

The **STUDENT** **OUTLOOK**

Formerly REVOLT
The Intercollegiate Socialist Review



SPRING

WHAD'YE MEAN— CLASS STRUGGLE?

Norman Thomas • Scott Nearing
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Auto Workers Strike

A Fighting Union

Revolt in the Farm Lands

CUBAN STUDENTS CARRY GUNS

By CARLETON BEALS

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The Great Community

An Editorial

READING such books as *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* or *A Farewell to Reform* one sometimes becomes nostalgic for the days of the titans and leaping hopes when socialism was a movement into which one entered, not only because of the correctness of its analysis and prophecies; one was drawn into it by the heroic stature of the people who were socialists, by the camaraderie of ideas and feelings that drew all socialists together. Lower New York was dotted with homes that were the high tension stations of socialist activity. At any time of the day one could drop into them and find politicians, labor leaders, painters, musicians, poets, suffragettes wrangling out the hours. At these spots one could always gather a crew for the picket line or for some demonstration or for a songfest.

Then there were the great ones who flew from group to group like the sparks that fuse an electric circuit: John Reed whose verse was appearing in *Poetry* and who was learning about the revolution by writing up all its violent deeds; Bill Haywood, harsh and ominous as was the reputation of the I.W.W.; Mabel Dodge, whose job was getting radicals out of scrapes; Jack London, Robert Lovett, Upton Sinclair and Harry Laidler of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society who were trying to build a Fabian movement here; Art Young and the old *Masses* gang, Max Eastman, Floyd Dell; and over them all brooded the sweet, binding spirit of Eugene Debs.

When one of these walked into a room they crystallized all the little currents into one tremendous and infallible movement. One came away from their presence feeling:

The whole earth

The beauty wore of promise;

One knew one was entering not merely a movement for political reform, not merely a crusade for economic security, but a great society of elect in which every aspect of one's being was affected. To be excluded from the company of these sane, yet mad, prophets, from these shrewd, yet idealistic, revolutionists was to be banished to the empty shadows of the everyday world. There were other social groupings around this period, but that of the socialists seemed the most vibrant with life, the most glorious.

Yet one can look back today and not believe oneself to have been born too late. Despite all the splits in the radical movement, despite all the discouraging things that have happened since the halcyon days before the war, socialism is again becoming a rallying ground for all persons with clear heads, five live senses and a dash of idealism. Once again there are socialist research groups which adjourn to go on the picket line or to have a round of songs. At radical offices, persons linger around after six o'clock, arguing, jesting, planning, as if never wishing to leave such bracing company. On Saturday night few radicals cannot find a house party of kinspirits where the conversation is brisk and comprehensive, where long debates go on over fundamentals in radical doctrine, and where

inspired by a shot of liquors, with a great welling-up of feeling, one commands a view of the many tasks of organization that have to be carried out.

Socialist Houses are being tried out on several college campuses. Here true fellowship is found in a common vision of the herculean jobs that have to be done. Here gather, what must seem to reactionary college administrations, bands of devil's advocates, to devise schemes to plague them. Here alert instructors prefer to come and join in the supper discussions. These are wayside houses for comrades with the wanderlust. Running student cooperative houses is swell sport, but it also will contribute permanence to the student Socialist movement.

That socialism is more alive today than ever is proven by the fact that in the midst of the depression the number of radical publications has almost doubled. Has the fight over Marxism ever been waged more furiously and with more penetration than at present between Sidney Hook and some of the functionaries in the Communist Party? Has the place of the arts in society ever been discussed so thoroughly as at the various lectures in New York and in the various liberal and radical publications? The exhilarating aspect of all these discussions is that they are not characterized by the intellectual crudity that usually attends the beginnings of a social crusade.

As for grand people, they are astir in this world of ours. Watch the quiver of awareness in a crowd of miners or striking auto workers or intellectuals when Norman Thomas stalks into it. With how much affection do socialists look up to that grand raconteur, Oscar Ameringer. Morris Hillquit's lucid orations, delivered, always with a trace of dandyism in his posture, so self-collectedly yet so eloquently explain his enduring hold on the people who know him. Those who have gone into a fight with Paul Blanshard know how capably he carries it through.

Then there are the hosts of young socialists who have become full-time revolutionists. Trotsky somewhere has remarked that "revolutionary life is camp life," by which he meant that the revolutionist cannot allow himself to take root anywhere. Such staples of civilized life as the secure prosecution of private projects, domestic tranquillity, friendships and even self-cultivation, must all be sacrificed to the cause of revolution. In the auto industry, in the farm lands, in the textile mills, in the unemployed committees, you can find these students, these camp-lifers who have devoted themselves completely and unflaggingly to the building of a new society.

Ours is a wide fight and it is not a dull, discouraging one. Students who stay out of it are missing their best chances for rich and exciting life. The stirrings of something intangibly fine that the youths in Athens must have felt while listening to Socrates and disporting with him, that the young Elizabethans knew, are again in the world. Who can stay apart?

CUBAN STUDENTS CARRY GUNS

By CARLETON BEALS

IN HIS violation of the entire legal system of Cuba, with the good-wishes of Washington, Machado has had the opposition of every literate Cuban except the Army and a small clique on the government payroll. Above all—the opposition of the students.

Before Machado could consolidate his power, he had to destroy Cuba's educational system almost in entirety. For more than two years the island has been deprived of nearly all educational facilities. For two years most of the professors and teachers have been without employment, the rest unpaid for months. A generation of Cuba's youth will grow up in darkness, schooled only in violence and murder. This will raise serious future problems for the establishment of stable and responsible government in Cuba.

An imposing main stairway leads up to the University of Havana, an impressive group of buildings set upon a high hill between the center of the city and aristocratic Vedado. Today, the buildings are closed and deserted; the students no longer sing their way up and down hill; the beautiful gardens are overrun with weeds and trampled down by cavalry horses. Armed soldiers, with gun and bayonet, guard the various entrances, lifting their weapons against anyone who approaches too close. The main patio has been converted into an encampment of tents.

The students of Cuba have had a long tradition of fighting for good causes. They began agitating in their papers *Alma Mater* and *Youth* against the Machado excesses. The government countered with violence. A gang of police entered the home of the aged philosopher and patriot, Dr. Enrique José Varona, dean of Cuban letters, and beat up a group of students visiting him. Simultaneously soldiers seized the university. The Rector resigned; Dr. Ramón Gray San Martín, professor of Physiology, refused to continue teaching surrounded by soldiers and he, along with Dr. Guillermo Portela, law professor, was thrown into the Island of Pines penitentiary, where they still remained when I was in Cuba a few months ago.

Nevertheless, Machado was still hopefully spending vast sums "involving hundreds of thousands of dollars of useless graft" to put up new buildings and beautify the gardens—to build, as the students said, "a civilization of stones and cement." At the top of the main tower was placed a large tablet honoring Machado for these enterprises; the students defaced it with mud and stones. Machado could not find the culprits, but he put student leaders into jail then and also during the Pan-American Congress, attended by Coolidge, Morrow and Hughes, to avoid any protests against his government.

During September, 1930, Cuban intellectuals planned to render national homage to Dr. Varona on the fiftieth anniversary of his philosophical teaching. Various professors and the students cooperated and prepared a parade to visit his home. Unexpectedly the University grounds were surrounded by police; soldiers were hidden in the Crisantemo garden near Varona's home.

The students organized their parade outside, but after a

few blocks were ridden down from ambush by mounted soldiers. Rafael Trejo, a brilliant senior law-student, was shot in the back. The student Pablo de la Torriente had his head split open, and today, after miraculous recovery, is still being tortured in the Island of Pines prison. Other students were wounded and beaten. Dr. Marinello, attempting to stop further beating of wounded Torriente, was arrested and put in a convict's uniform in Principe Castle. Most of the other professors who joined the parade have been in prison ever since. Marinello, subsequently released, was rearrested for attempting to defend, as a lawyer, twenty girl students sent to the Island of Pines, and was condemned to one hundred day imprisonment. Later he was sent to the island on a fake bombing charge. Released two months ago, he now fears to stir from his home because of the danger of assassination.

A few days after the Trejo incident, 300 professors met in the Engineering College to pledge their sympathy to the students and to back them in their fight for constitutional government. All these professors, including those of the preparatory schools—among them being 70-year old Dr. J. A. Rodriguez, for forty-two years professor of Spanish literature, and Dr. Méndez Pelayo, the first authority on Spanish grammar in all Latin America—were immediately and illegally dismissed. They have been out of employment ever since, despite the fact that this and the closing of the University which followed, were repeatedly declared unconstitutional acts by the Supreme Court. Many of these professors are today, if out of jail, in dire poverty; many are working at manual labor. Dr. Pedro Miquel, Cuba's leading mathematician, is doing bookkeeping; his children are being cared for in the homes of his former students. Dr. Victor Dodriguez, anthropologist, is now a baker; Dr. Rodriguez Garcia depends on public charity.

ALL THE fifteen members of the students' executive committee which led the fight on Machado which has resulted in the closing of the University indefinitely, have been in prison on the Isle of Pines for about two years.

Their place was immediately taken by others, who naturally kept their names secret. After the death of Trejo, the students armed themselves to defend his body from being seized by the government to thwart public funeral. The government desisted from this step, but from this time on the student movement entered upon a secret armed phase. Their papers had been suppressed. Their cause could not be presented in any other publication in the island. Their organization had been driven underground. The University was closed. From this time on all activities had to be secret and often violent.

Three groups have emerged from these trying circumstances. Some of the students became communists and split off to form their own organization with a separate committee. The main body of students and professors founded the A.B.C. organization, which is composed of two activities: propaganda and direct-action assault upon the government position. In addition to the students and professors it has taken in most of the notable intellectuals of the island.

The central committee is composed of eight individuals,

*Part of this article has appeared in *Common Sense*.

each of which in turn organizes a sub-group of eight members, none of which knows the main central committee. The second tier thus includes fifty-six members who do not know the personnel of the central committee. The third tier, similarly formed, contains 392 members who do not know the composition of either of the two upper tiers and so on ad infinitum. Orders are transmitted through the king-pins of the various small groups. Many of the members are, despite this secrecy, in exile in the United States.

The A.B.C. has published an extensive program of political and economic regeneration, which looks to the ultimate reconquest of Cuba's resources by Cubans. It includes a project for breaking up the large estates and restoring family patrimonies. The A.B.C. proposes the nationalization of all public utilities, banking control, the founding of an independent savings and trust bank, promotion of cooperation in production, reduction of taxes, definite protection for small industry and farming, an advanced labor code, and the full restoration of political rights.

Its propaganda efforts are devoted to the publication of a small secret periodical which keeps the members and outsiders aware of the atrocities committed by the Machado regime against students and others. The paper also carries a section in secret code, giving instructions as to the procedure of the members. One wing of the A.B.C. carries on terrorist activities, on the grounds that all other forms of political protest have been destroyed and made impossible. General revolution is impossible because Machado is allowed, despite the ruinous state of the treasury, to buy unlimited supplies of arms, horses, bombing planes, etc., in the United States. The A.B.C. therefore strikes at individual members of the government and threatens all government celebrations with bombs. Some forty members of the government have been marked for death, and five on the list have been successfully dispatched. Thus far, these have been persons most closely connected with arbitrary brutalities, official assassinations and prison torture.

As the government has not been able to penetrate the secrets of the A.B.C., its violence toward students and professors has increased, and no former university student, former preparatory school student, former professor, is immune from arrest or death.

(Continued on page 20)

From a Cuban Student

The most difficult and unmerciful struggle ever recorded in the annals of the history of the American continent is at this very moment being carried on in Cuba, less than one hundred miles from Florida, between the Cuban students demanding justice and liberty and the tyranny of Machado.

The University of Havana and all public high schools of Cuba have been closed for three years; the leading students are shot down by the police; their mothers who appeal to the foreign Embassies and Legations seeking guarantees for the lives of their sons are attacked by women of ill fame released from prison by the government for that very purpose; lawyers who risk their lives to defend students tried by court martial are assassinated.

All of these horrors, which were totally unknown during the most cruel period of the Spanish Government, are actually taking place in Cuba as a result of a tyranny, the principal support of which, is the diplomatic policy of the American Ambassador in Cuba.

My statement of facts might seem exaggerated and my opinions may be classified as governed by passion, to those who happen to read my remarks and who are away from the Island of terror, but I am certain that the people of Cuba, with the exception of the henchmen and tyrants of the dictatorship, will find that said remarks are entirely too mild.

