the B.M.T. and the New York Telephone Company than a hundred men and women who vote the straight socialist ticket on election day and forget about socialism the rest of the year.

Any talk of utilizing existing industrial and professional organizations in working for social change is apt to sound like opportunistic reformism. But the need of fighting politically within corporations and trade associations and professional bodies, as well as labor unions, is just as pressing if we think that fundamental social change can be secured in this country only by unconstitutional measures. In a revolution, when the ordinary political machinery of government breaks down, it is absolutely essential that the revolutionary force control the remaining centers of social power. In Russia the success of the Bolshevik revolution rested with the guilds or Soviets, which were not created by the Communist party and which antedated the Revolution. A socialist revolution in this country will succeed only if our guilds, chief among them our engineering societies, have within them a coherent socialist voice. We may not need a majority. We do need at least a few Blanshards in every important corporation and association who have made themselves familiar with the concrete evils which that corporation or association contributes to the putrid mess of capitalism, and who will be able to carry essential industrial activities through a time of crisis.

I know that a good deal of the traditional socialist appeal for organization activity leaves college students and intellectuals cold, except for those few brave souls who are willing to abandon a professional or commercial career and enter completely into the Jimmie Higgins work of socialism. The rest of us are apt to become tired radicals. We will avoid that fate only if we succeed in relating socialism to the activities of the day's work.

Some of you, no doubt, who read these words have tried to do just this at college, tried to frame local issues of student fees, or faculty censorship, or military training, in a broader context of socialism and democracy. Often you have succeeded not only in establishing small advances towards a better social order but, what is more important, in crystallizing student sentiment in socialist terms, in educating the pub-

lic in the aims of socialist reform, and in educating yourselves in the tactics and strategy of socialist reform. The same task awaits doing in every social institution in which you can find a vote and a voice.

## CLASSWAR IN GERMANY

(Continued from page 17)

be expected to produce: fewer and larger parties ranged along a single front—the issue of a capitalist versus a socialist structure of German society.

Von Schleicher has emerged as the strong man of the Von Papen cabinet. His opponents credit him with much political shrewdness. On every side he is acknowledged to be the mainstay of the present extra-parliamentary government of which Von Hindenburg and his chancellor are the titular heads. Such presidential cabinets as the present one are additional evidence of the inability of parliamentary government to meet the crisis produced by the clash of fundamental economic groupings in society.

The Hitlerites are out for plenty of direct action. In the election period, scores were killed and hundreds were wounded in fighting between the rights and the lefts. In East Prussia, in particular, a reign of terror was inaugurated by fanatical Nazis. The mounting casualties may be expected shortly to convince the most skeptical (or the most hopeful) of the reality of the class war now raging. Order and respect for law are not innate traits of Germans any more than they are native habits of any other people.

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