

The **STUDENT** **OUTLOOK**

Formerly **REVOLT**
The Intercollegiate Socialist Review



THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOCRACY

By PAUL BLANSHARD

THE DAY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

By LEWIS MUMFORD

THE BLESSING OF UNEMPLOYMENT

By FELIX S. COHEN

Reports of the Student Congresses
Literature and Marxism
Scandal Page

Vol. I, No. 3 - February, 1933

PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDENT COUNCIL OF LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The Student Outlook

(Formerly REVOLT)

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Published Monthly from October to May by

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDENT COUNCIL
of

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

EDITORS

Joseph P. Lash	Chairman
Robert Asher	University of Chicago
Carrie Glasser	Brooklyn College
Alvin Coons	Iowa State College
George C. Edwards	Southern Methodist University
John Hall	Harvard
James R. Henson	Lynchburg College
Lucy Kramer	Columbia
Harold Lavine	C. C. N. Y.
David Lyon	University of California
Betty McDougall	Hunter College
Mildred McWilliams	Bryn Mawr
Maurice Neufeld	University of Wisconsin
Rolla Reedy	Oregon University
Walter Reuther	Detroit City College
Paul Ritterskamp	University of Chicago
Joel Seidman	Johns Hopkins
Monroe Sweetland	Syracuse University
Nat Rosenberg	Business Manager

Felix S. Cohen Paul Porter
J. B. Matthews Ruth E. Schechter

Riva Stocker
Mary Fox, Paul Blanshard, Advisory Board



Subscription price for twelve issues, one dollar
Single copies, ten cents. Bundle orders at 20% discount

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER DRAWING—Courtesy of <i>The Nation</i>	
EDITORIALS	3
The Student Outlook	
Wanted—Students With Guts	
Hoover's Research Committee Says	
THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOCRACY	Paul Blanshard 4
REALISM IN ANTI-WAR DISCUSSIONS	Ben Fischer 5
WE SEE PRESIDENT HOOVER—ALMOST	Robert Cullum 5
THE BLESSING OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Felix S. Cohen 6
Illustrations by Rainey Bennett	
SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME	Helen Fisher 8
THE MIDWEST CONFERENCE	Alvin Coons 9
THE UNION IS SANTA CLAUS	Anna Caples 9
THE DAY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION	Lewis Mumford 10
STUDENTS IN THE FAR EAST	Yukimori 11
SCANDAL PAGE	12
RESEARCH JOBS FOR STUDENTS—II	13
GARMENTS FOR SALE—CHEAP!	Joel Seidman 14
GOUCHER PICKETS SCHOENEMAN	Aileen McQuown 14
FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY	Frank N. Trager 15
BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION	16
CANDIDE, JR. III	Fred Lowenstein 17
LITERATURE OF REVOLT	18
Literature and Marxism	Joseph P. Lash
The Problem of Power	Benjamin N. Kaplan
METAPHOR TO ACTION	Muriel Rukeyser 19
FREE-FOR-ALL	23

THE NEW YEAR BRINGS A NEW NAME TO THIS PUBLICATION

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK

Nevertheless, our fight against

WAR
CAPITALISM
RACE PREJUDICE
INTELLECTUAL SHAM

shall continue unabated

YOU CAN KEEP INFORMED OF THIS FIGHT BY—

1. Membership in the League for Industrial Democracy, receiving six (6) issues of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, other notices and regular L. I. D. pamphlets.
2. Subscription for twelve (12) issues at \$1.00.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IS A MEMBERSHIP
SOCIETY ENGAGED IN EDUCATION TOWARDS A SOCIAL ORDER
BASED ON PRODUCTION FOR USE RATHER THAN FOR PROFIT

(1) I,, hereby apply for membership
in the League for Industrial Democracy and enclose \$1.00
as annual membership dues, \$50 of which is for a year's
subscription to THE STUDENT OUTLOOK.

Name

Address

College

(2) I enclose \$1.00 for twelve (12) issues of THE STUDENT
OUTLOOK.

Name

Address

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK

With this issue REVOLT becomes THE STUDENT OUTLOOK. Students felt it was more important to sell our magazine and convince by its contents than to shout "revolution" and have no one listen. Persons who give us more than a glance will not mistake our colors.

Wanted - Students With Guts

IT is often regrettably said by leaders of the labor and radical movement that students are willing to undertake the heroic jobs involving violence and danger, but shy away from the more grueling routine tasks. Yet it is questionable whether the student who hasn't guts enough to get out on his college campus and hawk THE STUDENT OUTLOOK will overcome his delicate scruples if the time comes to face tear gas and machine guns. The same sort of well-bred doubts and inertia that afflict one when saddled with the responsibility of escorting a petition or putting up posters will arise more

urgently and more subtly if the time should come to refuse to go to war or to picket the *Chicago Tribune* which is drilling its private riot squads. Only those who steeled themselves to decide with firmness during school hours will do so at those moments that historians pick out for special mention.

This is not an argument for Socialism. This is an exhortation to students who call themselves radicals. The prudent young lady who cannot see a committee meeting through because her supper is waiting, may be beautiful and bright, but she lacks stamina and decision, which are more important social virtues. The undergraduate who backs out of a picketing demonstration to read Plato, will just as readily back away from the stiffer passages in that philosopher. Character may be a word in disrepute, but the virtues its stands for are real, and most necessary when people do things collectively.

We are not urging fanaticism, but we are urging strength of will over against weakmindedness, work over against dawdling. If you have enlisted under the banners of Socialism, you've got to carry the job through.

Better a party with a hundred people of character, than one with a thousand who are moral sissies.

HOOVER'S RESEARCH COMMITTEE SAYS:

The alternative to constructive social initiative may conceivably be a prolongation of a policy of drift and some readjustment as time goes on. More definite alternatives, however, are urged by dictatorial systems in which the factors of force and violence may loom large. In such cases the basic decisions are frankly imposed by power groups, and violence may subordinate technical intelligence in social guidance.

Unless there can be a more impressive integration of social skills and fusing of social purposes than is revealed by recent trends, there can be no assurance that these alternatives, with their accompaniments of violent revolution, dark periods of serious repression of libertarian and democratic forms, the proscription and loss of many useful elements in the present productive system can be averted.

Fully realizing its mission, the committee does not wish to assume an attitude of alarmist irresponsibility, but on the other hand it would be highly negligent to gloss over the stark and bitter realities of the social situation, and to ignore the imminent perils in further advance of our heavy technical machinery over crumbling roads and shaking bridges. There are times when silence is not neutrality, but assent.

On the contrary, it (the committee) holds that social invention has to be stimulated to keep pace with mechanical invention.

In 1851-1855, 6,000 patents were granted in the United States; in 1926-1930, 219,000. Total mechanical power used on farms

increased from 0.5 horse power per worker in 1900 to 5.6 in 1930.

Abundance of resources and the competitive organization of mining have led to excessive capacity, causing heavy loss to the capital and labor engaged. But in preoccupation over the problem of too many mines and too many miners there is danger of forgetting the waste of underlying resources which such destructive competition entails.

Of those of high school age, about 50% are now in school . . .

If, however, the growth of higher education continues a question may well be raised as to whether there will be enough of the so-called "white collar" jobs for those with higher degrees.

The membership of American trade unions declined from 5 million in 1920 to 3.3 million in 1931, the first time in American history that the unions did not gain in membership in a period of prosperity.

For the very near future the standard of living may decline because of the menace to wages caused by unemployment, the possible slowness of economic recovery from the depression and the weakness of collective action on the part of wage earners.

In 1900, 21% of all women over 16 years of age were gainfully employed, while in 1930 the percentage was 25.

Under our form of economic organization, the economic status of a family de-

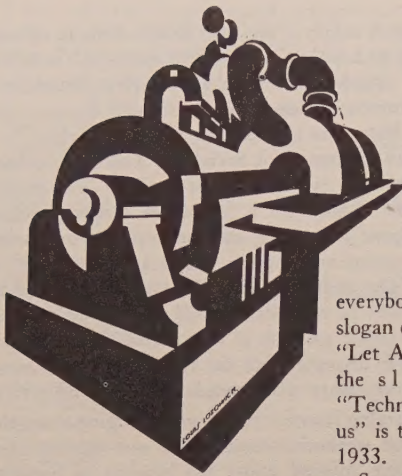
pends primarily upon the size of its money income. Hence we devote far more attention to making money than to spending it. For example, in passing upon tariff issues at the polls, we are influenced much more by arguments about the effect of import duties upon wages, employment, and profits than by arguments about their effects upon the cost of living. There is scarcely a trade or profession in the country which has not formed an association to safeguard its economic prospects. Every member of every one of these associations is also a consumer; that is the only economic characteristic we all have in common. But we give not a tithe of thought to this basic common interest which we give to the task of getting more dollars for our individual selves.

By way of evidence concerning our national scale of values, consider the following miscellaneous list of American expenditures in 1929: 200 millions dollars were spent on flowers and shrubs; 600 million on jewelry and silverware; 400 million on newspapers, 700 million dollars on cosmetics and beauty parlors, 900 million on games and sports; 2,000 million on motion pictures and concerts, and 4,000 million on home furnishings.

Seemingly what engineers regard as the slow pace of change in economic organization is due more to absence of unity in will and purpose than to lack of capacity to imagine and carry out alterations . . . But is it beyond the range of men's capacity some day to take the enhancement of social welfare as seriously as our generation took the winning of the war?

THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOCRACY

By PAUL BLANSHARD



THE American appetite for new slogans is not confined to the field of tooth-pastes and cigarettes; in recent years it has spread into the general field of economics. "Make everybody rich" was the slogan of the 1928 boom. "Let America plan" was the slogan of 1931. "Technocracy will save us" is the new slogan of 1933.

So great has become the interest in technocracy that millions hang upon the words of the little group of technocrats who center around Howard Scott and Professor Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia. Several technocracy magazines have already reached the newsstands. When a technocracy office was opened in Los Angeles, 20,000 inquiries poured in during the first week.

We should not belittle technocracy because of the boom character of its progress. We Americans have a way of thinking in spasms, and, while the spasms may be unpleasant, they accomplish a purpose. The spasm of thinking about economic planning in 1931 served to reveal a fundamental defect in capitalism, its lack of coordinated and planned action. The present spasm of thinking about technocracy will set a million dreams a-going, useful dreams about a world where machines can be used by society for the abolition of poverty and the increase of leisure.

In this brief article I shall try to answer three questions about this new spasm: What is technocracy? What is its plan for a new society? How would such a plan be realized?

I. What Is Technocracy?

Technocracy is a set of ideas and a group of men. To avoid confusion I shall speak of the men as technocrats and the ideas as technocracy. The technocrats are a group of engineers and architects working under the direction of Howard Scott, as guests of Professor Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia University, who are making an energy survey of North America. They have produced a number of authentic and startling facts to show the extent to which machines are increasing productivity and displacing human labor. Along with these authentic facts they have produced a number of facts which have been widely disputed. Part of the immense popularity which technocracy has acquired in recent weeks has undoubtedly been due to overstatements or partial statements concerning the speed of technical progress. The technocrats have told us that with five properly equipped brick plants, one hundred men could make all the bricks that all the country now makes in its 3,270 plants. They point out that in the milling of

flour we had 9,500 plants in 1899 with 32,000 workers, who produced 471,000,000 bushels, but that by 1929, 26,400 workers in 2,900 mills produced 546,000,000 bushels. In 1929, they say, America produced four million more automobiles than it did in 1919, but with 84,940,000 less man-hours of labor.

So the technocrats run through the statistics of modern industrial production and reach the conclusion that as the amount of production goes up, the number of workers needed goes down. The worker, if so, is doomed by the machine. Technological unemployment is not a temporary phenomenon but the unavoidable and ultimate result of the machine system.

There is not space in this article to analyze some of the technical blunders and overstatements of the technocrats. Indeed, it seems to me that the minor inaccuracies of which they have been guilty do not destroy their central thesis, that there has been an immense increase in the productivity of the modern machine, and that machines are permanently displacing labor. Conventional economists of the past have argued that the men thrown out of work by the machine are reabsorbed into new industries and that for each man thrown out of work a new man is employed. This was true in those years when many of our great industries were being transferred from handicraft to machine production, but today almost all of that transfer has been accomplished, and only a few industries, such as the construction of buildings, still continue in the handicraft stage.

In addition to their factual data concerning the increase of machine productivity and the growth of unemployment, the technocrats have presented several fundamental theses. They say that the capitalist system of production is doomed because under a price system you must put purchasing power in the hands of consumers, and technology is taking away the consumer's chance to gain purchasing power. They point out that in the third quarter of 1932 the wages of American factory workers were 66 per cent less than in the same period in 1926, while the interest payments were 45 per cent greater than in 1926, and the interest and dividend payments were almost twice as great as the factory wages.

The technocrats declare that capitalism is doomed partly because of the enormous burden of debt imposed upon the people. The industrial debt of America, they point out, is 218 billions, and we Americans must pay over half of our whole national income for debt. These debt payments, instead of going into the pockets of consumers and being used to buy consumption goods, are too often used to buy new machines when those machines are not needed. The technocrats shock the bankers by following the example of French and British statesmen in frankly declaring that America's industrial debts will never be paid.

II. What Is Technocracy's Plan for a New Society?

The technocrats do not profess to have a complete plan for a new society, but they suggest several fundamentals in such a plan. They want industry taken from the capitalists and put in the control of the technicians. They are equally scornful

(Continued on page 21)

REALISM IN ANTI-WAR DISCUSSIONS

By BEN FISCHER

TWO YOUTH conventions were recently held, the United Youth Conference Against War in New York in November, and the Student Congress Against War in Chicago during Christmas week. Their tendency is encouraging to enemies of war.

Anti-war may mean opposition to violence and inhumanity in a general and sentimental sense. It may also mean determined struggle against the roots of war based on a thorough understanding of the war problem. Sentiment alone is a straw blown aside when the powerful military forces of the world begin to function.