My personal experience is the best evidence of the unparalleled Cuban tragedy. After having been confined in prison for eight months, on August 15th, last, I appeared before a court martial and was acquitted. Several days later, Dr. Gonzalo Freyre de Andrade, professor of the University of Havana, a member of congress, and one of the attorneys who defended me in the above-mentioned case, was assassinated together with his two brothers within the confines of his residence in Vedado, situated in the rear of a police station. My other attorney, Dr. Carlos Manuel de la Cruz, a distinguished Cuban statesman and member of Congress, miraculously escaped assassination due to the fact that he was absent from his home at the time they sought to kill him.

I was exiled from Cuba during the early part of December. I secretly returned to that country on a special mission during the latter part of said month and remained there for two weeks. During that time five student companions were murdered, namely:

Argelio Puig Jordan, who died on December 26 last as a result of the bullet wounds received from Commandant Arsenio Ortiz, against whom 44 murder charges have been pending since 1931, for political crimes committed by him in the Province of Oriente within a period of 90 days.

Juan Mariano Gonzalez Rubiera, murdered December 30, last, by the Havana Police, after Ambassador Guggenheim had refused to intercede to save his life. Rubiera was a high school student seventeen years of age. His hands were mutilated and his body bore evidence of horrible torture.

Angel Alvarez, murdered on the night of January 4, last, after his life had been guaranteed by Ambassador Guggenheim.

Mirto Millian, murdered January 10 in the city of Santa Clara by policeman Pedro Over.

Mariano Gonzalez Gutierrez, tortured and murdered in Havana on January 15th. His murderers are Souto, Mendez, Llamas and Sampol, all members of the Havana Police. That is the tragic summary of events over a period of two weeks for the Cuban students.

What Do We Cuban Students Demand?

Nothing more than to do away with tyranny, the punishment of those responsible for the deaths of our brothers who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for liberty, and the constitution in Cuba of a democratic and legal government. If we have failed to accomplish our purpose so far, notwithstanding the support of 95% of the Cuban people, it is due to the fact that Machado is maintained in power by one of the best disciplined and equipped armies in America, while we are practically unarmed. Furthermore, and of major importance, is the fact that Machado enjoys the support of great American financial corporations and makes use of this influence in his dealings with Ambassador Guggenheim, in order to make the less corrupt army officers and the public in general believe that in case of a military or popular uprising, the American army would intervene to sustain him in power and to punish the rebels.

EDUARDO R. CHIBAS

WHAD'YE MEAN — CLASS STRUGGLE?

A Symposium

Few terms in the revolutionist's handbook have been so abused as "Class struggle." In some places it has become a shibboleth which if not pronounced with proper intonations disqualifies one from radical activity. In other groups its use causes looks of horror and repulsion. To effect some consistency in usage THE STUDENT OUTLOOK has asked several leaders of the radical movement what they meant by "class struggle." We regret that neither William Z. Foster nor Earl Browder had time to answer our letter, but perhaps Scott Nearing adequately represents their point of view.

In our letters we listed the following questions for the guidance of our contributors:

- (1) *Do you use the term "class struggle" and what do you mean by it?*
- (2) *Do you believe that a classless society can be achieved without a struggle between the owning and the working classes?*
- (3) *Do you consider recent technological changes to have altered the traditional conception of the class struggle?*
- (4) *Will the proletariat play a more important role than the middle class in any approaching significant social change?*

NORMAN THOMAS

THE limitation of space for the discussion of the class struggle compels me to be more dogmatic and less explanatory than I could wish. Of course I believe that there is a class struggle between an owning class and a great mass of workers with hand and brain. The recognition of that fact is basic in Socialist philosophy. On neither side of the line, however, is there absolute identity of interest or complete consciousness of solidarity. Consciousness of solidarity on the whole has been greater in the middle class in America than among the workers. Today it is increasing among the workers but there are still differences of race, nationality, wages, and working conditions which tend to divide the workers. There is also the inheritance of hope that a man can rise out of his class by getting a prize in the lottery of life rather than helping his class to rise—a hope largely derived from pioneer conditions in America. Energy for a successful prosecution of this class struggle by the workers comes not primarily from those who are already pretty well squeezed down but from those who are being squeezed down,—out of the middle class, out of the class of skilled workers, out of the group of professional folks who have had a middle class psychology. In America Socialists need to re-define the term worker. From 1870 to 1930 there was a 25% drop in the proportion of those gainfully employed workers who actually produced physical things. There was a corresponding increase in various forms of personal service and clerical work. For this reason if for no other we must make white collar folks, especially technical workers, engineers, and the like realize that their ultimate and most important interest lies on the side of the workers and the establishment of the classless society. To Socialist speakers and organizers the concept of the class struggle is very important. It is not a concept, however, that carries automatic conviction to hearers simply by being repeated parrot

like in speech after speech. It requires interpretation and explanation. Mass loyalty has to be cultivated. Immediate self interest is apt to be divisive even within the working class. Hence the need of stressing not only class loyalty but the way capitalism poisons the whole body politic. Then we must emphasize the practical vision of the cooperative commonwealth.

ROGER BALDWIN

Director of the American Civil Liberties Union

The class struggle is to me the most obvious of conflicts. As I read history, all progress has been made by the struggle of oppressed economic classes for a greater share of political and economic power. Middle-class people shy off from that obvious interpretation of progress because they are deluded by abstract ideas of "democracy," "freedom," and "justice."

The class struggle is all around us. It shouts from the pages of every daily newspaper. Just because open struggle may be concealed for the moment by crystallized institutions hard to break does not make it the less significant. Even under such concealment, people think in terms of their groups and class interests. And when crisis comes, they will fight for those interests. Self-interest runs the world, and always has. A classless society will come when the self-interest of each is the interest of all. To that goal we shall doubtless advance, first by state capitalism (as today in Fascist lands) then state socialism (as in the Soviet Union) and ultimately communism without a state based on violence.

I see no evidence in recent years to challenge the general Marxist interpretation of the economic class struggle nor of its vision of the goal of a classless society through revolutionary conflict. Nor do I see any class capable of creating the reconstruction of society except the workers who produce the world's goods. The property-owning class is incapable of change; the middle-class is merely a buffer between the propertied and the propertyless which in crisis splits between them; the propertyless class alone is capable of organizing the interests of all producers and consumers.

My only affiliation is with the struggle of those forces advancing toward a classless society with minimum violence.

MALCOLM COWLEY

One of the Editors of the New Republic

Anybody who visits a coal or textile town during a strike knows what the term "class struggle" means. At such a time everybody in town—lawyer, merchant, school boy, relief worker—has been forced to choose one side or the other. But the class struggles does not cease to exist when the crisis is over. It persists through prosperity and depression, merely disguising itself. The belief that the classless society can be achieved without struggle between classes is like believing in capitalism without unemployment.

The middle class is not a single reality like the proletariat or the capitalists. It is composed of many economic groups, several of which have lost their functional relationship to society as a whole. If the middle class plays a more important role than the proletariat in the social change that is surely approaching, the result will be fascism.

A Prize for Your Answer

What are your reactions to the use of the term "class struggle?" The best comment by a reader of our magazine on this symposium will receive a copy of Trotsky's three volume History of the Russian Revolution. Replies should be under 500 words, written on one side of the paper, and in the hands of the Editors of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK by April 10th, 1933.

FLORENCE W. BOWERS

A member of the Socialist Party since its beginnings. Has lectured widely for the Party through the Middle West. Is now one of the editors of E. P. Dutton and Company

(1) Why use "class struggle when it is so much easier to show the average American worker, middle class professional and farmer, that the wealth of this country is *not* in their hands. A simple, direct, sincere statement of the facts in the case accomplishes the same purpose, doesn't it? They are only confused and turned aside by theoretical Socialism. The essential information, simply and directly put, is the important thing. To try to drill them until they learn to speak the language of Marx may assure us of their intellectual allegiance, but it may also dry them up into Marxian mummies. It seems to me that instead of loading down our backs with the class struggle we should set our feet upon it and proceed at once to talk to the issues of today. There never has been so much difference of opinion on the theoretical background. The battles of the past, as I recall them, have always raged around how we proposed to get what we are after in the United States, confronted by the facts of the American historical and economic background; how we thought we should, or should not, modify our position to meet a definite situation here. The argument began right there.

(2) No. If American society were as simple as this question makes it sound, however, it would be easier to answer.

(3) If "technological changes" are doing anything they are eliminating the workers who live by their hands. This may be a break for the brain-workers at last! Seriously, however, if we could get the "traditional conception of the class struggle" out of the way for awhile we could do more about it in America, as witness the amazing success of the technocrats with the tools they had to work with. That thousands of Americans were not dismayed by the language of Technocracy might teach us a few things. Here was something out of their own lives.

(4) There is not yet a definite class line-up in the United States. Arguing from the facts which we have at hand today I think it is possible to make out a very good case for the middle classes, as witness the farmers of the middle west who have been conspicuously alone in mounting the barricades. One can easily imagine that if there were no "corner" in the offing, they might be joined by other middle class groups, fighting to preserve for themselves some of the things they have had from life in America. I do not believe that they are going to be "shaken down" without a stiff and stubborn fight. That the terms which they may get from American capitalism, either through political pressure or by the kind of direct action used by the farmers recently, will not be revolutionary enough to satisfy us socialists, we all know. But you have to start from where you *are* to get where you want to go. What else are you going to do? Wait for some revolutionary action on the part of the authentic American working class; some

coup d'etat on the part of the organized workers who are about as middle class in their psychology as the middle class itself? Wait until we are all "liquidated?" In Germany the middle classes have been "liquidated" all right, but so far as I can see the flag still flies. How much more is that going to be true of this country, workers and all? The facts which confront us today, it seems to me, are much more important than what Marx told us may happen tomorrow. One City Affairs Committee, even with its limited functions as in New York City, is worth a hundred discussion groups trying to decide in an hour which demands *action*, which class is going to do *what*.

SCOTT NEARING

Prominent author and lecturer

The conflict between an exploiting class, which holds power and seeks to keep it and an exploited or oppressed class which seeks to take the power for itself.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor at the Union Theological Seminary and author of "Moral Man and Immoral Society"

In answering your question in regard to the class struggle I would say the following:

The class struggle is a reality of history. It does not mean merely that the proletarian class must struggle politically for its rights but that there is an actual economic struggle continuously in history between those who have economic power and those who have not. A classless society will be created only by carrying this struggle through to its final conclusion. In this struggle the working class has the most significant role. But victory will not be won, particularly in a country with as large a middle class as our own, without the help of portions of the middle class. This help would be prompted partly by the economic disintegration of the middle class and partly by the intellectual and moral emancipation of certain middle class groups from middle class interests. These middle class groups can be effective however only by an organic relationship to a proletarian movement.

KARL BORDERS

Secretary of the Chicago Office of the L.I.D. and leading spirit in the organization of the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment

I certainly believe in this struggle as an actuality in social processes. But I am constitutionally against the use of shibboleths of any kind. And I am particularly anxious that efforts to intelligently guide this struggle in America shall be based on indigenous reality. With this in mind, two elements in the American Scene must be kept clear. The first, not peculiarly native, is the enormous proportion of office workers and general white collar group in the modern industrial order. The second is the complexity lent to our own social structure by the petty investments of many workers which at least give them the illusion of being capitalists.

The present crisis is defining more clearly than ever the real class lines that always exist. It is particularly effective in pushing the great numbers of the middle class into a consciousness of their real position. It is my conviction that change will be greatly accelerated by this new increment to the unemployed army, for the simple reason that they have lost more, both in income and status, than the lower paid groups of the so-called proletariat. The hope of any immediate success political or otherwise toward a new social order lies in the

(Continued on page 20)

A FIGHTING UNION

By MAURICE NEUFELD

Illustrated by JIM WATROUS

In Illinois the coal miners have long been struggling against the entrenched, inactive officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America. Two years ago under the leadership of Alex Howat, Powers Hapgood, John Brophy and Oscar Ameringer they built the Reorganized United Mine Workers, but Lewis and Walker in the end managed to slip back into control. In the fall when a referendum was ordered on a new and lower wage scale the Walker hierarchy tried to stack the ballots for the lower scale. The miners revolted and formed the Progressive Miners' Union. The latter has had to fight the armed thugs of the Peabody-Insull interests and scabbing by the U.M.W., but it is carrying on.

During Christmas four students from Wisconsin, Victor Marcus, Kenneth Meiklejohn, Pearl Finnell, Maurice Neufeld and one instructor, John Beecher, spent their holidays among the Illinois miners. The following article, an account of their stay, seems to have caught the contagious enthusiasm of these fighting miners and their wives.—THE EDITOR.

