

The **STUDENT** **OUTLOOK**

Formerly REVOLT
The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

WHY THE GERMAN STUDENT IS FASCIST

By **SIDNEY HOOK**

LENIN'S STUDENT DAYS

by Arthur King

CAMPUS TAMMANY

by Reed Harris

AN AMERICAN PARTY

by Herman Wolf

I SAW TOM MOONEY

by Paul Blanshard

ECONOMY IN EDUCATION

by Lewis S. Feuer

Statements by Powers Hapgood
and John Chamberlain

Have Fraternities a Function ?

A SYMPOSIUM

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REFUSE TO FIGHT!

AN EDITORIAL



Cesare in the New York Sun

The Man with the Sword

ON BOTH SIDES of the Atlantic the war resistance movement grows apace in the universities. In two-score English and American colleges polls and resolutions carried by large votes give evidence that the proportion of students who would refuse to fight far exceeds the two per cent of the population that Professor Einstein believes could halt war.

The Oxford Union, famed debating center of Oxford University, recently voted 275 to 153 that "this House will in no circumstance fight for its King and Country," and then after a furore by graduates that rocked the British press, reaffirmed its position 750 to 138. The Manchester University Union adopted an identical resolution by a vote of 371 to 196, and similar action has been taken at Glasgow, Nottingham, Leicester Universities and at University College in Wales.

In the United States a poll conducted by the Columbia University *Spectator* revealed that, of 920 balloting, 293 would fight under no circumstances, 484 would fight only if the country were invaded, only 81 would fight under any circumstance, and 38 would fight as bill collectors to protect investments abroad. Representatives of seven colleges in the San Francisco Bay region, meeting in an anti-war conference at the call of the L.I.D. chapters of Leland Stanford and University of California, sent greetings to the Oxford Union and declared their opposition to war service of any kind. Similar action has been taken by student assemblies, representing a substantial section of the student bodies at Northwestern, Chicago and Syracuse Universities. The Brown University *Daily Herald* has declared for forthright war resistance, and has initiated a nation-wide student poll in which it is supported by dozens of college papers.

We believe that these facts indicate a turning point in the thinking of American college students concerning war. It is no longer honorable to be a 100 per cent American. Educated men are becoming citizens of the world. The war mongers, the munitions makers, the professional patrioteers must take notice. The new generation has resolved that it will never be lured away again from the classrooms, workshops and farms by lies and false glamour.

In all great wars in the past men have become drunk upon slogans. They have been asked to fight for flag and country, for Belgian babies, for a world made safe for democracy, and for lilies across the sea. Today, historians who have the courage to tell the truth, have smashed through the sham and hypocrisy of these shibboleths. They tell us that wars are fought for steel and gold and land. They show us how the professional yes-men of big business have used blind patriotism in every war to cover up the trail of private profits.

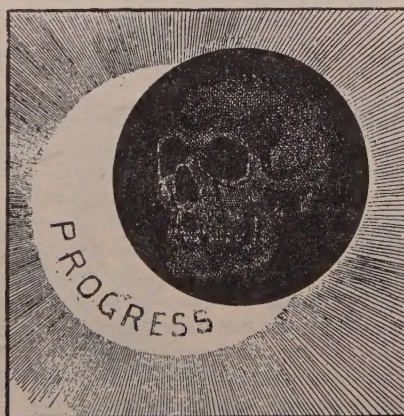
Essentially, the fight against war is the fight of a new generation that insists upon knowing the truth.

The truth is that dying for King and Country is a silly business because it is useless. When one nation defeats another in a modern war both nations are ruined economically. The only thing that is accomplished is the transfer of mines, mills, and trade routes from one group of capitalists to another.

These things are not worth dying for. The officers of the R.O.T.C. may shout until they are hoarse, but they cannot controvert this obvious fact. Intelligent men do not want to be national gangsters. They know that it is just as foolish to die for Mexican oil wells or the National City Bank as it is to die for beer concessions in Chicago.

Students whose fighting instincts are directed by an intelligent understanding of the needs of this age will fight only for the abolition of an economic system whose yearly toll of death and suffering is as great as that of any war. They will fight only to usher in an economic system in which wars will not occur because the greeds and follies and hatreds that give rise to war will no longer exist. And they will fight for that only when every avenue of peaceful progress has been closed.

When the Oxford Union voted against war some of its members received a box of white feathers from the ladies. Well, we'd rather wear white feathers than a fool's cap.



Morgan in the Philadelphia Enquirer

The Eclipse

*But all you dear who died and did not guess
you died for utter silliness,
who did not know (how could you?) that*

*nobody knew what they were at.
Be not amazed, you dear, and have no shame;
all wars and all their dead have been the same.*

HUMBERT WOLFE

WHY THE GERMAN STUDENT IS FASCIST*

By SIDNEY HOOK

THE German student in the eyes of the educated world presents a cultural paradox. He is proud of a cultural tradition whose sources, he claims, go back to Luther, Goethe, Kant, and Hegel; yet with the possible exception of the emigré Black-Hundreds, no group possesses an ideology more reactionary than his. In affairs of the spirit, he is mystical, nationalistic, obscurantist, and anti-semitic. He boasts of his hard-headed scientific and realistic approach to practical problems but he embraces an illusionary solution of the social problem which promises all things to all men. He protests he is pledging all for *Volk* and *Vaterland*; in reality he is fighting the battle of the West German industrialists and East Prussian agrarians against socialism and communism.

In order properly to explain the German student, one would have to explain modern Germany. Short of that, we can make his present allegiance intelligible by examining his class origins, his recent history and the contemporary economic and social situation in Germany as it affects his vocational prospects.