The two anti-war conferences surprised older people who have been long in touch with the peace movement. In both cases more than six hundred young men and women swept away disarmament, the League of Nations, the World Court, the pile of treaties in existence, as useless acts of well-meaning innocents or as deliberate means of deceiving the masses and hiding imperialistic overtures. A handful of brave and eloquent pacifists met a cold reception at each conference with their naive faith in good intentions. The tenor of the Chicago conference can be gathered from the enthusiasm that greeted J. B. Matthews' challenge to Jane Addams, that he was not opposed to a war that would end capitalism, after the heroic old lady of Hull House had appealed to the Congress against all violence.

Both conferences dug into meaty matters. Capitalism was denounced fiercely. The profit system was held up as the breeder of modern warfare. Economic pressure and struggle were cited as the means that must be used to combat war effectively. It was agreed that if war should come every effort must be made to exploit it in the interests of the working class. The latter was the object of faith and the medium of salvation from the war-breeding system. "Students and workers" was an oft-used phrase. In resolutions and speeches, at least, the students seemed to recognize their closeness to the interests of the working class.

There was a good deal of acrimonious discussion at both conferences. But that was to be expected when communists, socialists, pacifists, Christian fundamentalists, autonomous labor groups and student rebels got together. In Chicago the most encouraging sign at the whole affair was the honest bid the Communists made for a united front. But a hasty amendment from the floor to condemn the actions of the Second International in the World War made it impossible for the communists to continue their united front, since it would have been traitorous for them to vote against such a condemnation. It was also impossible for the Socialists to allow the only mention of political groups in the resolutions to be a slap at Socialists. This situation caused considerable disruption. Finally the entire convention, save a few die-hards, realized the folly of the amendment and it was withdrawn.

It will require inspired activity and clear understanding of every phase of militarism to prevent this country from going to war again. The nation's students and unemployed must be mobilized. The nation's workers must first be organized and then persuaded to take a reliable and aggressive stand against war. It was felt at the conferences that the time left for such

activity may be brief in light of the wars now raging in China, India and South America. But if American exponents of peace expect this country to unite internationally in opposition to another world conflict, then the task of organization must be carried out. To this purpose the following continuation committee was chosen: Monroe Sweetland, Morris Skop, Jack Lohen, Harold Luxembourg, Aileen Hacker, B. L. Weller, G. Bardacke, Joe Cohen, Edmund Stevens, Madlyn Millner, Kimonski, L. Koste, A. Geltman, M. Rosenbaum, W. Easterling.

It is uncertain whether the permanent committees established by these two conventions will be able in themselves to carry on a successful struggle against war. But most certainly both the United Youth Conference Against War and the Student Congress Against War were steps in the right direction.

We See President Hoover - Almost

By Robert Cullum

Being the adventures in Washington of a student committee representing the United Youth Conference Against War.

Washington was quiet enough. The coming of a car load of students and young workers opposed to imperialistic war most evidently caused the Department of Justice no tremors of fear. Yet as a beginning, representing a program for united action by some 62 organizations, enrolling approximately 35,000 of America's youth, the Washington invasion of this committee will not be without significance.

Briefly outlined, our program included a demand that funds used for military purposes be conscripted for unemployment relief, beginning at once with the elimination of the C.M. T.C., R.O.T.C. and National Guard; and a statement of the economic origin and function of class, as well as imperialistic, war, as a normal part of the capitalist system. Our platform promised completed opposition to international conflict by the use of the general strike, sabotage of transportation of troops and supplies as well as sabotage of munitions plants, and an attempt to secure desertion en-masse from the land, naval and air forces.

These demands and resolution were presented to President Hoover through his secretary, Mr. Theodore Joslin, and to Representative Ross Collins of the House Committee on Military Affairs by Murray Barron of the Association of Unemployed College Alumni and Joel Seidman of the Johns Hopkins Liberal Club, who were accompanied by a group of Baltimore and Washington students and some young workers from New York.

In addition, a resolution was presented to Mr. James Grafton Rogers, Under-Secretary of State, by Dorothy Shoemaker representing Young Friends groups, which requested a list of foreign investments that the youth of America may be called upon to defend in a future international war. The resolution further called for a list of investments in munitions plants and other industries profiting by war, which are owned by elected or appointed government officials.

(Continued on page 13)

THE BLESSING OF UNEMPLOYMENT

By FELIX S. COHEN

Illustrated by Rainey Bennett

I

"REGULAR plague of beetles we've got this year," said the Massachusetts farmer who had given me a lift.

I assumed a polite interest. "What do they eat?"

"Apple trees, mostly. Half of the trees down at my place are ruined for the year."

"That's a damned shame," I commented.

My sympathy fell on stony soil. My host was an unselfish man who looked above his private calamities to the larger social good. "Well," he mused, "you know it's not a bad thing on the whole. Makes work for a lot of men. The government must have a hundred men spraying trees along the road from here to Worcester."

Even a trained hitch-hiker's power of agreement failed at that point. I finished the journey in silence, trying to understand why a farmer should bless the beetles that made work and ruined his trees. After all, the government could have employed the same hundred men in a sham battle against imaginary beetles. That would have been much better, because there would be just as much work and more apples.

The next winter was mild and pleasant in New York. The more kindly of the metropolitan papers deplored the fact that there was no snow, because that meant that the city's unemployed could not be put to work shoveling it away.

Months later I read in the financial columns of the same papers that rumors of an impending war which might engulf the United States had started a "wave of optimism" in Wall Street. Prices of stocks and commodities were bound to rise, and this would bring back prosperity.

Wars, snowstorms, and beetles, it seems, are great blessings. They end the curse of unemployment. But they are not very reliable, and when they don't come we must look for adequate substitutes. In the last three years we have managed to find at least a half dozen excellent substitutes.

Low wages are perhaps the most obvious cure for unemployment. When a man's wages are too low to support a family, his wife is likely to take in washing and his children to sell newspapers or shine shoes or work in a cotton mill. Thus the number of persons gainfully employed rises. And when

wages are low enough the rich can afford to hire more housemaids, butlers, chauffeurs, cooks, valets, nurses, governesses, tutors, tailors, yacht-hands, gigolos and concubines, all of which tends to relieve the unemployment situation.

Another way of curing unemployment is sabotage. Brazil burns a million tons of coffee, in order to be able to work at planting and harvesting a new crop. We don't do that in America, because coffee doesn't grow here. But the Federal Farm Board advises southern farmers to plow under every third row of cotton. This makes work in two ways: in the first place there is the plowing, and in the second place there is so much more planting to be done the next year (or in the next state). In this respect cotton has an advantage over other commodities, because it isn't as much trouble to feed wheat to pigs, to let fruit rot on trees, or to pour milk down sewers as it is to plow under every third row of cotton. But all destruction of commodities is a destruction of the work that went into their production, and this always leaves room for more production and more work.

A third substitute for wars, beetles, and snowstorms in ending the evil of unemployment is what financiers call a favorable balance of trade. A country has a favorable balance of trade when it exports food, clothing, machinery, and other commodities which represent the product of work, and receives in exchange gold or paper. Obviously the more goods a country ships and the fewer goods it receives in exchange the harder it will have to work to keep from starvation, and the less unemployment it will have.

Three methods of creating a favorable balance of trade have already been discovered by financiers. One method is to lend money, that is, to send food and clothing in exchange for paper, to other countries. This was tried during the war with great success. Never before or since have Americans worked so hard and eaten so little. Unemployment was practically abolished for three years.

Another method is to cancel the loans after they have been made. This encourages foreign countries to send us more gold or paper in exchange for commodities and puts our workers into the fields and the factories to make those commodities. It also puts our bankers to work trying to figure out what to do with the gold and paper.

A third method of creating a favorable balance of trade is to prevent other nations from sending us the commodities we need. This is ordinarily accomplished by what is called a protective tariff. Sugar, for instance, grows almost by itself in Cuba, and if Americans bought sugar for the price at which Cubans are willing to sell it very little labor would be employed in the sugar-growing industry. By putting a tariff on Cuban sugar, however, we keep enough of it out of the country to make it necessary for thousands of Americans to work at picking and squeezing sugar beets in Wisconsin or trying to grow sugar cane in the swamps of Louisiana. This means work for thousands of men, women, and children who would otherwise be unemployed, and what we can accomplish in this industry we try to accomplish in almost every other. Where a tariff fails, we may use an absolute embargo to ex-



*Wars, snowstorms, and beetles, it seems, are great blessings.
They end the curse of unemployment.*

clude foreign commodities that we need. Thus an embargo on Russian lumber would put several thousand Americans to work chopping down our remaining forests and raising our employment totals.

A fourth remedy for the curse of unemployment that has been widely discussed in recent months is the raising of commodity prices. This has the same effect as a lowering of wages, forcing women and children to join the ranks of the gainfully employed upon penalty of starvation. Just how prices can be raised when most people don't have money to spend is a difficult problem, but economists and politicians are working hard trying to perfect ways of reducing the value of money so as to make goods more expensive, and hopes for their success are widespread.

Another modern prescription for the cure of unemployment is being carried out in "Buy Now" and "Give a Job" campaigns. The theory underlying these campaigns is that the more money people spend on things that they don't need the more work there will be for other people to do. This theory may be applied by states as well as by individuals. Italy puts uniforms on its unemployed and calls them soldiers, thus reducing its unemployment percentage almost to the Russian level. Our own government is busily engaged in giving employment by digging out the bottoms of rivers and building roads between Nowhere and Next-to-Nowhere.

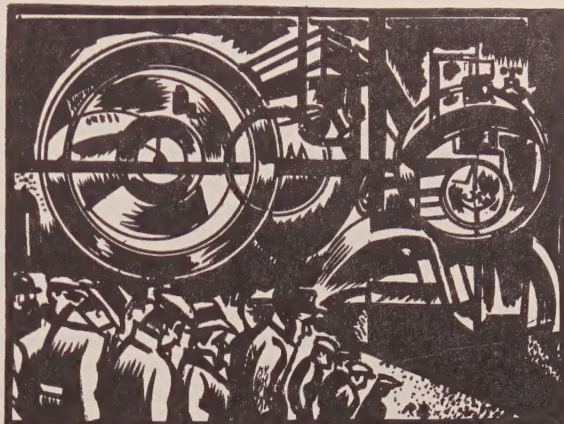
Perhaps the most ingenious of the recent schemes for ending unemployment is the "Back to the Farm" movement. The theory of this movement is that one of the chief causes of unemployment is the simplification of agriculture in the giant machine-driven farms of the West. It follows that if we send people back to the stony soil of abandoned eastern farms there will be a great increase in the labor required to raise the nation's food and hence a great decrease in the ranks of the unemployed. This theory need not be restricted to agriculture. A general limitation upon the invention and use of labor-saving machinery will undoubtedly prevent the ranks of the unemployed from growing, and if we really want to reduce those ranks we can abolish machinery altogether and resume the habits of the good old Neanderthal days when everybody had as much work as he could do.

How far the foregoing program will be put into practice remains to be seen. There are philosophers who think that Western civilization is not far from the complete application of this program, and that its objective of ending the curse of unemployment will be achieved. But one may believe that this program for ending unemployment is logically fitted to achieve its proclaimed purpose, and yet believe that the purpose is not worth achieving.

II

Some such opinion seems to have been in the mind of Jehovah when he laid upon Adam a curse fitted to Adam's Original Sin, the Curse of Work: "All the days of thy life thou shalt labor, and in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Adam's children inherited this curse and soon learned to make a virtue of the necessity. Idleness thus came to be regarded as a sin, rather than a source of love, art, inspiration, and wisdom.

It is told that God relented, after many centuries of human toil, and sent a messenger to Adam's children to offer a general pardon. "Toil not, neither spin," said the messenger, and he showed to the sons of Adam the loveliest of flowers and promised that they should grow as fair as these flowers when



With new machines one can destroy old machines

they had put aside their accumulation of riches and their care for the morrow. But Adam's children had so long praised each other and themselves for their industriousness that they were ashamed to admit that work was a curse. Some of them called the messenger a radical agitator and demanded his death. Others accepted the pardon that was offered and laid down their chains of bondage. But these latter were unused to the walk of free men, and so they perverted the words of the messenger into a doggerel that ended with the refrain, "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." And they went back shamefaced to their chains and sang new hymns in praise of the sweetness of chains.

For weary centuries God heard these hymns in sadness and saw Adam's children glorying in their toil. But God observed, at last, that those who gloried most in toil did not toil, and that those who sang most loudly the loveliness of chains allowed other men to carry their chains. Whereupon sadness became disgust, and the compassionate heart resolved to offer again the pardon once refused. Men who would not listen to Words might yet listen to Things, and God sent upon the Earth Things which would do the work that the children of Adam had done, and these Things were called Machines.

Some there were of the children of Adam who said simply, "Now we shall live as Adam lived, without toil." But others more subtly reasoned: "With machines one can make new machines. With new machines one can destroy old machines. There is thus no end to the making of machines. And machines which make things will also destroy things. There is thus no end to the making of things. Therefore the Message of the Machine is that we shall work without end. Let all who hearken not to that message die."

III

If work is a curse, unemployment is a blessing. How to increase unemployment and distribute it more fairly is the fundamental problem of modern civilization. At the present time we have enough unemployment in America to guarantee every child eighteen years of freedom from industrial drudgery, to reduce the working week to thirty hours, and to give every one a month's vacation every year. But that is only the first step in the task that faces us. The total amount of unemployment available for distribution can be vastly increased if we are willing to abolish all useless labor.

A program for the abolition of useless labor might begin with

(Continued on page 20)

SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME

By HELEN FISHER

CHASTENED by the rigors of a presidential campaign, students and delegates from over thirty eastern colleges attended the seventeenth New York conference of the L.I.D. for a serious discussion of tactics for attaining "Socialism in Our Time." The speeches and questions were those of participants in the building of a power-winning organization, not of spectators. It was a conference of students who were fighting the battle of socialism on their own college fronts.