GILLESPIE, December 29, in Claude Percy's office at the Progressive Headquarters. Percy had never held an important office before; he had been a miner and president of the Gillespie local, but now—he had been drafted to be the head of the Progressive Miners, and he was willing to serve. He handed out the Constitution of District No. 1—"Believing that those who work in the Mines are entitled to the full social value of their Labor"—"... will lead to the ultimate goal of all the miners on the North American continent becoming members of the Progressive Miners of America." Behind these phrases are desperate years of fruitless revolt against the United Mine Workers under John Lewis. The last and victorious attempt, which has resulted in the new union of the rank and file, began in the last week of August and reached a definite form in September. Before this final break, the newspapers were full of stories: the strike of April 1, 1932; the new scale voted down; another vote; the ballots stolen; Lewis declares an emergency and accepts the low scale. The men from Franklin County march up to Taylorville to organize Progressive Miners. They are stopped at the crossroads. And when they returned to Franklin County, they were intimidated by every means to go back to the mines. And the irony at present: the region these men came to organize is strongly Progressive; the original organizers, because of an outrageous reign of terror, though sympathetic, are still part of a corrupt United Mine Workers. But the new union is growing fast, even into the southern county. In December there were 32,000 members in the Progressive Miners; some 19,000 had been able to sign up under favorable conditions. The strongest opponent now is the Peabody Coal Company, a part of the former Insull chain. The recent January outbreaks around Kincaid mark the turn of the tide. The Progressives are winning.

Monday night, December 26, 1932 at Pearl Finnell's home. Pearl is a student at Wisconsin. Her father is a striking miner. Her mother is active in the Taylorville Women's Auxiliary. Around the fire—"We burn Progressive coal these days"—in this rich region the striking miners burn wood.



The Moweaqua Burial

The tales are of violence, recent and past. The scab boarding house has been bombed; the strikers on the picketline were beat up; all the strike-breakers are heavily armed; a former Progressive has gone back to work; deputy-sheriffs drove up to a sixty-year old miner, got out of the car, and beat him up; Andy Gaynes lies dead; tomorrow afternoon two of the men who were killed in the Moweaqua mine are to be buried at the Taylorville cemetery; stories of the treatment of women by the militia October 12, 1932, Virden Day—tear gas bombs thrown in their ranks as they marched back from the cemetery, trucks driving into them; 1200 men searched and locked in the Court House that day; houses searched and all outsiders taken in trucks and dumped miles in the country.

Tuesday morning at the Progressive Headquarters in Taylorville. Jack Stanley has just come from the Moweaqua mine—one miner found with son clutching his neck, first day in the mine for the kid. Reason for the explosion? Those things happen. Can't tell. Timber in the mine was bad, was retimbered again and again. But the explosion, who knows?

At the Commissary's. 1700 heads fed twice a week in Taylorville. Forenoon at Kincaid. 1225 heads fed, 307 families, almost the entire population. 350 children fed daily at school, 2½¢ a head—90% of the school children. Here at Kincaid the children went on strike and refused to attend a school which used scab coal. They stayed out almost two weeks. At Tovey, the Progressives and the scab children had to have separate Christmas parties.

Mrs. Besson, State Vice-President of the Women's Auxiliary, full of enthusiasm for the new movement. Lunch at the Pellegrinis. The best food of a large grocery store is laid out, and Mr. Pellegrini's Italian wine. George and his wife are steadfastly behind the Progressive revolt.

Back in Taylorville for the Moweaqua funeral. A great procession of the Women's Auxiliary of Stonington. Both sides of the street lined with mourners. The casket approaches. The grave is reached. "What is man that Thou art mindful of him or the son of man that Thou visiteth him, for man that is born of woman is full of trouble and sorrows." And the body is lowered into the ground. The burial service is found in the Constitution of District No. 1.

At night, a large meeting in Taylorville. 350 to 400 people crowding the hall, the back entrances, the adjacent cloak-room. A union cheer; songs: "Claude Percy is our leader, We shall not give up"; "Solidarity Forever"; "We have worked in dark and danger"; "The workers' flag is deepest red" ... The Women's Auxiliaries sing their songs. A speech on *America Today and Socialism*. Afterwards, privately, a young man of 22 tells of the time he heard Debs as a boy. A Socialist local has been started. Come up and see us. Over

at Markun's signshop. The meeting is not yet over. Tuscani plays his accordion and sings. They love him. He cheered the men of the picket-lines with his songs. Especially "Walker and Lewis." Before the meeting closes, Ed Lowes has to explain where he got his new car. His explanation satisfies the meeting. Then Hemmer has to account for the rumor that he received four hams. The meeting also votes that the victims at Moweaqua should receive no money from scab hands. This actually carried out, and the money was refused by the stricken families.

Wednesday morning, Markun's signshop. The new local has about 75 members. The old time Socialists are not responding, mostly young fellows. Ben Dickson, a member of the old cigar-makers union, is conducting a class in the economics of Socialism. Two-third of the members are miners. But Markun is doubtful about a point or two. What is the difference between Communism and Socialism? None of the miners seem to understand. Violence? Of course, there's violence now. But why should two groups who are working for the same thing separate and work against each other? It's hard to explain. Intellectuals seem to understand, but not these miners. But it's puzzling.

Kincaid has about 170 in its local. Chester Bartellini told about the work that was being done. In the High School there are about thirty Socialists. All the teachers are in sympathy with the Progressives except Minister Henry's son. Henry is Chairman of the local Red Cross. At Staunton there is also an enthusiastic group of Socialists at work. Mrs. Sherfy leads them all in enthusiasm and even the younger men are entering. A letter from Mrs. Sherfy: "I certainly enjoy being with the young Socialists in our land, for truly there certainly is a different feeling that seems to permeate through the air when we Socialists are together. I guess it is because we know that we are fighting for the same things . . ."

Wednesday afternoon at the Labor Temple in Staunton. Mrs. Agnes Burns Wieck came from Belleville to speak. She is the State President of the Women's Auxiliary. She pleads with the women to get rid of racial, political, and religious prejudices; to think of themselves as fighting the fight of their husbands. Mrs. Wieck has entered this work with twenty years of labor experience behind her and has created a great organization, The Women's Auxiliary. The meeting applauds the speeches on Socialism. They sing their own songs and join in the Progression cheer: U-n-i-o-n, louder and louder, for three times—Union, Union, Union!

Dinner that night at Moose Hall. A Progressive dance afterwards. A young college boy, out of school this year, is enthusiastic. He wants to do something. More speeches, but dancing is uppermost in the minds of all. The Limberknees



Picketing at a tippie

dance is worth seeing. Cakes are auctioned off. The Women's Auxiliary of Staunton parades in the hall and forms the letters: P M A, Progressive Miners of America.

The next morning at Percy's office. That evening at Tovey. A wonderful meeting. Greater enthusiasm for Socialism. Requests from the floor for "The Workers' Flag." The "Internationale" is sung. And Mrs. Besson moves the audience with her simple and direct story of the Moweaqua misery. Afterwards she said when the meeting was closed: "We can't lose this fight. You think I am a fanatic. But we can't lose this fight. It would kill me." At Wisconsin clothes had been collected, two barrels of clothes, one box of shoes. Most of it went to Moweaqua. A letter from Mrs. Finnell: "I wish you could have been here last Friday. We told the people about those clothes. My, we sure had a good time fixing up the boys and men with suits and shoes. The clothes are all gone; people sure did need them."

Letters come in all the time from Illinois. Andrew McFarlane of the Gillespie Trades Council writes: "I am glad to hear that you are in favor of our new organization, and I sincerely hope that others of your student body are also sympathetic to our cause." Gerry Allard, Editor of the *Progressive Miner* writes: "We are to reprint your resolutions in the next issue of the *Progressive Miner*. The unity of the industrial workers and the students is very necessary in the present period."

Here at Wisconsin the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy joined to protest the reign of terror in Christian county. They also protested against lax mining regulation enforcement and wrote directly to John Millhouse, Department of Mines and Minerals, Springfield.



March of the Women's Auxiliary

Students Forget Kentucky

By Joseph P. Lash

I WAS among the seventy or so students who travelled down to Harlan County, Kentucky, last March. It was a stirring trip, rocketing madly in formidable-looking busses over the concrete roads from Nashville to Knoxville to Frankfort to Washington, crawling silently up obscure mountain roads at dawn, visiting the White House. We had the brave cosmic feelings that Trotzky must have had dashing from front to front in his armored train. Yet in this month, a year after the trip, the results seem slight. A few of us who had been leading the semi-sequestered life of the college campus, were completely unsettled after the events of that Easter vacation. We couldn't find our place again in that uneventful scheme of things. And so we undertook the harrying, homeless career of full-time revolutionists. The publicity our trip received was, on the whole, a healthy thing for the student movement in this country. Finally the treatment we received from the Harlan vigilantes once more focused publicity on the reign of terror that existed in that part of the country.

But what about the miners who were held incommunicado behind the mountains around Cumberland and whom ostensibly we had set out to aid? What good was our trip to them? How many of us even remembered them a month after the trip? *The Student Review* published by the National Student League in its May issue announced "We Shall Come Back!" "because . . . miners and their families are still enduring starvation. Children are still dying of flu. Miners are still imprisoned, beaten, shot and murdered."

I heard one of the leaders of the N.S.L. say, when some of us were opposing another trip—this time of a thousand students—down to Harlan, that the National Student League had to send another delegation down because Socialists students were going down in June. He dilated on the subtle political implications involved: Socialists going down to Harlan would throw their influence behind the I.W.W. union there and this would be to the detriment of the National Miners Union of the Communists! ". . . miners and their families are still enduring starvation. Children are still dying of flux," etc., etc.

The Communist Party through its subsidiaries, the International Labor Defence (I.L.D.) and the National Miners Union (N.M.U.) had tried to create a *cause celebre* in the southeastern corner of Kentucky. For various reasons around May they silently absconded from the whole situation, and along with them went the National Student League. ". . . miners and their families are still enduring starvation. Children are still dying of flux. Miners are still imprisoned, beaten, shot and murdered."

* * *

About the time of the trip down to Kentucky the League for Industrial Democracy started a national campaign to raise funds for Kentucky miners. Groups of students in Chicago, Philadelphia and New York afterwards picketed the homes of Insull, Morgan, Peabody, Ford and other capitalists who controlled the mines around Harlan. These student picketings did more to show the relation between large-scale capital and industrial tyranny than did our more spectacular trip in busses.

* * *

But the most fruitful and enduring work done by students

The Activity Racket

By Freeland Penney

CONCOMITANT with the depression has been a decline in the support of standard 100% collegiate activities. Student councils and university authorities have been confronted with the alternative of reducing or dispensing with these activities, or maintaining the status quo by establishing a compulsory all-activity ticket which all students must pay as a part of their fees. At the University of Kansas the student council had the nerve to attempt the latter. Of course, some kind of an election was necessary and a majority vote, as the proposed activity fee had to be approved by the Board of Regents.

A scheme of a \$14.50 ticket with no exemptions was presented to be voted upon at a week's notice. It seemed like jumping in front of a steam roller to oppose it, as the administration, all the fraternities, the Y.M.C.A., almost every organization, and above all the *Daily Kansan* supported it. It was a most arbitrary plan. Students who did not like football would have to buy a season ticket just the same. Every one was to be compelled to buy a *Jayhawker*, the student yearbook, and everybody compelled to subscribe for the *Kansan*. All the activities represented the interests of the wealthy and leisure class which control them. Rather than be so unkind as to oblige the rich to pay more for their luxuries, the student council thought that the poor students should be taxed to support these unnecessary activities in which they have no chance to participate on equal terms.

Student politicians of the non-fraternity party refused to oppose the measure. Leadership in opposing the project came from the members of the Socialist club who fought the hostile press without a paper of their own. A number of caustic letters to the editor of the *Kansan* (several of which were never published) pierced the camouflage that had been given out, made it clear that the ticket was to be compulsory, and awakened the campus to the fact that an opposition existed. A compulsory all-school convocation was called to explain the project to the students. Requests of the opposition for a speaker on the rostrum were denied. We went to the convocation in an angry spirit thinking we would have no chance to present

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in connection with the awful crisis now existing in the coal fields is the educational jobs they have undertaken through the L.I.D. chautauquas organized in West Virginia. For two summers now groups of L.I.D. students have gone down to the Kanawha region and humbly pitched into the arduous daily business of keeping the W. Virginia Mine Workers Union going. Classes have been organized in all the mining towns and the fundamentals of socialism were taught. This work has continued during the winter, and every two weeks or so mimeographed lessons accompanied by woolens and linens are mailed out from the L.I.D. office.

In the February issue of *THE STUDENT OUTLOOK* the editors spoke of "students with guts" and by guts the editors meant just the sort of courage and determination to carry a job through that the undergraduates in the chautauqua have shown. Theirs is the sort of work that is truly helping to build a strong labor movement. Theirs is the sort of work that is giving the manual worker some confidence in the intellectual worker.

REVOLUTION IN THE FARM LANDS

By HOWARD G. ALLAWAY

DEEP DOWN in its "bread-basket" America has a bellyache. It is a belly ache not likely to lead to violent convulsions or to develop fatal complications; for already it has sent the legislative doctors in a dozen states and at Washington scurrying for remedies and sedatives to arrest its attack. But blackened headlines telling tales of angry farmer mobs, threatened lynchings, balked and postponed foreclosure sales, and even of buckshot fire, fatal shootings, and riot charges are symptoms of functional disorder which will leave its mark on the political philosophy of this Inland Empire of black soil and strong men long after the immediate crisis has passed.

Abandoning last summer's "sales holiday" efforts to raise the price of their products, the farmers this winter have turned strong arm methods against their ancient enemy Debt. The result has been the utter breakdown of the law as a collection agency. The "revolt" reached its height early in February and has gradually subsided as state governments, insurance companies, and banks were forced to grant legal or voluntary debt and tax moratoriums.

The methods used by other interest groups to dramatize their respective causes are too vivid in memory to allow the "farm belt revolution" to cause any surprise. The farmer has but adopted the tactics of the bonuser and city hunger marcher. The essential differences are, first, that he is seeking not a bounty from the public treasury but respite from conditions which threaten to take away his home and his tools and, second, that he has met encouraging success in accomplishing his immediate objectives.

Foreclosure and eviction unless the mortgage could be paid long took position beside death and taxes in the farmer's category of inevitables. Now, while his ideas about death probably remain unchanged, he has suddenly found a simple way of removing the others from this classification. If the method does not quite conform to the accepted mores he salves his conscience with the observation that he is fighting for his hearth and fireside, to keep his family alive and together; to retain the fruits of hard years of toil; that the enemy is the ogre which he, with wanton indiscriminination, calls Wall Street.

II

He has found a method and one that works. The actual procedure is varied to meet the demands and possibilities of the individual case.

What happened at Blair, Nebraska, the last Saturday afternoon in January illustrates the method commonly used to prevent eviction of renters. Frank Miller, tenant on a rented farm owned by Frank Gray, was back on his cash rent. Gray obtained a writ of restitution and prepared to have Miller and the latter's eighty-five year old mother-in-law who was in bed with the "flu" thrown out. The county sheriff served the warrant on the tenant and began loading up the furniture. When one truck load had been hauled away, Washington county farmers began arriving. "Get a rope," somebody yelled. The cry of "lynch him" went up against Gray. The first truck load of furniture was unloaded in the road, no more was hauled, and the farmers went home.

At Neligh, Nebraska, different tactics were used to prevent eviction of Harold and Bernard Van Vleck from the 640-acre farm where they were born. Neighbors of the brothers Van Vleck promised "social ostracism" for the next tenant

if the former were evicted. "We pledge ourselves not to neighbor with or exchange work during threshing or any other busy time, not to become acquainted with or recognize the party whatsoever that you may put on the place," read the petition they sent to the bank which had taken over title to the farm under a mortgage.

Or maybe a neighbor's farm, machinery, or livestock is on the block to meet a mortgage decree as was Soren Hanson's near Lake Lilliam in Minnesota. A thousand farmers thronged the courthouse at Wilmar the afternoon of the sale. Emil Aspaas was there to place a bid for the insurance company which held the mortgage. Sheriff Paul E. Anderson tells what happened: "Just as I finished reading the notice, a bunch grabbed Aspaas and would not let him put in a bid. When I could get no bid, I telephoned Williams (representative of the insurance company in Minneapolis) and asked him what I should do. He said get the sale closed. By the time I got back I could not find Aspaas and no bid had been entered. So I announced postponement."

Still more interesting are the "dime" sales. The *Kansas City Star* reports a typical example:

"A public sale of farm equipment, including horses and cattle, under a mortgage foreclosure brought a total of \$2.45 yesterday in Wyandotte County. A harrow drew a bid of twenty cents and was sold. Two cows brought an average of thirty-seven and a half cents each and other articles were 'knocked off' at proportionate prices.

"When the sale was over, the purchasers went to return the articles to the former owner, with the compliments of his neighbors. . . .

"When the auctioneer climbed into a wagon that was offered for sale more than two hundred fifty farmers crowded around him. . . ."

At Overton, Nebraska, cattle sold for ten to fifty cents, horses for twenty-five cents to a dollar, and farm implements for fifty cents when Mrs. Mike Thinnies bid in Mike's livestock and farm machinery while two hundred neighbors silenced prospective bidders by threats of ducking in an icy horse tank.

At Jefferson, Wisconsin, twelve cows and a cream separator sold for a total of \$1.35 and were given back to Otto Tebock under similar conditions. The district attorney who later filed riot charges against eleven of the farmers present received threatening letters from as far away as Georgia.

At Pawnee City, Nebraska, J. S. Williams' property was cleared of mortgage and given back to him when two neighbors bid in machinery and livestock at \$8.05 while a hundred others looked on. Strangers approaching the house during the sale were met by the farmers and "persuaded" not to bid.

At Shelby, Nebraska, a farm and equipment sold thus for \$49.50 when the debtor's brother bid it in while a band of one hundred farmers silently looked on.

Another enemy of the farm debtor against which this new method of "supervised" sale is effectively used is the deficiency judgment. Most state laws allow the creditor a deficiency judgment for the remainder when mortgaged property on sale does not bring an amount sufficient to meet the debt against it. This judgment gives the creditor a claim against any money

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BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION

Petition

(Clip the following and attach a sheet of paper to it. Send this petition around your classes and then mail it on to the President.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Only the support of American business interests and Ambassador Guggenheim is keeping Machado and his reign of terror going in Cuba. We earnestly petition you to send an ambassador more sympathetic toward ideals of liberty and human rights.

The University of
.....

The Tasks of the Coming Year

*A Message from the New National Chairman of the
Intercollegiate Student Council*

GREETINGS, fellow students! Blueprints for action which served their purpose last year and the year before, are not sufficient to the emergencies of today. We cannot know in these hours of threatening fascism how long we shall be free to work along the present lines; therefore every stroke must count toward building a strong organization with a reliable morale.

Certainly our organizational lines must be tightened. Individual members are already being asked to perform specific assignments, and a sort of discipline is being instituted to avoid wasteful duplication of effort, and otherwise increase efficiency. Our members should, wherever possible, affiliate with the Socialist Party or the Young People's Socialist League, and every student leader should have the background of a few weeks work within one of those organizations in order to be acquainted with the practical nature of work off-campus. It is reasonable to expect of every L.I.D. member that he will place activity toward a new social order first in his campus program, and that he will repudiate those activities which are clearly reactionary, or which serve only to divert his time and thought.

Education toward a new social order, which in the past has bulked largest in the L.I.D. program, must more than ever be coupled with action. When we stand in the picket line, sell socialist or L.I.D. literature, or speak publicly for the cause, we begin then to have a vested interest in the radical movement which is much more certain to carry over after graduation than mere intellectual conviction arising from lectures or debates. To be worth while, education must include action.

As in the past, several special projects should be sponsored.

Certainly the Progressive Miners of America and the West Virginia Mine Worker's Union, in their valiant struggle against the combined force of bosses and fake unionism, should receive increased support from the L.I.D. If our attention to the fierce class war on the West Virginia mine front is to be maintained through the Labor Chautauquas there next summer, they must have new financial backing. It has become a privilege to be a member of the Chautauqua staff, those who have taken part have brought back practical experience in educational and organizational tactics, plus a realization of the nature of the class war itself. . . . It may be feasible this year to qualify the workers on a 'scholarship' basis, with various college chapters assuming the financial expense of one 'scholarship,' to be awarded to one of their number.

We must remember that college and university administrations (not, however, the faculties) will almost invariably be our opponents. They are, by the very nature of our educational set-up, the direct representatives of capitalism, either on behalf of a reactionary Board of Trustees, or on behalf of a group of politicians on a State Board of Education, or Regents. We must recognize other groups, too, as our enemies, and lose no opportunity, through reason or ridicule, to expose and discredit them. The American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and William Randolph Hearst, Inc., are exemplary. The college fraternity system should draw our special attention as an institution which may prove a veritable campus bulwark against new thought and progressive action.

It bears repeating to remark that students alone are not going to stop war, establish economic security, or end race prejudice. But upon the growing group of Socialists in the American colleges and universities falls one clear assignment—one that can and must be assumed. We must create in American colleges the same centers of constructive thought, and wellsprings of revolutionary leadership that the colleges of the rest of the world have long since provided. The class interest and intellectual conviction of a growing mass of American students now dictates social change. The foundation is laid! On to a new social order!

MONROE M. SWEETLAND

Aid Needed for Miners

Not only the Illinois miners, but those in West Virginia and Kentucky can use all the clothes and money available. All students should keep in touch with Gerry Allard's *The Progressive Miner*, published in Gillespie, Illinois. Mrs. Agnes Burns Wieck will gladly communicate with all women who are interested in aiding the work of the Woman's Auxiliary. They can use magazines, books, literature of all kinds in their debating and public speaking work. Mrs. Wieck may be reached at Belleville, Ill.

Clothing and funds, if not sent directly, can be sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 112 East 19th Street, which is a clearing house for relief of fighting workers.

RESEARCH JOBS FOR STUDENTS

By LUCY M. KRAMER and FELIX S. COHEN

III

VI. Law

JOBS there are aplenty for the Socialist lawyer. The defense of labor's rights in the industrial struggle, the legal battles of the consumer against entrenched monopoly, the protection of civil liberties on the political front, these are tasks that call for a large fund of courage, ability, and devotion. But the law presents other tasks, tasks no less important, in the long run, though the fruits of their accomplishment are less tangible. The job of the student of law (need it be said that even a practicing lawyer—or a layman—may be a student of law?) is one of vital importance in the building of the co-operative commonwealth.

The meaning of capitalism is to be found in the law, in the law of property and contract and crime, as well as in the law of the constitution. A realistic view of the class struggle requires a realistic analysis of the legal forces that are opposed in every instance of that struggle, in the struggle of landlord and tenant, of "master and servant," of public utility and public, and so on through the list of legal relations. It is easy enough to dismiss thought on law and politics with the pious assurance that the state will wither away when the revolution comes—or at least it was easy enough to do this before the Russian Revolution showed that problems of liberty and property calling for solution in legal terms linger on after the revolution. When, as, and if American socialism comes to power, the length of its stay in power will depend very largely upon the speed and the skill with which it dissolves the legal structures of capitalism and substitutes those of socialism. But what are the legal structures of capitalism? It seems clear enough that the law of strikes and boycotts is one such structure, and a pretty important one? But what of the law of evidence? Of unfair competition? Of marriage and divorce? Of civil and criminal procedure? Of sales? Of contract? Of tort? Of property? Of corporations? Where, in these fields, would a socialist government have to uproot capitalist growths? What legal rules that prevail today would a thorough-going socialist revolution leave unaltered? What legal forms now existent or yet to be discovered will a socialist state use to order the substance of social life?

Without pretty reliable answers to these questions, thought about and argued about long in advance, a socialist government is likely to celebrate its accession to power by declaring a legislative holiday while it studies the problems of mapping out a socialist legislative program, or by stabbing in hit-or-miss fashion at superficial evils. But these dangers are perhaps unreal, for it is not likely that a socialist movement will ever come to power in America until it can offer American voters a picture of law under socialism. And this picture, to be persuasive, must be more than symbols on paper. Not until the socialist can point to socialist cities, socialist states, and socialized industries to refute the empty fears of the multitude and to illustrate, though in miniature, the ideal of socialism, will the project of a Socialist United States become a vital political idea.

Vast as is the task that the socialist student of law faces, enough has already been done by competent workers to demonstrate the possibilities of the field. Louis Boudin's study of

the Supreme Court (*Government by Judiciary*), Morris Hillquit's draft of a socialist state constitution (in Ethelwyn Mills, *Legislative Program of the Socialist Party*), Al Benson's *Our Dishonest Constitution*, the Webbs' *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, Colston Warne's "Socialist Blueprint" (in Laidler, *Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program*), and the basic contributions of Brooks Adams, John Commons, Morris R. Cohen, Robert L. Hale, Edwin E. Witte, and Walter Nelles to a realistic understanding of the legal foundations of capitalism, mark the trail.

VII. Biology

Although biology with its concern for classifications and Latin terminology may seem a far cry from the problems of social reconstruction, yet its material are the very basis of society—life. A thorough grounding of the student in the biological sciences in all their human aspects must inevitably lead him to the realization that the preservation of human resources as well as natural resources must be the primary concern of any society. Yet the story of the reckless waste, in our anarchical capitalist society, of human and natural power has only just begun to be told—and it is a nightmare. (See works of Stuart Chase, in particular *Tragedy of Waste*; Schlink and Kallet, *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*; L.I.D. pamphlets on our natural resources—coal, power, oil, forests, etc., I.R.G. bulletin on "Young Workers in Industry.")