At the dinner for the delegates at Norman Thomas' home, the reports which were given afterwards were so couched as to contain a maximum of suggestions. When the students from Johns Hopkins announced that they were holding a regional conference on "The Way Out" at Baltimore the weekend of March 11, students from the cluster of colleges around Philadelphia and others from around Boston spoke of their intention of getting their regional councils functioning. Herman Wolf's report on the activities of the University of Chicago Socialist Club provoked interest because of a scheme that has been devised there whereby all student Socialists eat at a reserved table and the club gets a five-cent rebate on every meal served. More amusing was the report of Glen Trimble that every gospel team sent out from Boston Theological had two Socialists on it. It was a conference of practical revolutionists.

At the Wednesday sessions, Louis Waldman spoke out against any sort of fusion and showed that the tie-up of municipal government with state and national problems precluded "any such thing as an effective city party." He stressed the need of "socializing the Tammany method" of getting redress for small grievances in order to give people confidence in the Socialist Party. Both Reinhold Niebuhr and Franz Daniel ruled out the possibility of our ever attaining a Socialist Commonwealth by purely parliamentary action: Professor Niebuhr because it takes three-quarters of the states to ratify a constitutional amendment and because the opposition will first turn to fascism; and Mr. Daniel, "because building a political party under capitalism so compromises the workers that they can't take over the power." On the other hand both denied that complete success through violent revolution was possible. Professor Niebuhr holding that Socialists have a "quite justified instinctive avoidance of the possibility of complete social confusion through revolution;" and his fellow Socialist insisting that it would be absurd to arm ourselves, and impossible to bore from within the army and navy. In any case, Mr. Daniel said, the size of our country would be a great barrier to revolutionary action, since one wouldn't know where to strike. Both felt that the change would come through the general strike, or some weapon similar to it.

Wednesday afternoon, the session was very successfully organized by having Tucker P. Smith, Mary W. Hillyer, Warren Mullins and Glen Trimble hold a round table discussion in which the audience joined. The part students might play in organizations of the unemployed was thrashed out. Paul Blanshard precipitated a heated discussion when he suggested that Socialists should not support private charity, the general conclusion seeming to be that he was right.

On Thursday morning, Norman Thomas discussed the

debts and credits in the American ledger for building an effective Socialist movement. On the debit side he listed the lack of working class leaders of the calibre of Debs or Haywood, and the size of America and the nature of her political institutions which necessitates throwing everything into a campaign for the presidency. He deplored the disruptive tactics of the Communists and said that if Communists would drop that "anything to win" attitude, Socialists and Communists could get together in many things without bringing up the larger questions of policy. He noted the tragic fact of a feeble labor movement which is shot through with racketeering but which must be redeemed if socialism is to capture America. On the credit side, Mr. Thomas listed the mass of discontent; the lack of a real vital faith in the intellectual and moral basis of capitalism; and the interest in Technocracy which indicates an overwhelming curiosity about a way out.

In the discussion of "The Day After the Revolution," Paul Blanshard stressed the necessity of presenting at least a sketch of the proposed society to those we are trying to get to fight for it. Socialopia, according to Mr. Blanshard, would have an international government, some international battle-ships and airplanes, complete control of munitions, an international language and socialized ownership of industry with control by workers, technicians, and consumers. Lewis Mumford then spoke about the need for disciplining ourselves morally and intellectually the day before the revolution.

At the business session, the conference elected Monroe Sweetland of Syracuse as President of the Intercollegiate Student Council for the coming year. Paul Porter and Paul Blanshard were approved for the L.I.D. Secretariat. A Publications Committee was elected which will supervise all student publications of the I.S.C. Joseph P. Lash, Andrew Grey and John Hall were elected to this committee from the east. Its first action was to propose the name *The Student Outlook* in place of *Revolt*, which had been found to be a bad selling name.

Just before the beginning of the last session, a hurdy gurdy man came into 119th Street and beamingly played through his entire repertory while the delegates staged an informal dance in the middle of the street. A hat and L.I.D. application blanks were then passed around among the onlookers. "Even revolutionists," said the *New York Times*, "are amused."

The Struggle in the Coal Fields

The League for Industrial Democracy is now preparing a motion picture film entitled "Workers and Coal; The Union in the West Virginia Hills." It shows the hardships of the miners' lives, the effort of the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union to help them, and the participation of Pioneer Youth and the L.I.D. in this work.

The film is made up of pictures taken at different times during 1931 and 1932, and is to be released shortly for showing before college groups. It is of standard 16 mm. width, and can be shown on any projector using films of this size. Rentals for a nominal fee can be arranged with the New York office of the L.I.D., 112 East 19th Street.

THE MIDWEST CONFERENCE

By ALVIN COONS

DELEGATES from more than a dozen states, meeting in Chicago, December 29 and 30, to study the blue prints for a new social order, turned a program of inquiry as to what might be done into a discussion of what had been done by students and teachers to further the Socialist movement. And, under the guiding hand of Karl Borders, chairman of Chicago's largest unemployed organization, the Midwest convention of the L.I.D., after consideration of a list of subjects ranging from Technocracy to Technique, ended its session with a definite demand for action both on campus issues and in worker's circles.

Paul Porter, Ethel Davis, Andrew Biemiller, and Amicus Most, elicited testimonials of students from diverse sections of the country when they consolidated their four discussion groups, Thursday afternoon, and heckled one another from the platform prior to throwing the meeting open for discussion. Problems of race, student participation in strikes and free speech struggles came out in the forum: how Minnesota students, with the cooperation of Amicus Most, helped win a labor strike; how Oberlin students fought and won a free speech battle; how Michigan students have organized a co-operative house on the campus, opened a co-operative book store, and are now planning a co-operative dairy.

Professor Maynard Krueger, of the University of Chicago, opening the second day of the conference, definitely warned against the futility of mere reform.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that our task is to build a new society and not simply to reform the old," he declared.

Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, expressed the belief that reforms would only further enumber the capitalistic system and that every concession would only hasten its end.

Affirming his faith in democracy as an instrument of social change, he advocated its use as long as possible, not however excluding the use of other methods should it fail.

"Radical students," he declared, "can spend their time more profitably getting acquainted with the problems of the workers, than they can in studying chemistry to learn how to make bombs, or in going into the R.O.T.C. to learn how to shoot. You can hardly expect to teach the workers to shoot straight for bread if you cannot teach them to vote for it."

Karl Borders, whose work with the Chicago unemployed has won him wide recognition, mapped out a program for students in the organization of the unemployed and for mak-

(Continued on page 17)

THE UNION IS SANTA CLAUS

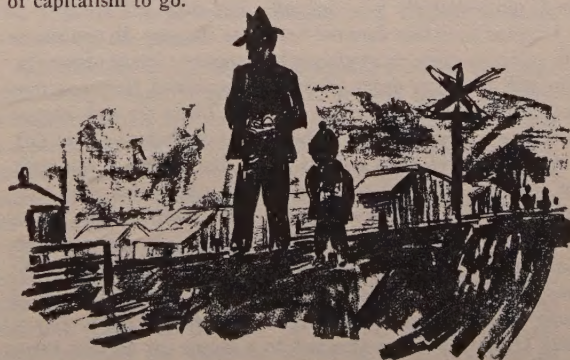
By ANNA CAPLES

IN THE week before Christmas, a group of L.I.D. members and representatives of Pioneer Youth went to West Virginia to hold Christmas parties. Though we came from cities where the suffering of the unemployed is great we were hardly prepared for what we found. In the Ward Tent Colony alone, twenty-four children had died since summer. Flour and fatback do not build up resistance for a cold winter in a canvas tent. In every mining camp we visited, we were told the same story. Every one was sick with the flu. At the parties, almost as many toys were sent home to sick brothers and sisters, as were given out to the children present. More than one father came to us hesitantly and asked for something for his kids; four, five, six, of them sick at home. "Any thing'll do. They ain't going to get anything else." Their gratitude hurt us terribly. The children were, many of them, shivering with the cold. There were little boys dressed only in the raggediest overalls, and the tattered remains of a sweater. One little girl had only overshoes tied on with string over her bare feet. Some lacked even these.

Parties were held in nine towns. They did not bear much resemblance to what is generally conceived of as a party. If local officials were friendly we were able to use the school-house (property of the county) for the party. If not, a hill-side, or any open space on the side of the road would do. When we arrived at the place of the party we found the whole town, children and grownups, gathered expectantly. To be sure of being there on time, they had waited an hour or more, even though they had to stand in the mud and cold. Santa Claus, who was usually a union official started the party by telling the children that he was a "Union Santa Claus,"

and that the union with the help of its friends had brought toys to the children of the miners. Then we unloaded our packing cases full of toys and each child received a gift. Not only was this the little Christmas these children knew of, but this toy, and this orange and this bag of candy were probably the only toy and the only orange and the only bag of candy they were to receive throughout the year.

One union official told us that these parties were worth six months of organizing, because they brought joy to the children, and through them gave the parents courage to keep on in the struggle for the union, and for industrial liberty. These people are in the forefront of our fight for a new social order. The industry from which they must get their living is one of our sickest industries, and will be one of the first links of capitalism to go.



The only toy and the only orange and the only bag of candy they were to receive throughout the year

THE DAY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

By LEWIS MUMFORD

I AM NOT going to talk about the day *after* the revolution, but the day *before*.*

Everyone knows that capitalism has failed, but what is not so clear is that capitalism has *always* failed. It has produced a mean and limited kind of life; it has centered attention on making it possible for mean, limited, narrow people to flourish. Their very virtues under capitalism make them enemies of a decent social order. Capitalism has never produced a decent standard of living—it has no conception of the meaning of “life” or of a standard. There used to be an old song, “What’s good enough for Rocky is good enough for me.” The thing that distinguishes us from the people who wrote and sang that song is that “What’s good enough for Rocky” is *not* good enough for us. We don’t want to become Rockefellers. I pass Rockefeller’s house every week—a dull building on a bleak street with no outlook, not enough sun and air, no green—and I wonder at the conception of life that makes the man who occupies it think of himself as a rich man. I spent part of last summer in Europe, looking at the working class quarters put up by more or less Socialist governments. By any of the decent standards by which these planners are guided, Rockefeller and the Park Avenue people live in slums.

It has been the custom for the last ten years to hold that the act of producing radios and automobiles in larger and larger quantities was a sign of raising the general standard of living; but actually the United States has had the lowest standard in the world, in its bad housing, its dingy blighted cities, in its waste of time and life in futile occupations. The miserable background of “prosperous” America was beneath contempt. “Poor” Germany—in 1925—had set a higher standard of real living than any community in the United States.

What is a higher standard living? The question cannot be solved by any purely quantitative formula, not even if we transfer the power to the engineers, and even if they are called Technocracy. The Technocrats have said, “With Technocracy, we can create a standard of living for the entire population ten times above the average income of 1920-29.” What does it mean? That we have ten times more to spend for the same sort of things? We are talking about something that cannot be measured by a purely quantitative standard. We need quality as well as quantity. We must profoundly alter the quality of our life; merely multiplying our present goods quantitatively is to squander our time and energy.

Utopian Socialism does not belong to the past. In any scientific socialism there must always be a concrete image of society. The will to a new order cannot be dissociated from concrete images of its life, its activities, its form. There are such images in our own present society. The images of Prosperity are (a) a motor car, preferably a Rolls Royce, but a Ford if you can’t get anything else, (b) a concrete road, a beautiful, long concrete road, (c) a radio set, (d) a garage with a little house attached. The reason that people are flocking to the engineers today is that any concrete plan is better than nothing at all; these engineers are offering them (a) two cars, (b) twice as many concrete roads, (c) television instead of radio, (d) a little Dymaxion house attached to a motor car to take them

all around the country. The highest effort of Technocracy is to visualize a thoroughly bourgeois anarchist world. They aim to make the individual as completely self-sufficient as Byron could have wished in his loneliest moment.

It does not take much imagination or ability to offer a better Utopia than these. But a change will not come simply by waiting for the collapse. Changes are not the products of collapse—a new and better building does not rise unaided from the ruins produced when an earthquake destroys the existing buildings. It will not come merely from building a power-winning organization. We need many active power groups, but aimless and undisciplined power is dangerous and they need safeguards. The best safeguard is to have a concrete end in view, to have a definite goal. The change will not come, furthermore, by merely suggesting drastic changes in the *means* of life, in the forms of political government or in the organization of industry. The reason we find ourselves so lonely and powerless after three bitter years of depression is that we have not created the necessary concrete goals; we haven’t produced anything in Socialism as stirring as a Ford or a radio to compel a change in the activities and the living habits of the people. We must be prepared to offer new ends and activities; new ways of living; new modes of expression.

The new architecture which is now growing up is enormously important for those who are formulating new socialist ends. In Europe, it is associated with a Socialist land policy. In Germany and in Austria the municipality can condemn large quantities of land to prepare for future development. The new method of community layout developed in these countries is the opposite of untrammelled individualism. There is emphasis on sunlight, green, sports, facilities for outdoor work and co-operative activity. The integral development of the land and social functions and of industry—that is the picture one gets in Europe from England to Russia. It is a sign, a foretaste of the way to future development. There is also a new industry based upon electrical power and planned production. Lenin said “Socialism plus electrification equals Communism.” He saw the implications of the new technical regime which it is the duty of every revolutionary movement to push. We cannot produce the same sort of a society with coal as with electricity; we must interest ourselves in the new technique, with its conservation of human energy and natural resources.

The existing political states must be wiped out, and we must build new social and political entities on a sound geographical basis with respect to the determining facts of soil, climate, topography and the natural integration of the population. The new industry must be planned and placed in relation to these fundamental facts. Many industries must be scrapped, and many activities discarded.

Raising the standard of living may even lower the amount of energy expended. The planned city does not waste millions of dollars and much time in subways, and in a planned economy the actual amount of transportation and trade necessary would probably decrease. The energy that is used will be put to different purposes. We may have to lower in many lines the quantity of goods purchased. The question is not what quantity, but what kind?

By considering the day before the revolution, we are in

(Continued on page 22)

*A speech delivered at the L.I.D. conference, Christmas week.

STUDENTS IN THE FAR EAST

By YUKIMORI

IT is trite to repeat that students of China wield far more power in their country than those of other nations. That at times they can make or break governments or perhaps throw out a corrupt governor indicates this influence. Hence, a brief social history of the movement may not be amiss here.

In ancient China—and to some extent true still—politics and affairs of the state were exclusively in the hands of the *literati* and the average peasant or worker had neither a voice nor interest under ordinary circumstances, in these problems. Hence, the masses, if they took any interest at all, followed the thoughts of these *literati*.

Logically enough, after the Revolution when this privileged status was abolished, the masses still illiterate looked upon the university students as the heirs to the old *literati*. These student groups were active in the 1911 Revolution, but on the whole they had relatively little co-ordination on a national scale. Locally, they often took an active part in the social and political movements. At times they were able to remove some official whom they disliked.

The situation, however, changed rapidly with the general conference of student committees held in 1919 in Shanghai. With this federation came the systematic control such that the decisions arrived at by the central committee would be carried out throughout the various student centers. Nor were these plans mere theories. Their effectiveness in promoting the nationalist movement and anti-foreign and anti-imperialistic agitations are too well known to be repeated. At present, for instance, by a system of underground radio communication, students in a province can be brought together within twenty-four hours.

Admittedly the youth and student movement has yet to outgrow the nationalist stage. In part this is due to the so-called anti-foreign education (cf. Lytton Report to League of Nations) in the Chinese schools—one of the methods attempted in an effort to achieve national unity. Other reasons are due to genuine grievances against foreign aggression and excessive rights, but perhaps most due to the inevitable psychological condition which any strong nationalistic movement brings. Since the era of nationalism is already five decades behind the present economic system, it will be nothing but a tragedy if this mighty student movement should bring nothing but a nationalistic China in a world which is in dire need of world society.

No one can deny that the students ought to take action against the excessive imperialism of the foreign powers in China, but the unfortunate aspect has been the negative feature of the whole movement—that no similar move is made for internal revitalization and recreation which shall bring a social system which is reasonably ordered. This, unquestionably, is the hardest problem which young idealists in China face—how to bring internal integration to a chaotic and disturbed series of states without making this a move for jingo nationalism.

An objective observer (if such may exist) will point out that too often, otherwise idealistic movements led by students—such as ousting of certain concessionaires, are but doing the cat's paw work for Chinese fascists. Too often blatant nationalism espoused is nothing but unconscious support for the sel-

fish dealings of Chinese industrialists who hope to profit by this action.

So, it is not surprising that communism should appeal to many of the intellectual classes who rise above mere national lines. They see in this communism or militant socialism the only opportunity to rid the country of parasitic officials and exploiting capitalists. To those with such views, the role of martyr is apt to be real, for the present neo-fascist Nanking Government almost invariably tries to execute those suspected of holding communistic views.

That they dare to hold such views and follow examples as set by many such as Chen Tu-hsu, Li Ta-chao, or Liu Han-kuang; that their numbers increase; that they have dared to rise even above the old family ethics which while excellent for former social system are actually an obstacle to the socialized industrial order-to-be, are proofs enough of the courage, vision, and willingness to live and die for what they deem to be the true and the just.

When we cross the Sea of Japan to Japan, we find a different situation. Here is a nation that is close knit and highly integrated. National consciousness needs no further encouragement. It is trite, therefore, this time to say that the Japanese students who have any social consciousness are far more internationally minded than their comrades across the seas. Their knowledge of America, China, and the West is infinitely greater than that of the typical American college student whose principal activity consists in attempting to get away from thinking.

In few countries are so many books read—19.1 per capita greater than the United States. Marxian and other socialistic literature are commonly read and considered. It is estimated that about 20% of the graduates of the far famed Tokyo Imperial University are of extreme left wing views. No one knows of the true Communistic strength. Socialistic views are common.

The issues are more sharply drawn then, since these students meet in opposition strong group of nationalists. Liberalism as we know of it, the vaguely mellow relic of the pre-technological era, is hardly present. The Christian students are perhaps the only group who may be classified in this "liberal" group, but likely as not they are apt to be socialists at least. I mention them because they are among the few student groups who have tried to maintain contacts with Chinese students even during the present crisis.

The difficulty of meeting the nationalist students is evident when we note that the reactionaries demand state ownership of basic industries and resources. These right wingers believe in decency level for labor, state directed insurance, education, medicine, and other forms of statism. Of course, the relative lack of national organization of the radical students adds to the difficulty.

One of the greatest obstacles to the progress of international socialist movement has been the great American blunder. Nationalism and fascism received their greatest aid from the American Congress through the general immigration act which excluded the Japanese. So strongly has this affected the Japanese thoughts that even as late as last year, seven

(Continued on page 19)

SCANDAL PAGE

Education Without Bias?

INTELLECTUAL curiosity is a fine thing especially when sponsored by public utility corporations. These organizations pay for lectures such as the one by Mr. Grayson, secretary of the New Jersey Public Service Information Bureau and professor at the Wharton School of Finance, who spoke at Washington for the Joint Utility Committee. Sometimes even Deans can be persuaded, upon slight remuneration, as was Dean Ralph Heilman of Northwestern University, to lecture to teachers' associations on such themes as "Government and Business."

Information, even when tendered by such unimpeachable men, often needs reinforcement. Hence many pamphlets, especially prepared by the utilities have been distributed—20,000 of each type having been passed out in Iowa in 1928 alone, and 82,000 circulated in Texas high-schools. Private texts also are made available to such an extent that in Ohio they are used by 60,000 high-school students, with a prophesied circulated of 200,000 in the near future. In Illinois 635 high-schools, or more than three-quarters of the total number of such schools in the state, use this specially prepared literature of the utilities in their class rooms. Pains have not been spared in spreading the good work. Professor Langsdorf of St. Louis was well paid for writing a letter introducing the pamphlets into the high schools.

Pure science is well served by the utility corporations, for money goes out for research. Dean Ruggles of Ohio State was given a year's leave of absence to do investigation for them, and men like Professor A. H. Ford of the University of Iowa, who are authorities on municipal and private rates of taxation, are employed. Northwestern University recently received \$25,000 a year for research "into government ownership of every character." The Harvard School of Business Administration has been granted \$90,000 for a three-year period, in which time it is supposed to produce an "adequate" textbook, most others in use being distasteful to the utilities.

The Insull company in its better days made a standing offer to take on, at a salary, any member of the faculty at Illinois or Northwestern University engaged in teaching the subject of utilities, and to give him opportunity for first-hand information. The man at the head of the utilities department at Illinois took advantage of this arrangement, and has been on the staff of the Public Service Co. of Northern Illinois.

One group at any rate seems to be aware of the high value of early propaganda.

RIVA STOCKER

Hollywood Keeps in Form

Rasputin and the Empress is the latest addition to the spiritual dunghill. Although the three Barrymores are in the cast and act well, although thousands of dollars were spent on gold braid and jewels and handsome furnishings, although attempts at historical verisimilitude are made in the reproduction of news reels taken in 1914 and 1917 and telegrams from Kaiser Wilhelm to Tsar Nicholas, the picture is as odorous and false as some *nouveau riche*.

The Tsar is pictured as generous, well-intentioned with a list of democratic reforms in his pocket which never came out because of Rasputin. The aristocracy is pictured as chivalrous and eager to introduce genuine reforms; but it too is circumvented by Rasputin. The execution of the Tsar and his family is performed by a group of riotous, blowsy ruffians in contrast to whom Nicholas and the Empress and the Tsarevitch are the apotheosis of compassion and dignity. But the attempt to create a moving tragedy by distorting history only results in sentimentality and nausea.

What Are Boards of Ed. Made of?

When we look at the Board of Education of New York City, which administers the public school system of the greatest city in the world, a system into which hundreds of thousands of dollars flow annually under their expert educational judgment, what do we find?

- 1 real estate man and banker (George J. Ryan, President)
- 1 retired coal merchant (Ralph R. McKee)
- 1 lawyer (Louis S. Posner)
- 1 bank president (C. C. Mollenhauer, President, Union Dime Savings Bank, Williamsburg)
- 1 printer (William J. Weber, Vice-president)
- 1 doctor-lawyer (Philip Brennan, who, it is true, did once, for a brief time have some connection with the School of Law of St. John's College)
- 1 widow of a pawn-broker (Mrs. Margaret McAleenan) and, until his recent decease,
- 1 paint manufacturer and banker (Arthur S. Somers).

Source Book of Capitalist Culture

According to Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton in his book "Socialism and American Ideals" (1919), Chief Justice Jehovah decided against the socialists in the famous case of Cain vs. Abel (4 Genesis; 9, 10):

"... in the old story of Cain's murder of Abel, when Cain inquired of the Lord 'Am I my brother's keeper?' the inference to be drawn most decidedly is that the Lord thought he was, and not the state, or tribal government of that day, in his stead." (p. 49)

Professor Myers also explained the "atrocities of the Huns" as exhibited during the latest great war as follows:

"May not the extreme brutality of the German soldier ... be the result not only of the ruthless command from the official higher up, but also of the de-souling, materialistic influence of Socialism on the common people of Germany during the past twenty-five years? Is not the viciousness of Prussian militarism plus the demoralizing influence of Socialism a sufficient explanation?" (pp. 49-50)

Despite the fact that "Socialism and American Ideals" was published thirteen years ago, Mr. Myers is still professor of Constitutional Government at Princeton. The significant question is this: "Have the years brought him any knowledge?"

RESEARCH JOBS FOR STUDENTS

II

In the last issue of this magazine, there appeared a series of comments on three fields in which research vital to the future of radical thought may be accomplished by students: Political Science, Psychology, and Military Science. Industrial Research Group Bulletins referred to in these comments may be obtained from the Editor of *The Student Outlook*.

IV. Anthropology

UNFORTUNATELY, the critical student of capitalism does not usually live long enough to observe scientifically the various stages of its growth and decay in a given culture. Yet, in the study of the ruthless march of capitalism upon primitive peoples throughout the world, the student has the opportunity today to get a complete cross-section of capitalism in all its stages—from its lusty, irresponsible infancy to its doddering, equally irresponsible old age. This opportunity has, up to the present, been very largely overlooked both by anthropologists and by economists.

When one considers, for instance, that within a period of only 30 years an active, self-sufficient, communal people (the Kwakiutl Indians) has become a sedentary, economically exploited people, depending for existence not on the product of its own labor, but on the niggardly wages that the canning concerns established upon its land choose to pay—when one perceives that within a lifetime a people's art, culture, and social institutions—even its diet and its manner of dress—have been swept away by capitalism,—and when one further realizes that the case of the Kwakiutl Indians is not unique, then the possibility and the urgency of significant, timely work in this field becomes apparent.

Just how does capitalism work when it comes upon an isolated primitive people? What is its effect upon an alien economic and social organization? Why do people change from one state to another? To what extent is such change a matter of free choice, to what extent of coercion? These are questions of more than museum interest, for they are directed to the foundations of the order in which we live.

Not only does anthropology offer opportunity to study capitalism in all its phases of development, but it also affords the opportunity of comparing the economic patterns of organization among primitive peoples with each other and with our own. Is the profit motive, as some economists have insisted, an essential part of human psychology, and so found everywhere? (Cf. Industrial Research Bulletin, the Profit Motive.) Or is there some formula of transmutation, some chemical theory of valences, which determines that human motives which assume the form of a quest for pecuniary profit in one social order will assume another form under another order?

V. Engineering

If, as Marx supposed, technology is a basic determinant of social thought and social life, the student of engineering who is able to see his work in relation to social problems, industrial and political, has much to offer in the task of social criticism and social reconstruction.

An economic criticism of a social order must deal realistically rather than metaphorically with the problem of the machine.

An accurate account of the rate at which the progress of invention can release labor, an analysis of the extent to which capitalistic industry suppresses inventions that threaten fixed investments and emasculates existing mechanical resources, an appraisal in social terms of the actual and possible efficiency of present-day industry, an estimate of the probable outcome of war or widespread sabotage upon our industrial machinery, these are but a few of the problems of modern industrial life that call insistently for an analysis in engineering terms.

The following bulletins are available:

SERIES OF 1932—

- (1) Decaying Unions; (2) Company Towns; (3) Labor in Business; (4) Public Ownership; (5) Guide to Research in Social Problems.

The bulletins listed below are not available in quantities sufficient for distribution, but will be loaned to those contemplating active research in these fields:

SERIES OF 1930—

- (1) Democracy and Leadership in Labor Unions; (2) Labor and Its Press; (3) Labor and the Police; (4) Poor Man's Justice; (5) Prison Industries; (6) The Profit Motive; (7) The Young Worker in Industry.

SERIES OF 1931—

- (1) Consumer's Power; (2) The Intellectual and the Labor Movement; (3) Agricultural Prosperity and Labor Unionism; (4) Managers in the Profit System; (5) The Labor Injunction.

L. M. K. and F. S. C.

(To be continued)

WE SEE PRESIDENT HOOVER—ALMOST

(Continued from page 5)

Obviously the pertinent question is, "What did you accomplish?"

The actual record of our pilgrimage from White House to State House to Capitol was a bit amusing. Mr. Joslin could have taken the part of Tom Sawyer's board fence with a little whitewash and no change of expression. Mr. Rogers was kindly and gave the impression of being most anxious to listen, but explained genially that we were a little lopsided in our conception of the economic origin of war, and that it would need an act of Congress to give us the desired investment lists. He rose to terminate the interview with a courtly bow when one of our number became a big inquisitive about Spain and the I. T. and T.

Representative Collins outdid himself with geniality. But he insisted that we be practical—practicality evidently meaning never getting ahead of one's constituency to the dangerous extent of getting out of office. He declined to introduce an act into Congress to secure the desired investment lists. His suggestion was that, "The best thing to do is to go back to your own communities to build up political opinion there."

But your query, "What did you accomplish?"