Miners starve in a country where farmers burn wheat because they can't buy coal; children die of improper care, malnutrition, and other diseases of poverty when the medical profession is "overcrowded;" middle-aged workers in full prime are fired as "unemployable," while young workers are denied the right to a decent adolescence; industrial diseases and accidents take more lives than war; in ignorance and in haste for private gain, our country's resources of soil, timber, etc., have been outrageously squandered.

The task as it confronts the biologist and doctor aware of the ills of society is two-fold—that of exposing beyond doubt the waste of resources under capitalism (by showing, for example, the effect of pre-natal care, food, physical environment on the growth and adolescence of children; the relation between industrial diseases and the health and life span of workers; the relation between malnutrition and disease, between industrial conditions and mental health, and of showing the feasibility of their preservation under socialism (by means of social control of natural resources, socialization of industry with its consequent protection of the worker)).

The doctor has traditionally been a rugged individualist. His training and his economic circumstances have kept him from a clear vision of the social diseases of which his patients are symptoms. Witness the recent performance of leaders of the profession when the report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was made public. Voluntary group health insurance—a plan whereby persons pay a small annual sum for medical care in health as in illness—in the proverbial Chinese fashion—was denounced by Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* as socialism and revolution.

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE REBELS

CLARENCE SENIOR

By PAUL PORTER

WHEN Clarence Senior, only two years out of the University of Kansas, was elected National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, he was obliged to grow a mustache the better to convince old time comrades that he was not a Yipsel. Party members meeting him for the first time still eye him doubtfully, unable to reconcile his youthfulness with the quiet competence with which he has in three years helped knit a dispirited and depleted party into a fighting organization that capitalist politicians again fear.

No organization, much less a Socialist Party, is ever built by one man, but Clarence Senior at the nerve center has been an important factor in the Party's rapid come-back of the post-boom years that has perhaps saved it from the dust bin of history where repose the ashes of the Greenback and Populist parties and the I.W.W. The executive secretary's job was begging in the Spring of 1929 when Senior was virtually drafted from the directorship of a workers' education organization in Cleveland to fill it. In Milwaukee, Reading, and New York City local Socialist parties competed, sometimes successfully, in municipal elections, but nationally the Party had almost ceased to exist. Many records in the national office at Chicago lay in the disorderly heap left by war-time secret service raiders, and influential Socialists talked wistfully of a mass labor party that might sometime emerge and even helped create a League for Independent Political Action that conceived its function as midwife to a political realignment.

Perhaps Socialism of the Debs tradition would have passed from the American scene save for the changed economic climate of the depression years that gave new life to Marxist truths. But discontent unless channeled into organized action is worthless; and it was Senior's dogged conviction, which he pushed with great energy, that such action must spring from the daily struggles of the workers and not from middleclass manifestoes, luncheons or teas, that was measurably influential in holding the Socialist Party to its historical course.

Clarence was a pioneering rebel at a tender age. Though of a non-Socialist family he was reading radical literature when twelve years old. At sixteen he joined the Socialist Party because his ire was stirred by the hysterical anti-Red raids of 1919, a time when chairmen customarily opened Party meetings with the salutation "Comrades, Fellow-Workers, and Secret Service agents." The Socialist local in Kansas City was soon disrupted but Clarence remained a radical, took an active role in the Sacco-Vanzetti agitation, organized L.I.D. chapters in Kansas City Junior College, Missouri Wesleyan,

and the University of Kansas where he was successively a student, wrote editorials in a college paper of which he was editor that soon brought about his forced resignation, and promoted the Midwest Student Conferences which for four years were the rallying center for student radicals of several states.

Through high school and college he supported himself as newsboy, theater usher, night watchman, shipping clerk, truck driver, and municipal researcher. Perhaps his intimate experience with workers' struggles has saved him from the facile romanticism of many intellectuals whose knowledge of the working class has been derived from novels and a few slumming tours.

Before Clarence had yet received his college degree he had been hired as director of a workers' education venture in Cleveland. Two years later he was elected to his present position. He has studied at the Universities of Chicago and Vienna and at the International Peoples College in Denmark. In 1928 he was a delegate to the World Youth Congress in Eerde, Holland, and in 1931 to the Labor and Socialist International Congress in Vienna, where he was associated with the left-wing element.

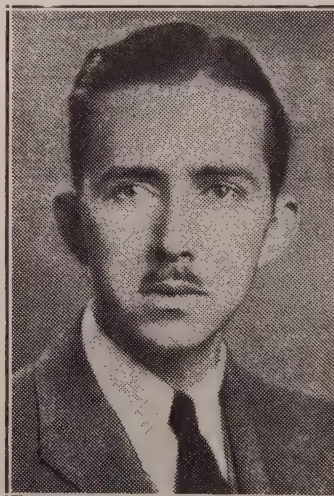
He is married to Ethel Watson, also active in the radical movement. Tall, slender, handsome, he is fond of dancing, automobile driving, and economic research.

The Activity Racket

(Continued from page 10)

our side. Then to catch us by surprise (thinking we would have no speaker) late during the convocation a chance was given us. Burton Kingsbury, the University's ablest debater, came to the platform and extemporaneously exposed the scheme to such ridicule that at the ensuing election it went through with so bare a majority that the council abandoned its original plan. "One can not appreciate even the humor of the *Jayhawker*," said Kingsbury, "unless he belongs to a fraternity."

A new election is to be held on an \$8.50 compulsory ticket with the *Daily Kansan* and the yearbook excluded. It will probably carry, and be put through. The University is in debt about \$160,000 for completing the stadium several years ago. The stadium was scarcely half filled at the Notre Dame game this last fall, and may never be filled in our lifetime. Yet the poor fellow and the dissenter must pay for the folly of the athletic board. At K. U. football is to be "king" not only in fact but in name. Oh yes, to disarm opposition perhaps 50 or 100 "poor students" are to be excused—probably athletes.



AUTO WORKERS STRIKE

By WALTER REUTHER

ONE YEAR AGO a complacent public was shocked by the news of the Ford Riot in which four workers were killed and forty wounded. Added to this tragic method of education comes the latest Briggs' strike and the other related strikes which have all slowly and painfully had their effect in educating the public as to the true conditions in the auto industry.

The American Federation of Labor once made an effort to organize the auto workers through the Machinist's Union, but because of craft limitations in a craftless industry, the Machinist's Union did not scratch the surface of the nut it hoped to crack. Not until 1926 at their convention in Detroit did the A. F. of L. seriously consider the organization of the production workers of the industry. The hope that a militant and constructive program of unionization would grow out of the convention was shattered when the A. F. of L. strategists permitted their plans to degenerate into a plea to the "enlightened" capitalists to accept the leadership of a responsible labor group rather than be exposed to the dangers of radicals and agitators. The complete failure of the A. F. of L.'s attempt to organize the production workers resulted in its leadership voicing the attitude that the task of unionizing the auto workers was impossible.

The challenge to organize the production workers was taken up by the Auto Workers Union, which is organized on a broad industrial basis and is founded on the principle of the class struggle. At one time the union was affiliated with the A. F. of L., but its charter was revoked over a question of jurisdiction. During the years 1919 and 1920, when the auto industry was going through a period of rapid expansion, the membership in the union grew to 45,000 and many successful strikes were staged in some of the plants.

The success of the union, however, was short-lived, for the depression of 1921 so paralyzed the auto industry that the union was broken and it declined until in 1924 the membership numbered only about 1500. As the power of the union declined, the employers became more aggressive and wage cuts, speedups, and excessive hours were thrust upon the workers. The corporations, realizing that the union might come to life at some future date, inaugurated a period of personnel management and sham industrial democracy. The Chrysler Industrial Corporation, the welfare scheme of the Chrysler Corporation, in which the workers have a voice only in the management of the baseball team typifies the extent of industrial democracy afforded by this plan.

In the face of overwhelming odds, the remnants of the Auto Workers Union, under left wing leadership kept up an unceasing struggle to unionize the auto workers into a militant, class conscious industrial organization.

After years of constant and untiring propaganda work and agitation through the departmental committees, working secretly and under great pressure, and by selling and distributing small shop papers, such as the *Ford Worker* and the *Briggs Worker*, at the gates of the plants, the Auto Workers Union finally felt that it had sufficient strength and that the time was ripe for action. It called a strike at the Briggs Waterloo

Plant. The strike, while it was consciously planned by the union was nevertheless the expression of the Briggs' workers *en masse* against the starvation wages, long hours and further wage cuts which have given the Briggs Corporation the reputation of being the most vicious sweat shop and hell hole in Detroit.

Threatened with a twenty percent wage cut, 600 tool and die makers of the Waterloo plant struck 100 percent strong against the Briggs industrial aristocracy.

A strategic moment had been selected for this first strike as the tools and dies for the new Ford car were about seventy-five percent complete and production could not begin on schedule without their completion.

The strike so completely paralyzed the Briggs Corporation that after three days of picketing, the company was compelled to withdraw the wage cut, recognize the union shop committees and furthermore, to reinstate the former wage rate in the other three Briggs' plants where the cut had already gone into effect. The solidarity of the Briggs' workers in their successful strike caused the Hudson Motor Company to remove the signs in their factories announcing a ten percent wage cut and replacing them by notices announcing the withdrawal of the wage cut.

Instilled with confidence by the activities of the Briggs' workers, fifteen hundred men from the Motor Products Co. went out on strike against a fifteen percent wage cut levied several weeks before. As a result the Motor Products Co. was also forced, after three days of strike activity, to rescind the wage slash, to recognize shop committees, to establish a minimum wage rate of thirty cents for women and forty cents for men on production. In many cases this meant an actual increase of fifty percent in wages.

Two successful and well-organized strikes within one week filled the workers of Detroit with a spirit of revolt against capitalist feudalism and paved the way for a rapid succession of strikes unparalleled in the history of the auto industry.

Fired with enthusiasm by the success of the strike at the Briggs' Waterloo plant, and encouraged by the splendid display of solidarity among the ranks of the employed and unemployed, 10,000 Briggs' workers from the Highland Park and Mack Avenue plants walked out on strike on January 23rd against starvation wages and the "dead time" policy. So low were the wages at Briggs that some of the woman workers claimed that their pay ranged from five cents per hour upwards, while men on production were getting from thirteen cents upward per hour. The "dead time" policy of the company was the source of much grievance as some employees were compelled to wait as long as three hours for material without compensation for "dead time," the period they had to wait.

The workers of the Waterloo and Meldrum Avenue plants soon followed the action of the other plants and pledged their solidarity and agreed among themselves to go back to work only after their rights were recognized and their grievances settled. The strikers met, endorsed the leadership of the Auto Workers Union, outlined their demands, elected their department representatives to the general strike committee and immediately began the picketing of the various plants.

Insofar as the strike paralyzed all four Briggs' plants, the strike was one hundred percent successful. The workers instead of returning to their jobs, joined the others in the fast growing picket line, despite the fact that the press carried headlines to the effect that the strike was settled and urged the strikers to return to their jobs.

As a whole the strike was most orderly except for a few instances where strikers molested scabs who were leaving the plant and sent several of them to the hospital. In one case when bodies from Briggs were being transported on trucks, a group of strikers demolished the bodies. Further shipments ceased.

All day and all night the picketers marched in front of cold winds, disregarding their empty stomachs. The sight of these thousands of hungry and poorly clothed industrial workers carrying their protest banners; the inspired sound of their chants, urging the workers to "organize, unite and fight" had the usual effect upon the already frightened owners of industry who feared greatly this latest revolt of their machine-tenders. The police were there in full force. Dearborn's mounted of Ford Riot fame, Detroit's riot squads, Highland Park's police, Wayne County scout cars, and Governor Comstock's state troopers were all on the spot, equipped with guns, tear gas and clubs. As many as 250 of them were stationed at one plant. Aside from arresting a few picketers, the police were very conservative in their activities. They did not seem eager to become violent with a crowd of desperate strikers. Perhaps they had learned their lesson from the Ford Riot.

At first the strikers were quite hostile toward the police, but soon became quite friendly with them (for they didn't desire violence either), and the picketers began singing to the effect that after they had won their own strike, they would organize the cops. Many of the "workers" in uniform stated they had already had too many salary cuts and would welcome a union that could secure for them a decent living.

Production at the Ford River Rouge plant, crippled by the Briggs' strike, was shut down completely. Workers were notified that they could not return until the strike at Briggs was over. Ford's strike-breaking role was one more demonstrated when he shut down his tool and die rooms which were not dependent upon production at Briggs. Ford's giving notice to his workers that it was the Briggs' strike that was responsible for their layoff was but another attempt by Ford to break the strike by making his workers and public antagonistic to the strikers. So interested was Ford in breaking the strike that he even closed his Highland Park Store.