And our reply is, the *possibility of a beginning*. By country-wide press notices our visit was announced to the youth of the nation. If we use this start to organize at home for militant action, the Washington trip will not have been futile.

Garments For Sale — Cheap!

By JOEL SEIDMAN

"WE HAD no rest room or no lunch room to eat the lunches we brought. Our lunches we placed on work benches where rat poison was thrown around and roaches crawled up and down continuously all day."

Mrs. Marion Vigneri is telling of conditions that exist today in the shops of J. Schoeneman, Inc., one of the largest manufacturers of men's clothing in the United States, and one of the giants of the industry in Baltimore. Since the middle of September the Schoeneman employees have been on strike, under the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Mrs. Vigneri is speaking again:

"It was a daily occurrence for young girls to pick up an overcoat and a big rat jump out in her face, as big as a cat. If she were to scream or make any commotion, the boss would say, 'What's the matter? You think this is a picnic. I will send you home'."

The scene is the City Hall in Baltimore. The Mayor has asked Dr. Jacob Hollander, Professor of Political Economy at the Johns Hopkins University, to investigate conditions in the industry, and Dr. Hollander is holding a public hearing. Margaret Baker is testifying now:

"One day I asked the boss to let me go home because I had a temperature of 104 and had pleurisy. He refused and told me if I went home I would lose my job. He made me stay till 5 o'clock. Another boss came around at 5 and told me I had to work till 6. . . . When I went home the doctor ordered me in bed and told me to stay home until I got further notice from him to go to work. I stayed home three days and they sent my sister to tell me I must be at work or I would lose my job. I went in and worked with a temperature from 100 to 102. . . .

"I heard the boss tell the pressing girls they couldn't go home unless they fainted five times. Some of them, when they fainted, they laid them out on the cement floors, some in the toilet and some in the hall and some right by the pressing machines. They laid some on the cot but it was filled with bed bugs."

What about the personal relations between the men bosses and the girls who worked under them? Let Margaret Baker tell of this:

"The boss would come round and he would insult you. He would ask you personal questions—about not having children. And his hands would roam all over you. If you would say anything to him you would lose your job."

Pressing machines were once operated by husky men, for the work is hard and the temperature in summer runs as high as 120°. Though in former years a man was only asked to operate two machines, today girls are forced to operate as many as four. After working in such heat, it is little wonder that Barbara Drimal has this experience to relate:

"I had fainted one day three times. They refused to let me go home. The first time my sister asked, but I was not allowed to go home. The first time I come to I was laying on the concrete steps. After I had fainted the second time the foreman came out. . . 'Tony,' I said 'I am too sick, I have got to go home.' He said, 'You can't.' He pulled out his watch and looked at the time. It was a quarter of 12. He gave me till one to get back to my machine and to work. I was back at a quarter of one. I told him I would pass out again. He

Goucher Pickets Schoeneman

By AILEEN McQUOWN

FOR THE first time in the history of Goucher College, students have taken an active part in the labor struggle. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers organized strikes in various shops in the city of Baltimore during the month of September. All the employers made terms except Mr. J. Schoeneman, and Mr. L. Grief, who refused every effort for arbitration. Picketing their shops was especially exciting because of the attitude of the police who undoubtedly reflected the partisanship of the government of the state. The laws of the state of Maryland permit the police department practically to make its own rules as to what constitutes lawful picketing. For a long time almost no picketing was permitted, for the police department insisted that only five people could picket a factory containing at least a thousand workers. A group of citizens, angered by this absurdity, formed a committee and worked for less stringent interpretation of the laws, but were powerless to prevent many of the arrests. The strikers were permitted to walk up and down from one end of the block to the other, two by two. After due deliberation, signs and singing were permitted. However, the instant a striker halted, or accosted a strike-breaker, the striker was arrested and held without bail.

It was under these circumstances that the Goucher College students entered the picket line. All of them were warned not to go unless they could pay a fine. At first there were only a few who went, but as the strike kept on more and more people volunteered.

Indeed the students who picketed soon found themselves so much interested that an offer was made to serve coffee and hot chocolate to the strikers every afternoon during the cold weather but it was found that the Amalgamated was furnishing this service.

As a matter of fact, it was not the students who helped the strikers, although perhaps they encouraged the workers to a certain extent, but it was the strikers who helped the students. Many students picketed just for the "thrill of the thing," but as they marched up and down with girls who had been living on about five dollars a week, and who had given this up in order to support their union, they could not help feeling the nearness of tragedy. It was easy to imagine that inside those grey factory walls, with their dark frowning windows, almost anything could happen. And when the college girl's marching partner showed her calloused hands, and described the monotonous workings of the factory, the real need for labor legislation became a vivid thing rather than a cold economic fact. The students who took part in picketing, and marched and sang, have been shaken out of their habitual calm. They returned to the campus and told their friends. The feeling for social justice is growing among the Goucher students who have seen the actual conditions. More people are needed who are willing to make these first hand contacts, and see for themselves the need for a new economic system that will give these industrial girls a fair chance.

said, 'You are not so heavy to carry out.' When I went back to work I padded one lapel on a coat and fainted again. . . ."

What are the facilities for medical attention? Let Marie Drimal answer:

(Continued on page 24)

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY

By FRANK NEWTON TRAGER

EITHER by accident or design the very interesting December number of *REVOLT* raised an issue—or better—a pair of related issues which deserve the attention of socialist-minded persons.

As the reader of the December *REVOLT* turned its pages he would have chanced upon the suggestive article of Lucy M. Kramer and Felix S. Cohen, "Research Jobs for Students." He read:

In the reconstruction of society most of the important jobs are jobs for which only students need apply. . . . Above all there is need for thought. . . . Undoubtedly, practical service by the student on the industrial or political front serves to clarify the vision. . . . But the student has his own role to play. . . . Students have more to offer in the building of the cooperative commonwealth than old clothes and sporadic service on the picketline. There is striking, picketing and rioting that must be done within library walls. Obviously not all college students are possessed of the time or the temperament to strike, picket or riot within library walls. But even those who scorn the ivory tower may find that the value of their most practical activity in post-graduate days will depend largely upon their intellectual preparation, rather than upon their emotional sincerity."

The article (hereinafter referred to as Art. I) obviously makes a wise and determined and necessary plea for the role of research and intellectual effort in the planning towards that society which we envisage as the cooperative commonwealth.

As the reader—perhaps excited by this call to intellectual arms, perhaps resolved to investigate, scientifically and logically, some problem among the many cited in Art. I—turns the pages, he begins to read, "Students in the Class Struggle" by Amicus Most:

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

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

The article (hereinafter called Art. II) goes on to describe the beneficial results to students and workers derived from the active participation of some students of the University of Minnesota in a local strike.

This time the reader of the December *REVOLT* may feel the glow of sympathy and approval for efforts described in Art. II. He resolves, perhaps, to enter more militantly, more actively, the labor struggle. Finally, he turns to the very careful letter (hereinafter, Art. III) of Maurice Goldbloom, entitled by the editor "Students in the Labor Movement." The closely-knit letter is too long to quote, but in substance, Mr. Goldbloom—I believe, correctly—comments on the "impassioned oratory," urging students into the labor movement, and the frequent absence of "definite suggestions." He notices the difficulties attendant upon entering the labor movement: the numerous and, all too sadly, the antagonistic, factions of

labor, and the distrust shown by these factions for the "intellectuals."

Well—my reader is "given pause," as they say in the South. He finds himself confronted by a real dilemma. On the one hand he is urged to go into the Library (Art. I). He is also urged to go into the labor movement (Art. II) but he is told (Art. III) that even if he decides to follow seriously the advice of Art. II, his way is almost blocked by a variety of unfortunate circumstances over which he has no immediate control, and before which he must seemingly bow in defeat.

The purpose of this article—coming, as it does, as a conclusion to the articles by Mr. Seidman and Miss McQuown—is to make clear a way out of this apparent dilemma. The way out, as I see it, is the clear recognition that research and labor movement participation are separate but concomitant spheres of activity and influence, each of which will attract either different interests of the same student or different students. There is no necessary "either . . . or" quality about these activities. If such disparate activities attract different students, these students are *united* in their clear recognition of the purpose and goal of some type of socialistic society. These same students are *diversified* in so far as they, taking account of their diversities in psycho-biologic habits, customs, modes, traditions, expend their critical and creative energies in the many-fronted movement which will, it is hoped, ultimately lead to the cooperative commonwealth.

In this, a transitional era before a socialistic society is achieved, it is most necessary, not only to recognize, but also to utilize, such diversities of energy. But it is also importantly necessary to keep in mind that "workers of brain and hand," are united in the dominating purpose which animates their separately contributed, separate abilities and assets.

The two articles proceeding this are to the point. They are concerned with the same problem: a strike and subsequent investigation of the wretched conditions prevailing in the Baltimore clothing industry. L.I.D. students from Goucher, for the first time in the history of Goucher College, picketed, took "active part in the labor-struggle." Undoubtedly they learned and profited, undoubtedly, too, they contributed to the workers. An L.I.D. member was selected by Professor Hollander to carry on active investigation of labor conditions in this industry. Mr. Seidman's report, briefly summarized here in his last three paragraphs, was adopted by his chief. It was a careful, documented economic survey of the Baltimore clothing industry.

Obviously we need both types of activity—if not to be found in the same persons, at least among different persons. The rationale of such activities might well be called "Cultural Pluralism."

The point is this—that the L.I.D. is precisely the type of organization which concretizes the theory of cultural pluralism. What it is necessary to repeatedly say is that there is *no* part of *any* of these activities, of research or labor-struggle participation, which can be neglected. There is no harm if certain of us give our major attention to one or the other of these parallelistic activities, but there is harm if certain of us attempt, either to diminish the importance of, or to exclude, entirely, one or the other.

BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION

This is One Way to Sell Radicalism

RADICALISM must be advertised.

We have few presses of our own. We must make the capitalist press willing to broadcast our ideas. We must, then, make the news for them.

Radical news is the unusual. Resolutions, manifestos, however well-intentioned, smack of the futile—to the conservatives, smack of the ridiculous. Radical action must be reported. So likewise, radical speech accompanying action.

Informing the Press

1. Send advance notices to the papers.
2. If speeches will be given, send advance copies.
3. In both cases, give all unusual features of speakers and other participants. Tell exact time, place of meeting.
4. Get outstanding speakers.
5. Have a woman or girl speak. Despite the suffragettes and WCTU, a girl on a soap-box is news.
6. If the speaker knows little, have him speak—just a little.
7. Invite reporters to all meetings, banquets, etc. Send a letter of admittance (or ticket) to the City Editor.
8. Have plenty of posters, good-looking girls for the photos. Try to get posters, not people, however, into the photos.
9. Even though you are successful in attracting the press, write your own stories for each important paper.

Newspaper Style

- a. Do not use carbon copies of stories.
- b. Do not say: "Will you print this?" Say: "I think this is news. Perhaps you can use it?"
- c. Learn the "deadline," time limit when stories may be got to (and printed in) each paper. Get the story there at least six hours before the deadline, preferably 24 hours.
- d. Write leads (opening paragraphs) for news stories with a real punch—or without, according to the paper. Know your papers.
- e. Propagandize only in quotations, or in adroit wording. Examples:
 "Capitalism is bankrupt!" As least this is what 100 youths contended at a meeting . . .
 "The R.O.T.C. is 'un-American' and 'un-Christian,' according to a statement issued by . . ."
 Observe that, in the last example, the opening sentence is good propaganda, yet the paper is absolved because of the "according to, etc."
- f. Make paragraphs, sentences short, concise, precise, picturesque. Avoid participles for leads. Use participles only with verbs of action—when there is action to be described. Avoid quotation leads, unless indirect by way of brief summary, or as above—one startling sentence quote.
- g. For pre-announcements of meetings, when there is nothing startling, write one paragraph only. Startling: two to five. Don't "pad" stories. The longer the story, the more important—the larger the headline it will get, and the more prominent the position in the paper.

h. Don't try to write the headlines.

i. When asked for a quotation by a reporter, tell the truth but make statements like a Hearst headline. The same goes when writing your own quotation.

j. In order of importance tell in the first paragraph—event, time, place, individuals, theme. The importance differs with the story

k. Type all stuff, double-spaced. Type carefully, legibly. It is appreciated.

Boring From Within

Never will it be emphasized too strongly that college radicals must shunt their freshmen, particularly, onto the college paper. Especially journalism students, those that write well, and will succeed. Send so many for try-out that one, at least, will make the grade. Keep their marks up to avoid disqualification, or suspension.

Make interlocking directorates, by having your men in all school activities, to promote radical activity of otherwise quiescent groups, and to make the news of those groups redly tinged. Co-sponsored action, possible with interlocking directorates, makes good news.

Praise wisely all progressive measures in editorial and news policies of papers (especially college papers) with an open letter to that effect, or resolution.

If radicals are on staff, they should get interviews with sympathetic faculty members, who will give direct quotes in commendation of your action, resolution, etc. They should continually submit editorials of a radical nature, being careful, however, not to endanger their position.

Make use of the "Notice" column of the paper for meeting announcements.

In articles to your college paper, do not play up names. You will be called exhibitionists, anyway. Play up ideas in live quotes.

In Case of Censorship

If the paper is censored, those on the staff would naturally be the first to discover the fact. Have radical groups, professors of journalism, English, others on faculty, protest in petitions, resolutions, letters to the "Letter Column." Send private notes to the editors of the paper—all of them—and tell them you are with them in opposing the censorship. You are!

Be very courteous, careful, if the editors refuse to publish stuff for any reason. If after a month of pleading, they print nothing, raise hell. Try to buy advertising space. Get out mimeographed sheets advertising the gagged press. Don't condemn the editors. They usually are not to blame.

If you think it is the administration, say so. If that body is not to blame, they may help you get your news printed to stop the publicity. If it is the administration who is to blame, the editors will thank you. If nothing avails, stage a real free press meeting. Print your own stuff as cheaply as possible. Even attempt five minutes on the radio. Use strikes, if necessary. Fight.

The Adventures of Candide, Jr.

III

"Nothing so gratifies the enquiring mind as travel," said old Dr. Pangloss.

"Nothing, unless it be the wisdom of a teacher and historian like yourself," responded his young companion, Candide, Jr. And they smiled effulgently, one upon the other.

They were driving through the coal mining region of southern Illinois. Their mission was twofold: To enable Candide, Jr., to see for himself that this is the best of all possible worlds, and to collect source material to support that thesis for a textbook which Dr. Pangloss was writing.

... Candide, Jr., guided his car through the slush of a small mining settlement, he sensed an oppressive quiet in the air. The

streets were deserted. No smoke or sign of activity came from nearby mine tipples. Lines of armed men patrolled the mine properties.

When he stopped his car in front of a shabby frame building, marked "Company Store & Post Office," he observed that another car had stopped just behind him. When he and Dr. Pangloss alighted, they found themselves surrounded by half a dozen armed men.

"Just a friendly little tour of inspection," explained Dr. Pangloss. "Permit me, gentlemen. I am Dr. Pangloss, of the University of Smorgasbord. My traveling companion is Mr. Can—"

"Can all that stuff," proposed the closest of the men. His fellows winked delighted among themselves.

"Do you know," continued the man, "what happened to some sweet college boys and a dear old professor from Chicago when they tried to inspect Franklin County a while back?"

"I should be interested in hearing," said Dr. Pangloss.

"It happened like this," replied the man, and he swiftly struck the historian in the mouth with his fist, making him fall backward. Other men attacked Candide, Jr., dropping him in the snow beside Dr. Pangloss. Both were kicked and beaten with gun stocks until blood spurted from their mouths and they fainted.

When they became conscious again, they were lying on the counter of a village store. Each looked up into the face of one of the men who had beaten him. But neither fainted again, because a quantity of liquor was being poured down his throat.

"There," cried the man who had explained what had happened to the two college boys and their professor from Chicago. "There, now, I'm sure glad you weren't hurt none. The boys sure didn't aim to harm you. Just a little rough play, that's all. Right smart of a joke all around."

At which his fellows laughed boisterously.

"What do you mean!" shouted Dr. Pangloss furiously. "How dare you set upon me, a peaceful citizen, and my young friend here, and beat us down in the street? Go fetch the Sheriff at once, at once, do you hear?"

"You're talking to him," replied the man. He paused to take a drink of the liquor that had revived his visitors. "It's like this," he went on. "We're a peaceable folk around here, but we have to protect our property and keep law and order against a mob of scum from the mines. That's number one."

"We like people to come see us and enjoy themselves, but we don't stand for a bunch of radicals that drifts in to raise hell, or smart guys from the colleges who want to talk about civil rights and such tripe. That's number two. I reckon you understand."

"Do you mean to accuse us of inciting trouble?" demanded Dr. Pangloss. "I'll have you know I never spoke to a miner in my life."

"Neither did I," asserted Candide, Jr.

"I'm letting you go on the strength of that," answered the Sheriff. "No charges in the county court if you cross the line before sundown. I see you didn't bring no food or books for them worthless strikers. That's in your favor, too. So I'll wish you both a pleasant trip. Only one thing of yours I'm keeping."

"What's that?" asked Dr. Pangloss. He and Candide, Jr., had limped painfully to the doorway.

"It's your Chicago Tribune. We don't get it down here every day. There is one paper I can enjoy."



THE MIDWEST CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 9)

ing them aware of their class consciousness. In recounting the experiences of the Chicago organization, he described the three stages of worker's consciousness.

"They are," he said, "first, unconscious; secondly, soup conscious; and finally, class conscious. It is our task to make the unemployed aware of their class consciousness, if social service is not to destroy their morale and make them unemployable."

Resolutions adopted at the convention included the taking of definite stands on campus issues such as opposition to dismissal of instructors, advocacy of first scaling down salaries of administration and professors to meet budget cuts, and fights on the R.O.T.C. Nora Kahn, Wisconsin, was elected vice chairman of the I.S.C. On a close count it was voted to change the name of REVOLT. Among the colleges represented by delegates were: Johns Hopkins, Syracuse, Antioch, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa State, Simpson, Michigan, Missouri, Illinois, Chicago, Park College, Rand School, and others.

Do You Write?

NEWSPAPER reports of strikes, food riots, hunger marches, etc. are so meagre and usually so prejudiced that eye-witness accounts of them are especially desired by THE STUDENT OUTLOOK. These should be simple and comprehensive. Likewise, contributions of one-act skits, poems, stories and critical essays will be given a sympathetic reading by the Board of Editors.

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK contains certain regular features such as "Meet the Stuffed Shirt" which attempts to deflate pompous persons in academic life; "Who's Who Among the Rebels" which is an attempt at minute biographies of live-wire rebels; and the function of the "Scandal Page" is obvious. Readers are invited to contribute to these.

Contributions should be mailed to the Editor at
112 East 19th Street, New York City

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Literature and Marxism

THE LIBERATION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE by V. F. Calverton. Scribners, 1932. \$3.50.

BY SENDING a beam of white light through a prism, it is broken up into its component colors. Historians of culture have been searching for the prism that would do the same for the cycles of taste. But usually they have overemphasized one component, which in terms of our analogy would have been to give a "red" or a "blue" interpretation of white light. We find Prohibitionists insisting that the key to historical causation is the amount of liquor consumed, Catholics that the seat of history is Rome, and bibliophiles, the printing presses.

Some philosophers hold, however, that there are as many true histories as there are historians with varied interests. Through any phase of history many shafts of interpretation can be sent, and in the absence of a common denominator no one of these can be called the most important or the producer of the rest. This view, of course, is at variance with the Marxian which insists that economic factors are basic in history. Mr. Calverton is a Marxian. It is his avowed purpose to interpret American literature in terms of the conflicting class interests in American society.

Though it is plausible to account for an author's position on political questions by his class loyalties, it is much more difficult to make out a convincing explanation in such terms of those imponderables which produce the flavor of all great literature. Somehow the great writer looks at the ordinary world and it is transformed. The soul of the poet rolls through the world and little can we do but scientifically explain a few barnacles that have fastened to it. Indeed, it is true that in most instances the more gifted the writer under consideration, the more difficult it becomes to explain him in terms of external forces; while the lower down we go in the hierarchy of talent, the more stereotyped and patent become a man's reactions to his environment. As a corollary one might add that the more formal the work of art under analysis, the more opaque the origins of its subject matter become to historical scrutiny.

To make this clearer we ought to distinguish between "timely" and "timeless" values in literature. The first, we believe, can be explained in terms of the social structure existing at the time. The forces that produced *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the forces that caused it to be so widely read were political and economic. A more contemporaneous instance would be any of Upton Sinclair's novels, all of which moved us more powerfully than many novels we consider superior, but did so by taking advantage of our present economic and political loyalties. Such books are valuable because of their timeliness. Nor does a book's appealing to our patriotism preclude its containing enduring virtues. And a critic might legitimately condemn a book wanting timeliness, although ingeniously and hauntingly written. This we consider to be Michael Gold's justification for his salutary blast against Thornton Wilder. The Marxian technique is the most fruitful in the analysis of the timely elements in literature.

Mr. Calverton senses this limitation on his method and

disavows any attempt to do justice to the "aesthetic" elements in American literature. But then he becomes subject to a subtle confusion: almost unconsciously he exalts the explainable elements in an author to the status of the valuable elements in that author. Thus Mr. Calverton thinks he has explained the enduring in Emerson when he has accounted for the doctrine of a self-reliant individualism, for Emerson's distrust of collectivism, and for an imputed desire to escape from "the practical implications of his logic." But Emerson is not important primarily as a political philosopher nor does it seem to us a significant job to go through the roster of nineteenth century worthies to find out what each one literally said about the relation of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. We recommend to our readers, if they wish to measure the adequacy of this method, that after they have read Calverton's analysis of Emerson, they read again *The American Scholar*.

That Mr. Calverton uses the term literature equivocally is partly a result of his use of the Marxian method, and partly of his inability to recognize literature when he reads it.

This is a harsh accusation, but it is substantiated by Mr. Calverton's treatment of the writers of the last twenty years. Among the poets there is bare mention of Eliot whose "Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," "Portrait of a Lady" and "Sweeney Among the Nightingales" are as witty and moving as some of Donne's songs; of Wallace Stevens whose *Harmonium* contains some perfectly phrased lyrics; of Archibald MacLeish and E. E. Cummings whose poetry refreshingly catches the minutiae of sensation; of Ellery Leonard and Elinor Wylie whose sonnet sequences are beautiful and passionate; of Hart Crane whose *White Buildings* and *The Bridge* contain the most original imagery of the century, and whose endeavors were almost superhuman to incorporate a machine age vocabulary into a poetical diction that is pastoral and classic in character.

Although Mr. Calverton speaks of Michael Gold and Charles Yale Harrison as novelists of promise, he omits Thomas Wolfe, the most protentous talent of all. Among the critics he does not allude to Kenneth Burke whose *Counter-Statement* is, except for Santayana's writings, America's most original formulation of a theory of literary criticism; and Joseph Wood Krutch gets a grudging line.

On the other hand the writers of *The Masses*, *The New Masses* and *The Modern Quarterly* (Calverton's little darling) come in for thirty pages of adulation! We do not believe that even in the year 1932 to be proletarian literature is to be great literature, and that for Calverton, or some writer he talks about, to use Marxian terms should be an open sesame for praise by left wing critics. Mr. Calverton claims to be in agreement with this and devotes several pages to the artist as craftsman, citing Plechanov and Trotsky in justification; but one can see from the above his agreement is only verbal.

Mr. Calverton's best section is that dealing with the frontier force. When the Eastern plutocracy threatened to swallow up the mechanic, the small shopkeeper and farmer, they began drifting west. Until that time American literature was chained to imitation of European models. It was the frontier with the free and easy democratic ways it produced, its in-

vigorating environment, its hostility to Eastern cities which were the strongholds of European mimicry that caused Emerson and Thoreau to call for a native literature and finally produced Whitman and Twain. The latter represent for Calverton the beginning of the liberation of American letters. It was, says Calverton, "the petty bourgeois individualism of the frontier which provided the basic psychological determinant in our national ideology. It was the influence of that individualism which accomplished our release from European culture, undermined the force of the colonial complex, and laid the foundations for an indigenous American culture."

Nevertheless it is true that Emerson's thought and that of the whole Concord group was significantly influenced by such European writers as Carlyle, Goethe, and Swedenborg; and that the renaissance (not liberation) of American literature and American taste that we have witnessed in the last thirty years was led by men who spent most of their youth in Europe or who constantly studied and talked of idols across the sea, of whom few Americans had then heard. The present general level of technical excellence in literature, and what is more important for a cultural history, the high grade of public appreciation are only remotely a product of the frontier force. Of these facts Mr. Calverton has nothing to say. They are difficult to explain in terms of class conflicts. Further, we do not know by what principle of selection Mr. Calverton can omit Emily Dickinson and Henry James from his consideration in this section of his book.

Finally Mr. Calverton's excessive reliance on secondary sources does not make for confidence in him as a historian, nor does the grating Marxian jargon with which the book is replete. Marxism is said to provide a scientific technique for historians. But one of the first canons of scientific procedure is thorough clarity, consistency and plainness in the use of language. No scientific historian, no person with any sensitivity to words would ever talk of "the petty bourgeois-mindedness of the proletariat."

JOSEPH P. LASH

The Problem of Power

A NEW DEAL, by Stuart Chase. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. 257 pages.

THE cause of the depression is overproduction; or, restated, maldistribution of the national income. There are at least three entirely satisfactory methods of climbing out from under: (1) soak the rich by inheritance and income taxation and give the money to the poor; (2) inflate the currency and force the cash to percolate downwards; (3) start a vast program of public works. The rich have excellent reasons of self-interest for discouraging all three. It is obvious that if balancing the government budget means surgical economy, there is no means better calculated to deepen the crisis.

Of course it is true that these three expedients would not do more than delay the inevitable breakdown, since our foreign markets are failing beyond hope of revival, and big business men are too stupid or too disorganized to turn fascist and scale down production permanently to the level of home consumers' present purchasing power, or, in the alternative, to increase home consumers' purchasing power permanently to take up the glut of produced goods. Big business men will not turn fascist (witness however the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) because the competitive psychology is strongest among entrepreneurs. The competitive psychology is a function of the proposition—true enough in practice under a

Metaphor to Action

*Whether it is a speaker, taut on a platform,
who battles a crowd with the hammers of his words,
whether it is the crash of lips on lips
after absence and wanting: we must close
the circuits of ideas, now generate,
that leap in the body's action or the mind's repose.*

*Over us is a striking on the walls of the sky,
here are the dynamos, steel-black, harboring flame,
here is the man night-walking who derives
tomorrow's manifestoes from this midnight's meeting;
here we require the proof in solidarity,
iron on iron, body on body, and the large single beating.*

*And behind us are the men who second us
as we continue. And near us is our love:
no forced contempt, no refusal in dogma, the close
of the circuit in a fierce dazzle of purity.
And over us is night a field of darkness unfolding,
charging with heat its softness in a symbol
to weld and prepare for action our minds' intensity.*

MURIEL RUKEYSER

system of laissez-faire—that, with unimportant exceptions, you cannot make a great deal of money unless you are an entrepreneur. Given an ubiquitous desire for wealth and plenty of initiative, overproduction is the recurrent catastrophe. This conclusion is not invalidated by the circumstance that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the average citizen to start a business. The hope then—the hope for economic, not to speak of spiritual, rehabilitation—lies in some form of socialism, defined here as control from the top in the interest of the masses.

All this is old argument in the socialist primer. It is none the less incontestable. Mr. Chase's presentation is full of verve, elliptical as all propaganda must be. His appeal is to the scientific spirits of the new era; he is of the opinion that it should be easy to goad this class into rebellion at the waste and aimlessness of an economic system of which the most palpable characteristic is that it has never been able to see beyond the end of its bulbous nose. Mr. Chase may be right, though it is to be observed that the technocrats are not socialists. Another question that remains open is whether a successful appeal can presently be made in words of two syllables addressed to the rank and file? One would suppose that the radical formula is simple enough: on the critical side at least it is nothing more pretentious than a large and insistent Why spoken to Mr. Morgan's millions. Yet how many listeners carry away this impression after admiring radical oratory?