The Murray Corporation using tactics similar to Ford's, and demonstrating along with Ford, capitalist solidarity with the Briggs' concern, locked out approximately 4,000 production workers in an attempt to break the strike, but to their surprise the tool and die division went out on a strike in support of the Briggs' strikers and the locked out workers.

In the meantime the Auto Workers Union had been carrying on a great deal of propaganda in the other auto plants in an attempt to secure the support of all auto workers. Through the formation of inside groups, 3,000 body workers of the Hudson Motor Body plant at Connors and Gratiot Avenues walked out on strike "against wage cuts and working conditions" as one of the workers' committee expressed it. While this committee which represents the Hudson strikers claims that their strike is independent of the Briggs' strike, it is quite evident that their strike was planned by the same union that called the one at Briggs. As a result of the Hudson

walkout, both of the Hudson plants are shut down completely.

At the Mack Avenue plant of Briggs', one of the most encouraging features of the entire strike occurred when several thousand unemployed formed a picket line across the street from the picketing strikers and demonstrated their solidarity with their fellow workers.

As in many other present day strikes, the students also played their part. About twenty students from the College of the City of Detroit (both Communists and Socialists) marched in line with the Briggs' picketers, singing and carrying signs reading "City College Students Unite With Strikers."

The tremendous effect this cooperation from the "respectable young intellectuals" had in breaking down the antipathy of the bystanders and minimizing the "red scare" can best be illustrated by the fact that during the first few critical hours of the strike when it was most difficult to get the workers to fall in line with the picketers, this group of students through their songs and general militant activity aided in swelling the numbers of the picket line from fifty to four hundred in but a few hours. So effective was the work of the student group that it was not long before the company ordered the police to take the students off the picket line. The police surrounded the group and took them inside the plant for questioning. The school authorities were notified and a general attempt was made to intimidate the students. But the reply was a larger group of students on the line the next morning.

The present strikes in the automobile field are the most significant and encouraging developments in the history of the industry. The union claims it has the key men in the body plants organized 100 percent and production cannot be resumed without them. If the workers win it will be the beginning of a new era in the struggle of labor to emancipate itself.

Chautauqua Scholarships

For the last two years the L.I.D. has sent groups of college students and trained teachers to strategic industrial areas to carry on workers education projects in the form of labor chautauquas. These groups in exchange for the education, which they pass on to the workers, are given an opportunity to live in, and be part of, an industrial community and to learn at first hand what the problems of industrial organization are.

Every college L.I.D. should send one member on a chautauqua so that the individual and the group may profit by this real experience in workers education. The expenses of one member of the chautauqua amounts to \$50 for the four or five weeks. Each group that can raise a scholarship of this amount can have one representative on a chautauqua.

How can this money be raised? Have a meeting to tell people the story of the West Virginia miners and what a labor chautauqua has accomplished; the bloody history of oppression by company thugs; the valiant struggle of a union; today, "Starvation in the hollers" and; sign of militant action, "Hungry March on Charleston." We have prepared a complete program for a meeting of this kind which you can put on yourself. Material for a speech; the songs that miners sing with the music; a play that miners wrote, the famous Coal Digger Mule play; and actual movies of the West Virginia miners and their families—all of this will be sent you free of charge, if you write in to Anna Caples at 112 East 19th Street, New York.

AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE

A Resume of L.I.D. Activities in Many Colleges

The Capitalist Attack Upon Education

THE deepening of the economic crisis is now reflected in a sharp crisis in all educational institutions. The owning class, faced with higher taxes and a diminution of its parasitic income, seeks to shift education costs to faculties and students. Tuition is increased and university budgets are reduced, involving salary cuts and staff curtailment in the faculties, wage cuts for maintenance workers, reduction in the number and value of scholarship stipends, overcrowding in the classrooms, and abolition of many courses and necessary services.

Many students are forced to withdraw from college. Some, in agricultural regions, pay tuition in potatoes, apples or livestock that is later served up in the college dining halls. Others live on amazingly low sums. Press dispatches relate that Orry Walz, University of Kansas student, has been sleeping in an automobile during the past year; that several University of South Carolina students, living in a deserted house, spend less than five dollars a month. All this that they may face the cheery prospect of unemployment upon graduation!

Communal living has increased. The Penn College (Iowa) faculty eats in a common dining room, anticipates moving into a dormitory next year. Cooperative boarding houses have been established by Socialist students at the Universities of Michigan, Missouri, and Chicago.

Malnutrition is prevalent, particularly in the primary schools. In a memorandum addressed to President-elect Roosevelt on February 20, 220 prominent educators from 69 universities and colleges and from various public schools and educational associations, assert:

"Our children and youth, as never before, face irreparable injury; in the wealthiest city of the land nearly one-fourth of the school children are, according to official figures, suffering from malnutrition. . . . Our free public education is all but openly attacked. Reckless budget cutting is rampant."

Resistance to the capitalist assault upon educational standards has been woefully weak. Generally speaking, teachers and students have taken the attack lying down. Some students in municipal colleges in New York, Detroit and Kansas City, Mo., have fought fee increases, but their opposition has been the exception rather than the rule. Chicago public school teachers, their salary many months in arrears, have made frequent protests, but have balked at a strike or united political action.

When some teachers and students show guts, that is news. The most important and cheering news of many months has been the vigorous resistance to a proposed \$2,000,000 cut in the University of Wisconsin budget, led by the U. of W. chapter of the L.I.D. In a widely printed resolution, read into the legislative record by a Socialist assemblyman, the L.I.D. chapter has exposed the owning class motives behind the threatened wage and salary cuts, and has demanded higher income and inheritance taxes that educational services may suffer no further impairment (in the present biennium President Frank had already acceded to a 21.6% cut in the budget of 1929-30; the further reduction insisted upon by Governor Schmedeman would have chopped away about 25% more.)

As the STUDENT OUTLOOK goes to press, the L.I.D. has

invited the Governor to face the students' wrath at a mass meeting, has sent spokesmen to fight the reduction at legislative hearings, and has so successfully mobilized student opinion, that as Nora Kahn, national vice-chairman of the L.I.D. Intercollegiate Student Council, reports, "everyone from honor students to Prom Queens and football players has endorsed the L.I.D. position."

The Wisconsin resolution so well analyzes the class character of educational "economy" and suggests a program of action, that we herewith print it in full, as a model which students in scores of other universities may well follow. The resolution:

The result of wage and salary cuts are well known on the Wisconsin campus. There is not an employee or member of the faculty who has not been affected. In view of the imminence of further reductions, as indicated by the Governor's budgetary recommendations, the L.I.D. takes this opportunity to condemn such action as both unnecessary and unsound.

The L.I.D. charges the Governor with a breach of faith in respect to the University and other necessary departments of the state government. It demands that the legislature demonstrate, far more conclusively than do the Governor's recommendations, that the possibilities of additional revenue from increased income and inheritance taxes, together with levies on dividends and other available sources, have been exhausted or are inadequate. The Governor makes no mention of means whereby additional funds might be raised. He does not even consider the question. His message can only be interpreted as meaning that he refuses to recognize the value of the services of the University and other departments in carrying on the work of the state government, and that he fails to accord due regard to the responsibility of these institutions toward the individuals who work in them.

Wage and salary cuts of any kind are to be deplored at this time. A budget slash is a request to the University to ignore its responsibilities. Dismissing men for whom there is no work elsewhere is very properly regarded by those concerned as a breach of trust. Forcing others to accept mere subsistence income destroys competence. The constant preoccupation of the University with the problem of determining on whom the brunt of the blow is to fall creates an intolerable situation wherein conflicting interests are allowed to obscure more fundamental problems of educational policy and procedure.

A cut at this time will serve only to plunge us deeper into the morass of depression. Any attempt to ignore the wealth that is still concentrated in a few hands, and at the same time to economize at the expense of those who must spend all they receive, for they have no surplus, can only make matters worse.

The L.I.D. has fought consistently for a more equitable distribution of wealth as the only means whereby economic activity can be made to function efficiently and justly. It urges that governmental services be maintained unimpaired, that purchasing power be not reduced, and that all hitherto untouchable wealth be tapped to make up the deficit. The legislature must take these matters into consideration. The L.I.D. demands that it demonstrate its good faith toward the state and the University by a genuine effort to meet the emergency by increased revenues before restoring to the false "economy" of wage and salary cutting.

Student Cooperatives

Under the slogan of "Gyp the Gyppers" the L.I.D. chapter at the University of Missouri has been operating a co-

(Continued on page 21)

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Salute to the American Flag:

In a French Cemetery

*These young soldiers shed their blood
in a strange Land of Nod;
and a nameless cross, of foreign make,
points to their common God.
Their spirits driven violently to death,
have they regained the calm
they brought to battle of their own
from some New England town?
For here, where everlasting cedars droop
over the lichened wall,
this alien hectare of our youth
lies with their dreams and all.
Among the dead of other lands
are laid their childhood faiths
and their hearts. Lift up your hand,
salute their gallant wraiths!*

*... "Tall, my body was, from the Vermont hills
and cold, still rivers!"*

"Was that your home, young lad?"

*"Home was a wooden-cottaged town
and wind-racked church on a village green;
home was the fallow ground
whereon I guided my ox team
in sun and the rain,
and seeded my homestead's stony soil
in the hope of garnering grain.*

*"But hopes go down to a violent end,
and we live now under strange stars,
looking at life with reluctant eyes
through Freedom's bloody bars."*

MARJORIE GALPIN

That Next War

THAT NEXT WAR? by Major K. A. Bratt. 1930. Harcourt, Brace.

WE SOCIALISTS are not pacifists. We will fight to achieve political and economic equality. These goals are not abstractions; they have real meaning in measurable happiness and saving of human life, a saving that will compensate for lives lost in the battle. But we will not fight for Bethlehem Steel Incorporated. We are indisputably opposed to the next war that Marshal Foch predicted would come in ten or fifteen years, and that Mussolini scores for the period 1935-40—the war on the Rhine as Bratt sees it, or the war in the Ukraine with Germany and France allied, as Trotsky sees it. We also differ from those radical groups that welcome a catastrophic world war because of the revolutionary victory that, they say, must follow. To court disaster in the hope of ruling the debris is to have little realization of the madness of modern technical warfare.

It is completely mad, and the function of Major Bratt's book is to reveal the method in this madness. Military sci-

tists invent poison gas for attack and then confer on stupendous plans to perfect a neutralizing gas in defense, and the temporary heaven of military science is gained if both poles are achieved: an invention for untold destruction and a counter-device for defense. Civil architects are laying plans for vast subterranean caverns; and dwellings of the coming decade, like the feudal castle with its moat and drawbridge, will offer not roof gardens but armored cellars. Anti-aircraft guns and powerful searchlights are not sufficient to withstand airplanes—these have the advantage of mobility and can flit dangerously. But now a rumor has seeped out that Germany has successfully experimented with an anti-aircraft dynamo which sets up an electrical current capable of stopping all machinery within a mile's radius. Poor military science heaven. It has crashed to the tune of electrical waves. Who knows? Tomorrow's tale will say that airplanes command the clouds to rain irresistible brimstone.

The method of warfare has changed greatly since Napoleon's strategy was codified. The objectives in his campaign were to break down, first, the armed forces of the enemy; second, the territory of the enemy; third, the will of the enemy. With the airplane in the ascendent, the objectives are reversed. The Allied Entente planned in the strategy of 1919 an attack on the industrial centers of Germany. To cripple the economic life of the nation, to destroy the railroads and munitions factories, to attack the metropolis where the sensitive working class is crowded, are the surest ways of breaking down the psychological resistance of the enemy. The first years of the war proved that the other objectives were largely unattainable. A front line is almost impregnable, despite tanks, when a constant supply of human fodder can be transported by motor to form a fresh line of battle in the rear.

Under present military strategy it is crucial to concentrate a centralized air force at the moment war is declared, and advance on the vital centers of the enemy country. Since mobilization of troops requires a minimum of two weeks, the superior air force most immediately marshalled can be turned on the railroads and motor lorries than transport troops and supplies—and thus immeasurably cripple the land forces. This raises the question of the value of a mass army. College students who oppose R.O.T.C. and conscription on the grounds of conscientious objection might profitably inquire into the nature of the newest land strategy and answer the colonel on his own ground. A small professionally trained army has the advantage of mobility and can be used as shock troops. The mass army depending on the principle of exhaustion makes little headway.