BENJAMIN N. KAPLAN

STUDENTS IN THE FAR EAST

(Continued from page 11)

years after the passage of this exclusion law, the split in the Labor Party into socialists and fascists was due to the few writers who became nationalists resenting America's insult.

Civilization needs an internationally minded Japan far more than most people realize. For when the world commonwealth comes, as it must if we are to survive, we need Japan in that role which she has played so conspicuously—interpretation and translation of the Occidental technological order to the Orient and vice versa.

The Blessing of Unemployment

(Continued from page 7)

the industry of war, which in these days of peace employs over a million American workers. The myth of armed defense which calls forth this prodigious output of non-productive labor contains two ingredients, both of which are poisonous: First, the foolish fear that Mexican or Canadian armies will pour over our borders as soon as we reduce our arms and armies, and secondly, the equally groundless hope that an army or navy or even an air force will be able to protect our cities from French, Russian, or Japanese bombing planes. The recent Japanese lectures in military science at Shanghai have taught all who care to learn that in the present state of mili-



tary technology the defense of peaceful cities against aerial warfare is an idle dream. Writers of patriotic anthems who want an army to defend our mountains and brooks after our cities are gone might fairly be asked to organize their own corps for the purpose.

The waste of man-power involved in the industry of war is more dramatic but hardly more extensive today than that involved in the industry of advertising. A few kind words may be said for the by-products of advertising, as for those of war, but the net social product of advertising is nothing, or something less. If the Snark Corporation spends a million dollars to convince the public that its cigarettes are superior to those made by the Boojum Corporation, the Boojum Corporation must spend a like sum to counteract the Snark campaign. At the end of the struggle the two corporations are in the situation made famous by the two dusty travellers, each of whom bet a dollar that the other could not eat a grasshopper, and who, when the two morsels had been downed, asked each other with glum and puzzled mien, "Why the hell did we eat those grasshoppers?"

Not all advertising is self-cancelling in this simple way. The combined campaigns for Snark and Boojum cigarettes may increase the total consumption of cigarettes by leading people away from cigars and sweets. But this merely means that sellers of cigars and sweets will have to reply with new advertising campaigns of their own. The net social result is simply to transfer business within each trade to those who ask for it most eloquently, and to depress the level of consumption in trades which are not organized in such a way as to make advertising profitable (e. g. unprocessed farm products, personal medical service, and the non-social arts.) If advertising is socially productive in so far as announcements of new products, processes, and services enable the consumer to buy more wisely, the fact remains that such advertising represents only a minute portion of the field of advertising, and probably a much smaller portion than is occupied by positively misleading advertising which spreads erroneous opinions, inculcates tormenting desires, and plants insidious and groundless fears.

Add to war and advertising such non-productive industries as speculation and gambling, the manufacture of nutritionless foods and poisonous medicines, the provision of recreations that do not re-create and services that do not serve, and the manufacture and distribution of a thousand knick-knacks and super-luxuries that satisfy no wants which a rational society would balance against the human cost of production, and you have covered about a fourth of the labor that men are paid to perform. It is likely that an equal amount of wasted labor is called forth by the manufacture and sale of useful commodities that are badly made because the purchaser is unable to distinguish them from goods of better quality until they are used and because the profits of the sellers are largely dependent upon the rapidity with which the goods they sell wear out or become obsolete.

The production of useless and shoddy articles is only one phase of the problem of industrial waste. Equally important sources of useless labor are the duplication of effort inherent in free competition and the industrial sabotage inherent in private monopoly.

Free competition gives us Ohio coal in Illinois, Illinois coal in Ohio, and a procession of from two to six milk wagons on every city street every morning. Free competition gives us 40,000 kinds of steel windows, 78 sizes of blankets, and 1,351 varieties of files and rasps; while the publishing trade discovers that it is afflicted with

6000 brands of paper and 147 varieties of filing cabinets. The percentage of industrial effort wasted through useless diversification has been estimated by the U. S. Department of Commerce at 25%. Free competition gives us 800,000 stores that employ seven and a half million people and operate, according to the estimate of Veblen, at a general efficiency of from ten to twenty-five per cent. Free competition gives us motor cars for which, according to Stuart Chase's calculation, the cost of selling is seven times as much as the direct labor cost of production. Free competition imposes upon railroads, factories, and mines the overhead cost of a capacity that is never realized, and that, according to David Friday's conservative estimate, consumes the useless labor of two and a half million workers.

Some of the wastes which we associate with the regime of free competition are being swept away by the rising tide of private monopoly. But private monopoly inaugurates new types of waste. The essence of private monopoly is the power to restrict the supply of goods or services available to the consumer. Such restriction is effected either by the destruction of commodities or by the sterilization of means of production. Farm products are allowed to rot in fields and orchards or thrown on city dumps, fruit trees are uprooted, fields of wheat and cotton burned, milk poured down sewers, fish thrown into the ocean, ships scuttled, labor-saving inventions suppressed, and machinery allowed to rust and crumble behind closed factory doors. Industrial sabotage in these wholesale forms is less disreputable but infinitely more destructive of the products of human labor than all the monkey wrenches thrown into America's printing presses and power looms by discontented workers.

As our industrial organization oscillates between the wastes of free competition and the wastes of private monopoly it consumes useless labor which conservative engineers and statisticians have estimated as equal to one-third of the nation's working man-power. If half of the nation's effective man-power is spent in the production of goods and services that are not worth producing, we are in a position to cut down our original estimate of the necessary working week by 67%.

A general working week of ten hours is thus a fairly immediate possibility. Possibilities there are, less certain, but perhaps more significant, in the funeral vaults of the patent office, where we sacrifice the first fruits of our laboratories to the gods of our economic order. Only those who have followed the course of labor-saving inventions that promise to revolutionize particular industries, and observed the suddenness with which accounts of them vanish from the public and the technical press, know how far the Power of the Machine has been emasculated at the command of vested interests.

The question of whether employment can be abolished entirely is no longer a matter of utopian speculation. To abolish employment is not, of course, to abolish work, but only to eliminate the sort of work that is so unpleasant that men have to be paid to perform it. Even today a large part of the world's most efficient and most useful work is done by the unemployed, by physicists, engineers, physiologists, and artists who, if they receive pay for their work, do not work for their pay, who, in fact, continue to work when life pensions are offered them. The capacity to work for the love of the thing created, for the thrill of personal achievement, and for the respect of one's fellow creatures is shared by every one who plays at hunting, gardening, tennis, or the rearing of children. The distinction between work and play is a relative one, depending least of all upon the strenuousness of the activity involved. Play is work when done for reward. Work is play when performed for its own sake. To reduce the volume of the world's essential work to a point at which men's vital drives suffice to guarantee its performance is an ideal which can no longer be dismissed as a scientific impossibility.

IV

One thing is certain: we shall not attain the ideal of unemployment unless we seek it.

Those who talk of the need for ending unemployment are motivated, in part, by an honest belief that idleness is sinful. This belief, which finds expression in our poetry, religion, and philosophy,



We do not abolish poverty by ending unemployment

as well as in our economic thought, is in part the reflection of a temper engendered in the industrial conquest of a continent, and is natural to those who have been too busy to learn the values of idle love, useless art, and disinterested thought, and who therefore find freedom from toil fraught with bleak revelations of their spiritual nakedness.

There is, however, in our restless attempts to "cure" unemployment a purpose more noble and more generous than contempt for non-pecuniary values. The word unemployment has come to be used as a euphemistic synonym for poverty, and so many of us talk of abolishing unemployment when what we really want to abolish is poverty. It is natural enough for a man to say that he wants a job when what he really wants is a salary. But when this harmless euphemism is carried over into our social thought, its effect is devastating. For so long as we assume that society as a whole can become richer only by working harder and that hard work will necessarily increase society's wealth, our thought is bound within the framework of an economic order that contains the seeds of its own destruction. Serious criticism of that order must begin by challenging the complacent identification of employment and wealth, of poverty and unemployment. Most of the labor which men are employed to perform makes no more contribution to the wealth of society than does the arduous toil of the burglar, the forger, or the maniac. And in the long run the most important part of society's wealth is not the product of economic coercion, but the flower of economic freedom, of intelligent idleness.

To talk of unemployment as if it were an evil instead of a potential blessing is to invite cures for unemployment that are direct causes of increased poverty among the masses.

Men recognize instinctively that beetles, wars, and snowstorms are natural calamities. Men uncontaminated by economic sophistry

are as quick to recognize that the performance of useless labor does not make society rich, that industrial sabotage is a crime more dreadful than retail robbery and retail murder, that tinkering with money does not provide milk for children or shelter for the homeless, that we cannot feed the hungry or clothe the naked by raising the price of food and clothing, and that we will not restore prosperity by securing foreign "markets" in "undeveloped" or "backward" countries, i.e., countries whose inhabitants are so poor or so stupid that we can work for many years feeding, clothing, or poisoning them without getting anything in return except bonds.

When we talk of the problem of unemployment we are prone to forget that there is a problem of poverty, and that the world's experience prior to 1929 A.D. has revealed ways of meeting that problem,—modest ways such as the minimum wage, restriction of hours of work, steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes and the capital levy, unemployment insurance, pensions for sickness, childhood and old age, extended governmental control of prices in essential industries,—and, in addition to all these, bolder and more comprehensive ways that involve a thorough-going social control of man's economic life to the end that the rest of his life may be free.

If we want to abolish poverty, rather than unemployment, we will do better to face our objective honestly and state it plain terms. So stated, our problem calls for an answer that is not supplied by the currency inflation schemes of our political alchemists, the perpetual motion machines of our banking experts, the incantations of our confidence men, the blood-letting of capitalist saboteurs, or the thousand other panaceas that promise to cure unemployment. Our problem calls rather for the scientific organization of a society in which the abolition of socially useless wealth and socially useless labor guarantees to all both the physical perquisites of the good life and, in due measure, the blessing of unemployment.

THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOCRACY

(Continued from page 4)

of both manual workers and capitalists as controllers of the industrial system of the future. They would abolish the present currency system and base the exchange of goods upon some bookkeeping transaction or new currency which would be based upon the measurement of energy. At this point their notions fade rapidly into enveloping fog. Just how would the technicians who run a new social order be chosen? What shall be the line of demarcation between an employed worker and a master technician? What would happen to the social system in which we now live if the debt burden were summarily thrown off and all mortgages and bonds canceled?

To these questions the technocrats have not yet supplied any definite answer. They do say, however, that we must abolish the price system. It is at this point that socialism can step in and point out the limitations of technocracy. Socialism has a plan for abolishing the capitalist system and for so destroying the injustices of a price system that price may lose its sting.

Socialists say that the two central ideas of the technocrats' plan for a new social order can be accomplished only by the social ownership of machines, and that if you have such social ownership the technician will have a new dignity and the price system will lose its worst features. They propose to place all industry under a national planning board with representatives of technicians, consumers, and manual workers on the board. They would vest the title to all major industry in the government. They would create one national banking system. Under such a socialist system the technician would be the chief authority on all questions of industrial technique, but his power would be limited by the democratic power of all workers.

A socialist system would destroy the evils of the price system because under socialism every worker would receive an income for service only. The sources of unearned wealth would be taken over by the community. The price system is bad partly because under capitalism it pays someone to manipulate prices for private profit. Under capitalism the right to purchase

goods at a price is also withheld from millions of men because their fair share in the world's wealth is given to property holders. When socialism brings about an equitable distribution of wealth and work, the right of a man to purchase commodities will depend upon his labor, and the prices of articles will not be determined by the necessity of private individuals to make private profit. When we have such an adjustment between labor and purchasing power the maladjustments of our present price system will disappear. Price will represent service as nearly as possible.

III. How Would Technocracy's Plan Be Realized?

It is in the answer to this question that the real weakness of technocracy is apparent. The technocrats are as innocent as new-born babes about the problem of power politics. Apparently, they think that the strongest capitalist class in the history of the world will yield its power voluntarily as the present system crumbles. They seem to believe that the technician can come into control without a great mass movement behind him.

In this particular the socialist movement is more realistic than technocracy. All history shows that a master economic class will not abandon its power voluntarily—it can be displaced only by another class organized to control society. To the technicians whose imagination has been caught by the new phrases of technocracy the socialist says: The technocrats are right in predicting the doom of capitalism but they must come to us for the program and the power to realize their dream.

OF THEE I SING

This play, which it is reported is about to close, represents a milestone in the efforts of American musical comedy to attain the level of Gilbert and Sullivan. Its success should inform producers that there are other aspects of society besides sex and beer which are material for wit and musical spoofing. As satire "Of Thee I Sing" is not as bitter as revolutionaries would like it to be, but it's along the road.

Contributors to This Issue

PAUL BLANSHARD at present shares his time between the City Affairs Committee and his work in the colleges. No Socialist, except Norman Thomas, has so receptive a press.

BEN FISCHER is a young worker who is studying at the Rand School.

ROBERT CULLUM has left Albion College to work in the Pennsylvania coal fields.

Several chapters of Felix S. Cohen's book, *The Ethical Basis of Legal Criticism*, which is in the process of publication, have already appeared in various philosophical and law journals.

HELEN FISHER is an undergraduate at Swarthmore. She did a prodigious job at the New York Conference of record-the proceedings, so the more pleasing task of recording them for THE STUDENT OUTLOOK rightly belonged to her.

Even though they are still at college, an increasing number of student Socialists are sacrificing careers as scholars, engineers, etc., to undertake the arduous work of being a revolutionist. Though still an undergraduate at Iowa State College, Alvin Coons is known throughout Iowa as an organizer for the Socialist Party.