What means of defense do we have against an air raid? We can send our air fleet to the decisive battle—probably on a line somewhere between the nations' capitols. The defeated fleet downed in this battle will not be able to recover and defend once again its homes and its factories. Air bases may be built in subterranean style with bomb and gas-proof walls. Individual citizens may don gas masks and hide in the city's catacombs. But how can industrial centers be saved? How keep our water supply from being poisoned? What a holocaust among New York's millions when the food is cut off! The

slaughter of the last war is as nothing compared with the slaughter to come.

It is foolish to think that the vision of such slaughter will be a deterrent. The forces that profit by war are heavily weighted and magnificently organized. The metal, explosive and chemical industries buttress themselves with patriotic societies. It is in the nature of capitalist enterprise and imperialism to foster rivalries that lean on military power. England's admiralty saw in war a chance to sink for always Germany's upstart navy. A modern capitalist may find in air forces an opportunity to destroy the productive machinery of a rival. Pouring "oil" on troubled waters is at the least ironical.

But it is the thesis of Major Bratt that "there is capital and capital," war capital and peace capital. Cartels, internationally organized may not profit by international disruption. Industrialists may find destruction in their own capital goods a poor payment for increased business. And the aftermath

of a war profits neither the victim nor the victor. Perhaps some capital, believes Major Bratt, may find self-interest on the other side of the fence.

The real and indisputable force for peace is, however, International Labor. We have lived through the disillusionment of an International disintegrating in the face of the "war-psychosis." We have outlived that. The problem ahead is to work in two directions: we must fight unceasingly for disarmament or be caught in the swirl of an armaments' race that no pious hopes can check, and we must be prepared to see disarmament fail and forge our own weapons. War industries and war strategy must be studied so that a general strike may be wisely timed and executed. The power to paralyze production in our own interests is our trump card,—if only we will surpass the military scientists on the peace front.

RUTH E. SCHECHTER

The Adventures of Candide, Jr. IV

WHEN Dr. Pangloss and Candide, Jr., were beaten by a sheriff and his deputies in the coal regions of Southern Illinois, they bore away bruises of body and philosophy.

"We have seen mining and farming conditions in certain areas of the Middle West," mused Dr. Pangloss. "Let us now turn to the urban centers, and first of all New York."

"Are you satisfied to go on believing that this is the best of all possible worlds?" demanded Candide, Jr. His bones still ached from the boots and gun butts that had struck him.

"We must not jump to premature conclusions," replied the professor. The forensic gesture that usually accompanied his statements was checked by a sling over one arm. "The world we see is composed of complex and obscure problems. One approach to the situations they create may be fallacious. The need is for unlimited study. I am not prepared to deny my early convictions. After I return to the University of Smorgasbord, I shall give my experiences some time to digest."

Three days of driving brought them to New York. Walking through a working-class section of the East Side, they came into view of a great line. In the dusk, standing dispiritedly, were more than 500 men. The line extended nearly two blocks from the entrance of an old warehouse. Some of the men looked at the professor and his student. They were turning away, a little ashamed for having stared at this parade of misery, when a voice called.

"Oh, Dr. Pangloss!"

An unshaven young man in a ragged overcoat waved to them. Dr. Pangloss and Candide, Jr., walked over to him.

"Don't you remember me!" he asked. "John Hunley, Class of '27? Major in History and Political Science? Cheer leader and Agora Debating Society? Master Thesis on 'The Depopulation Of The Rhine Valley in 1689?'"

"Heavens," cried Dr. Pangloss. "My most promising student! How came you to this condition—to this disgrace, Sir, of yourself, the University of Smorgasbord, and me!"

"Quite logically and inevitably. But, believe me, I regret this thing like the very deuce. I wouldn't for anything want to wound your feelings. Will I ever forget your classes? And the mellow evenings in your study! How we talked of the more intimate phases of men and affairs, of Cromwell's

love for Venetian painting and cave life during the Thirty Years War. I can still taste the sugared popcorn that dear Mrs. Pangloss made for us."

"If you are conducting a research project, I forgive you," said his teacher. "Your education was designed to fit you for life and future learning. But what has all this to do with my courses in History?"

"Nothing whatever. What I learned at the University did not equip me for living. It did not prepare me for what I am learning now. Six years ago I was a comfortable young man in a fool's paradise. Now, I'm a bundle of Labor Power looking for a Subsistence Wage and receiving Charity. We might call this a research problem in Class-Consciousness,



assigned by Capitalism and guided by Karl Marx."

The voice of the Master of Arts in History rose above a scholastic pitch. Hungry and weary-looking men were staring grimly at the little group. Dr. Pangloss suddenly felt cold. He thought of a warm dinner and his hotel room. This was not a safe neighborhood at night.

"I'm sorry, John, for the trouble you're having," he said. "But don't let it discourage you. We all have our troubles, you know, the great men as well as the small. Get away from these radical notions and find yourself a good job. You'll feel better for it. And when you have the chance, come down to Smorgasbord for another evening with me. There will always be plenty of sugared popcorn. Mrs. Pangloss often speaks of you."

The young man smiled wanly. He saw the figures of Dr. Pangloss and Candide, Jr., disappear into the darkness.

The Profit Motive

INCENTIVES UNDER CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM. By Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D., 1933. L.I.D. pamphlet. Fifteen cents.

DESPITE the fact that the Russian experiment has proved beyond doubt that a system based on use rather than profit can survive; despite the tremendous growth of the consumer's co-operative movement (particularly on the Continent) so that today it serves one-ninth of the total population of the world; despite the fact that a large body of workers—artists, inventors, scientists, engineers, public employees, and the majority of wage-earners—labor today with no hope of profit; despite the expansion of industry to such proportions that the corporate structure is managed not by entrepreneurs but by salaried employees, people must be constantly reminded that the efficacy of incentives other than the profit motive is no longer a hypothesis, but a demonstrated fact. And Dr. Laidler has reminded them well and conclusively.

Dr. Laidler's directness of approach to one of the most persistent questions socialists have to meet, his constant awareness of what is happening in a field where there are very few "classic" sources (most of the references cited are of the past decade), and his suggestive bibliography make this pamphlet a stimulus to the student and a guide to the perplexed.

Merely for presentation to the next person who asks, "But what will make people work under socialism?" the pamphlet is well worth fifteen cents. L.M.K.

WHAD'YE MEAN — CLASS STRUGGLE?

(Continued from page 7)

effective organization of this group as the vanguard of the working class revolt. In other words, the hope of promoting class interest lies in getting great numbers to work together on the basis of those interests which are now, more than ever, clearly felt. This is far more important than terminology.

MAX EASTMAN

I do use the term class struggle, and I do not believe that a classless society can be achieved without struggle be-

tween the working class and the owning class. I regard the class struggle as a method of procedure toward the creation of such a society, and the distinction between the working class and the owning class not as a perfectly defined objective fact valid for all purposes and from all points of view, but as a practical assumption valid for the purpose of achieving that end. I do think that technological changes should modify, or will modify, to some extent the tactics of the class struggle. They have made it possible to present the masses with a more detailed and complete plan of operations after the conquest of political power—that is, to carry over into the science of revolutionary engineering the blueprint system familiar in other kinds of engineering. This change both holds out the hope and demonstrates the necessity of winning over a large block of the engineering brains of the country to the party of revolution. Where the sabotage of the technicians was a grave disaster in Russia, it might wreck a revolutionary transformation in America.

Cuban Students Carry Guns

(Continued from page 5)

A third group of students does not engage in the active tactics of the A.B.C. but carries on merely anti-Machado propaganda, with no definitely enunciated program other than that of his elimination.

The students of all high and normal schools, and of the commercial and industrial schools, although some of these institutions had already been put under military supervisors, continued to hold meetings and otherwise protest. Even girl students distributed manifestos. Two girls had their ribs broken by the police. But despite the closing of all these institutions, despite police brutalities, opposition exasperated, Machado called out the army and swept the students off the streets.

In one of these fracas, the American, Arthur Tagle, was murdered by a policeman. Machado's personal lawyer defended the policeman who, since the evidence against him was too strong, was hurried off the island. Ambassador Guggenheim has never moved to have justice done in this case, or in any other case affecting Americans that I know of.

Students of both sexes, under the legal age, were kept in prison alongside of hardened criminals. All efforts to obtain habeas corpus because of their minority were barred. Many students were held in grim Principe Castle. On the night of December 30, 1931, the military authorities, wishing to do away with one of the students who had been a witness to the government-seizure and assassination of the student Félix Ernesto Apizar, armed the criminals in the Castle and launched them against the defenseless student prisoners. César Andino had his intestines and kidneys cut open and died; Manuel Varona Loredó was knifed in the back and his body stamped upon; Rafael Arguelles was knifed in the arm, had a wrist broken and suffered other injuries; four or five others were gravely wounded. Doctor Gonzalo Freyre de Andrade, who protested against this brutality, was subsequently assassinated; other protesting professors were arrested.

High school girls, even from the best families in Havana, were dumped into common criminal cells, as were also old ladies, such as Apolonia Gomila de Barcelo, mother of a student hiding from the police, and Señora Suarez Solis, guilty of the "terrible crime" of laying flowers on the tomb of Trejo. When the castle was filled up with students and professors,

many were sent to the Isle of Pines penitentiary, without trial. Most of them were held incommunicado.

Despite such jailings, the students continued their protests, especially the girls. One day a group of them appeared before the Palace with large placards: "RESIGN!" A few days later, the police released hardened women criminals and prostitutes and organized these harpies into the *Porra Femenina*, or Female Blackjack Gang, to attack such girl protesters. They descended on the girl students and stripped them in the streets.

Many students have been killed. In June, 1931, Rafael Santiesteban; August, Eusebio Hildalgo, Leclere, and Fel leites; December, Apizar. Young Proenza was not a student, but was close to a small group of more radical students, and had carried on considerable propaganda. Early this year, a neighborhood child was sent by a secret-police agent to his house with a package. When opened, the package proved to be a bomb. It exploded, blowing the child to bits. The face of one of the Proenza sisters was horribly mutilated; another sister had her hand blown off. A cousin of theirs was simultaneously killed by drowning.

In official communique, the Rector of the University, Ricardo Dolz, brought these and other facts to the attention of the government. According to law, his statement had to be published in the *Gaceta Oficial*. It was printed in "*Edicion Extraordinaria*," No. 15-A, July 13, 1932, but only one copy was circulated. Before the end of the year, Dolz had to take refuge in a foreign legation to escape the fate of Freyre de Andrade.

These students and professors are as much martyrs to the cause of Cuban liberty as those early patriots whose memory America has long honored. They are victims not of Bloody Weyler and Spanish rule, but of a high representative of American power, public utility and banking interests.

Agitate, Educate, Organize

(Continued from page 17)

operative book exchange which, according to Charles Scott Guletz, in the first seven days of operation handled over 900 books and saved students more than a thousand dollars. "To cite one example: A student after having received bids of a \$1.25 from local bookstores on a second hand textbook left it with us and priced it at \$2.25. Within a few hours we had sold it to another student who found that the cheapest used book at the same stores was priced at \$3.50. Thus our service saved the buyer \$1.25 and gave the seller \$1 more."

Operating costs are partially derived from the 20% commission made on the sale of STUDENT OUTLOOKS (purchased at 8 cents each, sold at 10). In retaliation, the enraged booksellers refuse to handle the magazine.

Comrade Guletz further reports: "Now that we have been very successful with our Book Exchange, we are formulating plans for an L.I.D. Cooperative Lunch Room, which will furnish meals to students for thirteen cents, and a Cooperative Rooming House where students may live for as little as \$1 a week. Any student may for the sum of one cent a day, rent any of the books on Socialism we have in our L.I.D. library. The library contains many of Upton Sinclair's best sellers such as "Oil," "King Coal," and "The Jungle."

Two rooming houses have been established by the Socialist Club at the University of Michigan. The Co-op Lunch room started a few months ago with twenty persons, each of

whom put up a \$10 fee (since paid back) to start operations. Membership in the cooperative, according to a recent report, had increased to 208. Three meals a day are served for \$2.50 a week. Twenty-three students are employed, five at pay and board, and eighteen at board only (for three hours of work daily).

Forums and New Organizations

The Princeton Socialist Club in cooperation with the local branch of the Socialist Party has organized a peoples forum in the town. Large meetings are reported by Andrew Grey, New Jersey district chairman of the I. S. C. Membership in the Princeton Socialist Club requires concurrent membership in the Socialist Party, the L.I.D. or both.

The L.I.D. is growing increasingly active on the West Coast. The University of Oregon L.I.D., is planning a big meeting for Frank Crosswaith, well-known Negro Socialist lecturer. Following upon Paul Blanshard's lecture tour of California new L.I.D. groups or Socialist clubs have been organized at University of California in Los Angeles, Occidental, Pomona, Scripps, Whittier, California Christian University of Southern California, California Institute of Technology, and Compton and San Mateo Junior Colleges. L.I.D. chapters were already functioning at U. of California (Berkeley), Leland Stanford, and San Jose Teachers.

Among other colleges where Socialist or L.I.D. Chapters have been formed are:

Iowa: State University, State College, Grinnell and Simpson.

Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh, State College, Haverford, and Drexel.

Ohio: Western Reserve, Case, Lake Erie, Baldwin-Wallace, Akron, Cleveland.

Others: Smith, Harvard, Emory, Texas Christian, South Dakota, Junior College, Connecticut College for Women, Springfield, and Chicago Training School.

New district councils of the I.S.C. have been set up in Northeastern Ohio, with William Chamberlain of Oberlin as chairman and Marian Newman of Western Reserve as secretary; in Baltimore with Laulette Irvin of Goucher and Alfred Bernstein of U. of Baltimore as secretary; in Chicago with Philip Booth of U. of C. and Julius Kuczma of C.T.S. as chairman and secretary; in Southern California with Clotilda Parter as chairman; in the Rocky Mountain states, William Vincent, University of Denver, chairman; Kansas and Nebraska, Waldo McNutt, Washburn, chairman; Missouri, Theodore Graham, University of Missouri, chairman; Iowa, Alvin Coons, Iowa State College, chairman; Louisiana—Mississippi—Alabama, Richard Witten, Tulane, Chairman.

New officers of the New York City I.S.C. are August Tyler, New York University, chairman; Ethel Schachner, Brooklyn College, vice-chairman; Lillian Greenwald, Hunter, secretary.

Forthcoming Conferences

MARCH 10-11

Johns Hopkins Liberal Club Fifth Annual Intercollegiate Conference; with assistance of University of Baltimore Discussion Group, and Goucher L.I.D. Subject: "Ways Out: Guide through Economic Crisis." First session, Friday, 8 p.m.

MARCH 10

Fourth and last session, Saturday 8 p.m. March 11. Paul Blanshard will give the concluding address on "The Co-operative Commonwealth." Address inquiries to Frank N. Trager, Chairman, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

HOWARD ALLAWAY was leader of the Thomas-for-President Club at the University of Nebraska. As editor of the *Daily Nebraskan* he wrote an editorial in support of Norman Thomas, which provoked a demand from Governor Charles W. Bryan that he be removed. The university authorities, however, stood by Howard.

For several years WALTER REUTHER had been working in the auto factories around Detroit, while attending the city college there. When finally the strike broke, Walter was on his way to Russia to work in the Ford factory. His article literally was written with one foot in the L.I.D. office but his forward foot on the gangplank.

CARLETON BEALS is a journalist of repute. His knowledge of Central American affairs is unequalled.

MONROE SWEETLAND is an organizer for the Socialist Party in New York, a student at Syracuse, and President of the Intercollegiate Student Council.

PAUL PORTER is now on an organizing trip through New England for the League. Before he left he was married to Eleanor Nelson who has worked with the unemployed in Washington. He was a classmate and boon companion of Clarence Senior at the U. of Kansas.

FREELAND PENNY is a student at the University of Kansas. RUTH E. SCHECHTER was one of the students who went down to Kentucky last year. She is now teaching in a New York high school and organizing for the A.U.C.A.

JIM WATROUS, a student at Wisconsin, has frequently contributed drawings to THE STUDENT OUTLOOK.

Revolution in the Farm Lands

(Continued from page 11)

or property the debtor may ever get at any future time. The debtor has a strong argument of justice on his side when he contends that he should be given a clean slate and a chance to start over again when the creditor has taken everything he owns. Since mortgage holding companies in most cases bid in the foreclosed property at the sale, farmer groups have adopted the direct action method to force bids high enough to meet the debt against the property.

That's what happened when John A. Johnson's farm was put under the hammer at Le Mars, Iowa. The life insurance company which held a thirty-three thousand dollar mortgage on the farm intended to submit a bid of thirty thousand dollars at the sale and had a representative there with the bid in his pocket. Such a bid, however, would have left Johnson open to a three thousand dollar deficiency judgment. Members of a mob of some five hundred farmers dragged the insurance man from the courthouse steps as they brandished a rope and threatened hanging, tar and feathers, and ride on a rail unless he raised his bid the extra three thousand dollars. The county sheriff was mauled and slapped when he attempted to come to the aid of the bidder and the county judge was seized and held when he started to telephone for help. The insurance man wired a message to his read office which ended, "Rush answer, my neck at risk."

These are isolated cases, but they show what is happening to the authority of the law in the nation's "bread-basket" region when its toils begin to squeeze the inhabitants thereof. Similar tactics in securing postponement of delinquent tax sales have been used. The writer noted more than thirty of these direct action cases in Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and Missouri reported by the newspapers over a ten-day period in January.

III

But the farmers have by no means confined their "revolutionary" activities to individual cases. As this is written, Lin-

coln, Nebraska, is awaiting a scheduled march of from five to two hundred thousand farmers (the estimates of the organizers vary with their optimism at any given time) on the state legislature in session there. These farmer, say the leaders, are going to "tear the new state capitol building to pieces" unless the law makers acquiesce to their demands. The irony of the Nebraska situation is that the legislature, where the farmers themselves are in control, will probably already have passed the farmer relief measures before the marchers get to town.

IV

The natural question of those not in contact with this "farm revolt" is: Who is back of it? Is it a spontaneous final struggle of the millions of honest tillers of the soil in an effort to save their homes, or is it the work of professional agitators? The answer is: Partly both. The "guerrilla warfare" against evictions and foreclosures which has sprung up all through the midwest this winter is the action of a peace-loving but desperate people. The more spectacular activities are usually the work of agitators.

And what has this "revolt" against law accomplished?

There are two sides to the debate. Mr. Franklin Fort of the Federal Home Loan board says the farmers are in a fair way to ruining their chances to borrow money at any future time. Spokesmen for the insurance companies and mortgage holding banks opine that the state legislatures will complete the destruction of agricultural credit if they tinker with the legal safeguards for the creditor, which the farmers demand be abolished. Paul F. Good, attorney general of Nebraska analyzes the situation as follows: courts will hold sales, where intimidation is practiced, void; many sincere farmers who are able to pay are being victimized by neighbors; few banks or insurance company foreclosures are now being held except where there is no chance for the farmer to get out from under his debt load, even under favorable conditions.

Notwithstanding all this, the farmers see and appreciate some of the obvious accomplishments of their "revolution." No one can dispute that in hundreds of cases they have at least postponed foreclosure and kept the farmer where, if he can't make any money, he can at least make a living. It is obvious too that in scores of instances sales at which property at present would bring only a fraction of its reasonable value in normal times have been prevented.

In addition to the direct results, however, the farmer has accomplished much that may speed his recovery. In the first place, legislation has been passed or is impending in almost every midwest state in some of the following forms: outright mortgage moratoriums; tax moratoriums by extension of the period of grace before land will be sold for back taxes; procedural changes in the law to allow the judge to refuse to confirm foreclosure sales when the bid price is less than a reasonable value of the property; repeal of deficiency judgment laws; drastic tax reductions.

Second, the farmers have forced voluntary debt moratoriums from insurance companies, land banks, and building and loan companies as these creditors faced the danger of having their mortgaged property sold out from under them for a pittance at "farmer supervised" sales.

The revolt testifies once more to the gravity of the situation when the farmer—of all people who could be depended upon to respect law and order—demonstrates that, if legal means are insufficient in the battle against a peril which threatens to take away his home and mortgage his future, even he will resort to violence.

FREE FOR ALL

Socialism and Advertising

DEAR SIR:

Even radicals grasp new ideas slowly. In the last fifty years there has been developed a new method of social control, more efficient than the world has ever before known. Nearly every possible, peaceful method of causing people to believe, or see, or buy, or do what one wants them to believe, or see, or buy, or do, has been developed to its highest point of efficiency by the men in the advertising profession. Yet in the February issue of the *STUDENT OUTLOOK*, Felix Cohen says:

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.

and Lewis Mumford says:

After spouting militant Socialism for four years, you mustn'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.

Felix Cohen may be right. After spending four years in advertising agencies learning the technique, I decided that to spend my life applying that technique on nothing more important than persuading people to buy tooth paste or shoes that I knew were no good, was to waste my life. So I returned to college to learn more about social control by studying psychology and education and political science.

But Lewis Mumford—whose writing I usually enjoy, and for whom I have great esteem—in this case is hardly right. If every young Socialist could spend a few years in an advertising agency learning how to persuade (and so control) people, Socialist propaganda would be more effective in winning people. Whereas I have seen Socialist propaganda the net effect of which was to antagonize and turn people away from Socialism.

Advertising men have two contributions to make to the "society of the future." First, they can contribute as much as any profession (and more than most) to the task of bringing about the new society. If the Socialist Party could afford to hire an advertising agency to assist in planning its campaign, there is no doubt that a greater public acceptance of Socialism could be achieved. Since it cannot, it might scour through its own membership for unemployed or partially employed advertising men who could contribute their services to the working out of an advertising and publicity campaign that would be effective.

As the country becomes partly socialized, advertising can be used to get people to trade with the municipal enterprises and with the co-operatives rather than with the profit-making businesses. Advertising can be used to emphasize the advantages of further extension of nationalization of industries. Advertising can be used in the political campaigns of Socialists, to get them elected to office. (The business of advertising includes the use of publicity and news columns.)

Second, there is a legitimate use for advertising and advertising skill even under a completely Socialized government. Russia is showing certain examples with her posters advocating collectivism, portraying the evil effects of liquor, keeping up the morale of the people (as our posters did during the war period). But they have hardly scratched the surface. Advertising is the quick method of portraying ideas, it is the epitome of the process of education. Under a Socialist regime advertising could be used: to teach people how to drive their cars so as to avoid accidents; to enlist their co-operation in such projects as cleaning up and beautifying a city; to recommend parks and resorts where healthful recreation was available; to announce new books and urge a greater use of the public library and of extension courses in education. When there was an unexpectedly large crop of some food, say wheat—the consumption of wheat could be increased through advertising. When new inventions are made, when new products are to be marketed even in a Socialist

state, advertising is the best method of announcing them. People will still want to know about concerts and lectures and motion pictures and plays, and advertising will still be the best way to announce such events. The advertising will change somewhat, as the motive changes from profit to service, but the technique will still be valid.

Some collegian has said that what we have is "a thin veneer of bathtubs and automobiles and radios over mediaeval attitudes and ideas." Hoover's research committee says, "... social invention has to be stimulated to keep pace with mechanical invention." In other words, these mediaeval attitudes must be brought up to date. And the quickest means of developing new attitudes in people is through the technique of advertising.

The militant Socialist who is planning to go into advertising has chosen a good field. You can be an advertising man in the future society; and as an advertising man you can make a great contribution about the future society. Douglas Fairbanks has said, "motion pictures influence more people than all the art and literature of all the ages combined." Possibly. But advertising influences more people than motion pictures.

Even the Socialist Party could benefit by turning to the advertising man and utilizing his suggestions.

HERBERT M. HANIS,
University of California

"Students With Guts"

DEAR SIR:

Our fifty copies of the *STUDENT OUTLOOK* have just arrived, and we have already disposed of several. It is a splendid issue, and I like the cover ever so much. But I do not like the feature editorial on "Students with Guts," and I should like to register a protest against that particular attitude. It is, for instance, oddly at variance with the fine article by Trager, "From Each According to His Ability." I felt at the conference, and I feel even more strongly now, that students are laying too much emphasis on the showy side of radicalism, and that in their attempt to become martyrs to the Cause they are neglecting the very necessary scholastic work that must also be done. I do not belittle the importance of direct action, but I insist that it takes just as much guts for a student to stick to his books, preparing the solid foundation on which he may later aid in building the new society, as to go out and shout "Down with the capitalists!" get arrested and become a martyr. We need the blue-prints just as much as the action.

HELEN FISHER,
Swarthmore

Student Manuscripts Wanted

DEAR SIR:

Students in any American college or university are invited to submit manuscripts to be considered for publication in an anthology of student writing. All forms of prose may be submitted; expository essays of various types, descriptive sketches, brief narratives, short stories, and one-act plays. Expository essays in which the writer deals vigorously with matters that are broadly of student interest are particularly desired.

All manuscripts should be accompanied by return address and the name of the college or university with which the student is affiliated. The latter information is requested not only to insure that the author of each contribution is a student, but in order to give full credit in the published anthology to the writer and to his college or university as well.

The editor cannot promise an immediate opinion upon the availability of any manuscript, but every contributor will be informed of the final decision upon his work. Manuscripts unaccompanied by proper postage cannot be insured of return in case of rejection. All work to be submitted must reach the editor at the address below before April 30, 1933.

WARREN BOWER,
*Department of English,
Washington Square College, New York*

1933

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Revolt

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