LEWIS MUMFORD is writing what is ambiguously described as a book on "form." He is well-known for his *Golden Day*, *The Brown Decades*, and his biography of Melville.

YUKIMORI is the pseudonym of a Japanese student.

MURIEL RUKEYSER is on a leave of absence from Vassar. She is Literary Editor of *The Student Review*.

JOEL SEIDMAN was on the L.I.D. Chautauqua in West Virginia last summer. There he was fondly christened by his fellows "yellow-dog doctor." He recently received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins for his thesis on yellow-dog contracts.

AILEEN MCQUOWN was confined to college grounds at Goucher for her anti-war activities in Washington, D. C.

FRANK NEWTON TRAGER is a youthful instructor of philosophy at Johns Hopkins.

RIVA STOCKER is a graduate of Vassar and a former Chairman of the Intercollegiate Student Council.

ANNA CAPLES helped organize this year's Christmas parties down in West Virginia. She is now a member of the L.I.D. staff.

LUCY M. KRAMER is a graduate student of anthropology at Columbia and secretary of the Industrial Research Group.

BENJAMIN N. KAPLAN is editor of the *Columbia Law Review*.

RAINEY BENNETT went down to West Virginia during Christmas, where he entertained the miners' parties with impromptu sketches.

THE DAY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 10)

fact planning what we are to do to make the day after possible, probable, inevitable. It will not be done by folding one's hands. It is not enough to sit around and talk, to debate between military action and parliamentary action. That is an abstract question. When the time comes we will use the action that is necessary. It is like debating before catching a baseball as to whether it will be caught on the right or the left side. It all depends on how near one is to the ball and how one can best reach it.

We must begin by educating ourselves. First, know your regions, walk over them, see them, plan in your own minds what they ought to look like. The Boston park system came into being because Charles Eliot, who planned it, used to walk over the country around Boston as a boy and visualize for himself the parks it should contain. One of the chief problems in living is how the land is used. Second, know your industries, particularly those of your own region, and those outside which have a direct relationship to your region. Know the relationships between them, and know your place in relation to them. Keep away from the gadget industries. After spouting militant Socialism for four years, you musn't find yourself in an advertising agency. Turn down the jobs that don't belong to the society of the future. You can be a physician, a town planner, an architect, for they have a place

in the future society, but you can't be a go-getter or an advertising man, or a worker in a parasitic industry. Third, know yourself. Banish your romantic bourgeois individualism, the obvious Utopia of the middle class. Prepare for the day after the revolution by becoming radical in practice today. One of the members of Kerensky's government said, a short time after he had gone into exile, that Kerensky's group would soon be back in power, because "most men are like us—we want our comforts." But the real work is carried on by the people like Lenin and Trotsky who didn't care what sort of clothes they wore.

How can we prepare for effective action? Can it be done through politics alone? No—we are not preparing for just a new line-up of power but for a different life. The new society won't come by waiting and by wishing, but will spring from desire. We must want our kind of life as passionately as the financiers of the past wanted his power, his prestige, his profits. We won't be stopped by property and privilege. When we do imagine these, a new life, so firmly and concretely that we can act upon it, the day after will be upon us.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS, OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of L. I. D. *Monthly* published monthly from October to May, inclusive at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mary Fox, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor for the L. I. D. *Monthly* and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, wit:

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

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

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

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

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

MARY FOX, Editor.
(Signature of Editor.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 12th day of January, 1933

WILLIAM T. SIMPSON, Notary Public.
(Commission expires March 10, 1933.)

In order to conform with Post Office regulations, we are obliged to print the above statement of ownership. In October, 1932, the L.I.D. *Monthly* became *Revolt*, and the latter with this issue becomes *The Student Outlook*.

FREE FOR ALL

Socialist Cameraderie

DEAR SIR:

I heartily agree with Reed Harris' conclusions concerning fraternity life in last month's *REVOLT*. I resigned from a fraternity the same week I joined the Socialist Party. With all their faults, however, fraternities do have two—only two—good points. Though they do nothing else, they at least train their pledges to assume leadership in the "house" when they become upperclassmen. In this method of organization our L.I.D. Chapters usually fail. On too many campi our Clubs expire each June, to be reincarnated the next fall—provided one or two students are around to hold a meeting. Often the graduation of one student leaves an organization completely bankrupt. This is where we can learn from fraternity methods of organization. Just as they go out each year and get members from each class, so should we. These students should be trained to assume leadership in their Junior and Senior years. One method of doing this is to organize dormitory committees to make contacts in the various campus dorms and to bring socialism into the daily life—bull sessions, etc.—of the student from the time he's a freshmen till he leaves college.

Though fraternity life in America is assuredly a hindrance to individual thought, one other feature of fraternities may well be utilized. Fortunately it only takes the good points of fraternities and eliminates the bad ones. This is a cooperative house plan. I can best explain it with a resume of what we are doing at Chicago. There are about a dozen of us living together and eating meals at home, thus cutting down our expenses. In addition to living more cheaply in this manner, we have gained quite a deal of prestige on the campus. We have a place to bring people who are becoming interested in socialism and a home to which we may ask interesting professors and others to spend an evening. The biggest advantage of the whole plan, however, is that we are able to accomplish a great deal of propaganda work with a minimum of effort.

HERMAN WOLF

University of Chicago Socialist Club

Campus Ku-Kluxers

DEAR SIR:

Reed Harris' excellent article on fraternities brings to mind another similar, but still more insidious, evil spread throughout the American college system of today. I refer to the hundreds of secret "honorary" societies to which juniors and seniors aspire. By setting up false standards of achievement, by singling out the "big men around campus" for wholly unmerited recognition (in most cases, at least), and by generally perverting sound ideals of campus service, these organizations have forced themselves into a position of dangerous strength in the colleges. They represent one of the most important of the remnants of the sophomorphism and rah-rah rowdiness of the past which are now being rejected by thinking students.

As a case in point, I may mention the two men's honoraries on the Swarthmore campus: Book and Key, and Kwink. The former is a mystic group of seven men, holding meetings at seven minutes past seven every Thursday, and otherwise hallowing the number seven. They are chosen by a ridiculous ceremony in the spring of their junior year, and represent what they fondly believe to be the cream of their class. As a matter of fact, they are typical "big men"—athletes, wire-pullers, etc.—and they very seldom include any of the really worth-while members of the class. Kwink, the managerial society, is even worse. Membership is extended to those who have tried out unsuccessfully for various managerships, and is a sort of consolation prize. It not only encourages the futile sport of "trying out," but even perverts the aims of those who really do like to help on the business end of campus activities. The women, by the way, have a similar society, Gwimp, but they are making honest efforts to reform its abuses, so that condemnation should here wait on further knowledge.

An encouraging factor in the present situation is the recent appearance of a series of articles in the Swarthmore "Phoenix" signed by "Swarthmore Improvement Association," attacking the "Sacred Bull" (Book and Key) and the "Golden Calf" (Kwink), with the promise of more to come. But this is only the first step in the needed campaign. If we are to banish "intellectual sham" from our campuses, these societies, of which the Swarthmore examples are by no means the worst (there is some evidence supporting the frequent

contention that Swarthmore is one of the most liberal of American colleges), must be overthrown at the outset.

HELEN FISHER

Swarthmore '33

On Academic Freedom

DEAR SIR:

We are all interested in academic freedom in education. With the purpose of writing a thesis on that subject, I am attempting to gather material which would be helpful. The subject includes interferences with the proper exercise of academic freedom, attempts to coerce members of the teaching staff, intimidations, attacks from outside organizations on the administration of the schools, legislative interference and kindred other phases.

I am very desirous of hearing from any individual who has anything which would be of use to me in the preparation of this thesis. I would appreciate suggestions as to persons to whom to write, references, discussions, debates.

HERBERT S. EIGES,

10075 Crocuslawn Ave., Detroit, Mich.

The Miners Fight On

DEAR SIR:

Stricken with unemployment as this country is today, the areas of hope are where workers have taken their courage and lives of their families into their hands to strike out for themselves against conditions which are beyond human endurance. In the mining regions of Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee the situation is today sharp and bitter.

In Illinois the miners have organized themselves into the Progressive Miners of America. Some operators have settled with the union, but the powerful Peabody-Insull coal interests around Taylorville and Springfield look to the exploited Kentucky coal region to break the strike of the miners in Illinois. Miners at work—most of them work part time—contribute one dollar from each pay to their relief fund. During the winter months accidents increase because the ordinary hazards underground multiply. Cost of burial of the dead and help for the injured take away much of the funds. The sum collected is insufficient. To make relief go as far as possible, miners' wives and daughters have organized themselves into Ladies Auxiliaries, organized soup kitchens, fed hundreds of school children in each mining town at least one hot meal a day, remade old clothing to fit, and have stretched every cent, every bean, every piece of cloth as far as humanly possible. To discourage their work, county officials and company thugs have been beating these women up and throwing them into jails. The fight in Illinois is a fight for a progressive, militant organization of miners and their families, instead of for an entrenched officialdom. At least 10,000 miners and their families in Central Illinois today are utterly dependent on the money and clothes our committee can send them within the next few weeks.

In West Virginia the union fights on. It is in friendly alliance with the Progressive Miners of America. A strike at Coalburg waged during this last month of snow and cold is the forerunner of another and larger strike which may become unavoidable in the early spring. The tent colonies all over the Kanawha Valley have been there so long that now as one of the miners declared, "they've taken root." Babies die by the score. Before a child is a year old in these camps it has run the gauntlet of every form of disease. The whole population is hungry and sick. Their song goes "'Tis indeed a bitter pill to work without a union neath the West Virginia Hills." They are striking now, they must strike again. In striking lies their only hope for life, for a step toward freedom.

Still further South, in Wilder, Tennessee, coal miners have been carrying on a lonesome battle against the company and a community which fails to sympathize with their plight. Friends of the committee are in close touch with the situation there.

Our plea is simple and direct. We know in your own midst there is suffering which must be assuaged. But friendless miners, sometimes lacking in hope, shut up in their tents or little houses crowded with children, need money and clothing in their struggle against the organized operators. We must give now and be ready to supply funds and clothing when Spring comes.

Please send money and clothing at once to Room 1105, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Make checks payable to the Committee, to Norman Thomas, chairman, or to Reinhold Niebuhr, treasurer.

(Signed) NORMAN THOMAS,
Chairman

GARMENTS FOR SALE—CHEAP!

(Continued from page 14)

"I ran a needle clear through my finger, my finger was pinned right down to my hand. I went to the dressing room looking for someone. I couldn't find anyone so I sat down on the chair and I fainted and fell off the chair. When one of the girls came in and found me she notified the woman in the office and she told her to bring me in the office. When I got in the office I fainted a second time. They washed my finger with S.T. 37 and put iodine on and wrapped it up and told me to go back to work. I was feeling too sick to go back to work so I asked the foreman if I could go home. He says to me, 'You couldn't get off when you asked me this morning. What in the hell did you do? Have to run a needle in your finger to get home to keep a date?' He told me to go back to work. And I stayed there until 1:30.

"When I got home and went to a doctor the doctor found some pieces of the needle broken off and still in my finger."

"Or perhaps you would have preferred to have been in Mrs. Salvi's place on this occasion.

"Another day the foreman brought me a coat to fix. It was already pressed. I noticed something thick in the sleeve. I turned around and says, 'There is something in the sleeve, maybe I have found a fortune.' One girl said, 'Open it up.' I opened it up and found a crushed mouse."

Low wages, long hours, unsanitary conditions, industrial autocracy—such is the men's clothing industry in Baltimore today. Fifteen years ago, when similar conditions existed, the

foreign-born workmen who then dominated the industry succeeded in organizing most of the plants and raising the standards. But years of depression have taken their toll, and today sweatshop conditions exist again, though 85% of the employees are native-born. Most of the girls, who now outnumber the men in the industry, earn between \$5 and \$8 per week, and most of the men earn between \$10 and \$20. To get the yearly income multiply by only thirty or thirty-two, for the clothing industry is highly seasonal.

Wages are lower in Baltimore than in any other of the ten principal centers of the industry in the country, and the differential thus enjoyed has enabled some of the Baltimore houses to greatly expand their businesses. L. Grief & Bros. Co., Inc., and J. Schoeneman, Inc., the two firms that dominate the Baltimore industry and that have until now defied every organizing effort, sell their product in a nationwide market and, thanks to low wages, can sell their garments cheaper than can manufacturers in any other locality. It is worth mentioning that L. Grief & Bros. Co., Inc., will not employ any Jewish men or women because it fears that they may some day lead a strike—this despite the fact that all the members of the firm are themselves Jewish.

Dr. Hollander concludes his report with the observation that "To the extent that the prosperity of these firms is due to business sagacity and technical efficiency, it is a matter in which the city takes pride. To the extent that it results from superior competitive power growing out of the exploitation of the Baltimore labor supply, it is a discreditable thing." Unfortunately the latter is true. It is the exploitation of its workers that enables Baltimore to sell its garments cheap.

Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program

A Symposium Edited for the League for Industrial Democracy

by Harry W. Laidler, Ph. D.

Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy

With an Introduction by NORMAN THOMAS

\$2.00

WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT

SOCIALIST PLANNING AND A SOCIALIST PROGRAM

"It is a brass-tack discussion of why capitalistic planning is inadequate, of the aims of Socialism and its immediate program for a transitional period, and of the agencies that may help inaugurate a planned economy. Here are illuminating debates on real economic problems with certain blueprints of proposed changes toward socialization. —This is a realistic book that courageously defines hard problems to be met by Socialists—or any other party of change."

LEON WHIPPLE in a review
in the *Survey Graphic*

"It is the best yet!"

ARNOLD E. FREESE
Secretary-Treasurer, Socialist Party of Conn.

"—a decade hence there will be Socialists who will turn to it in assessing the views of the present period."

JAMES ONEAL in a review
in *The New Leader*

"A penetrating look at the present American economic tangle."

The Columbia Missourian

"The book should be interesting to all who are interested in government."

The Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

"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."

Revolt

FALCON PRESS, INC.

1451 BROADWAY

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.