The origins of the German student are predominantly middle-class. Little more than 2% of the students in higher schools are of proletarian origin. Only slightly more are of the former nobility and of the present-day financial and industrial oligarchy. The overwhelming bulk comes from the lesser bourgeoisie and land-owners, the professional classes and government officials. In the "good old days" of the Empire, the German student was called to fill positions quite congenial to the role which his class played in production. In an expanding economy, it provided the engineers for industry, teachers for the schools, officials for all the state services, officers for the army and fleet, colonial administrators, and at the very worst, the scientific and enlightened entrepreneur. Due to the feudal political forms with which the German national economy was invested, the state services enjoyed a higher social prestige than business. To be an official carried with it security, power, and a glory reflected from the shining eminence of his Imperial Highness himself. Even the business-man aspired for official esteem as well as wealth. (See the keen portrayal of the social-political milieu of pre-war Germany in Heinrich Mann's powerful, but neglected, novel, *Der Untertan*.) The anticipation of the material rewards of a successful career combined with a sense of the social significance of their callings banked the fires of radicalism among the German Youth. Their very revolt was conventional. It was channeled off in activities indulgently tolerated as the privilege of youth—a little play, a little dalliance and a great deal of beer. One need but recall the opening lines of the German student songs to get the quality of his life in the days of the Empire. They could be sung only by young men made sentimentally complacent by the assurance that a career was awaiting them.

The ordinary processes of capitalism and the extraordinary effects of war and inflation changed all this. The fortunes, if not the memories, of the middle-class were wiped out. The present generation of German students grew up under the incredible hardships of the slow war with hunger on the home

front. Where there was not enough to feed even the soldiers, there was naturally still less for the civilians. I have been told by German students that their greatest boyhood wish was a full meal. Some of them to this day cannot bear the sight of the *Steckrüben* which for long periods was their only stable fare. After the war inflation brought additional impoverishment to the middle classes. The character of the student's social and academic life reflected this change. His home allowance, always meagre, dwindled away until he could hardly pay for his bare necessities. Even in the comparatively stable years which followed the Dawes Plan his standard of living sunk to the general level of permanently unemployed among the working class. This sharpened his interest in politics. He looked around for a convenient scapegoat—and a credo which would glorify the violence by which he hoped to escape from his despair.

After 1918 the state had become republican and nominally socialist. Organized in his fencing fraternities with their imperial traditions, the German student found himself hostile to it. This hostility was sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of his rapidly diminishing vocational opportunities. The extension and "rationalization" of the social services by government, federal states, and municipalities cut down the field for independent professional activity—medicine, law, engineering, etc. The official posts were few and were more readily accessible to those who had republican sympathies. In the course of time, under the pressure of the Allied Reparations Commission and the large industrialists the government began to curtail its social service program. It carried through a drastic economy in all fields especially education. Jobs became fewer and fewer. German youths naturally now became intensely Versailles conscious. At first, an ethical issue became the ideological rallying cry. Organizations sprang into existence dedicated to combating what was called the "war-guilt lie." Germany was really paying reparations because she lost the war. The Allies insisted in black and white that she was paying because she began the war. The official hypocrisy of the war-guilt clause made it easier for the German student to forget that if the peace had been dictated in Berlin and not in Paris it would have been the Allies who would be paying and protesting their Reparations. The Marxist analysis of the causes of war was dismissed as "materialistic." And as for the causes of Germany's defeat they would quote General Hoffman to the effect that the Russian Revolution and Bolshevik propaganda had undermined the morale of the German worker. Some of them even believed the fantastic statement of General Ludendorf that it was the "social-democratic stab in the back" which had caused the collapse of the Hindenburg line. By 1929 there was no student body in the world which was more validly nationalistic than the German *Studentenverbindungen*.

Then the crisis broke. The tendencies described above became intensified. Concentration of industry and rationalization of the manufacturing process had eliminated more and more of the managing personnel but this was as nothing compared to the results of the shutdown of large industries with their experimental laboratories, engineering works, etc. The

*Based on an extemporaneous address delivered in New York City, July 15, 1932.



Courtesy of The Nation

drain upon the government treasury by the increasing number of unemployed lead to both a decrease of the already inadequate dole and the severest retrenchment which Germany has ever suffered in its schools, hospitals, and health stations. For the last three years graduating students have had nowhere to go but home or the streets. But more important still, as the possibilities of employment decreased, the number of students increased. This is a phenomenon not uncommon to other countries. With rising unemployment, registration in all schools generally goes up. For the youth there was nothing else to do; and they still desired to prepare themselves even for the remote contingency of securing a position when an upturn came. Naturally, this meant larger classes, greater burdens, and deeper dissatisfaction for the teachers who retained their posts.

The resultant hopelessness of the economic situation of the German student may be made more graphic by a few figures. In the winter semester of 1931-32 students in the higher schools and universities numbered 130,072. At the same time waiting for appointment to academic positions alone there were 137,000. One out of every seven teachers who previously had had posts was unemployed. One out of every three students still studying received public aid, which consisted of one meal a day. Each year the situation grows worse. The number of available jobs is continuously being reduced; the number of those entering the higher schools keeps on rising. What matters will be like by 1935 when all of those now studying will have completed their studies, no one knows. Although it is part of the general social problem, the problem of the German student is especially grave. Small wonder that he is prepared for desperate measures.

All those who are eaten by despair in Germany today find one haven—*die Partei der Verzwweifelten*, the party of Hitler and Fascism. The National-Socialist Party was already on the scene when the depression began. The German student at that time was nationalist but not yet fascist. His steadily worsening plight soon drove him into the fascist camp. Hitler was as rabid in his anti-Versailles nationalism as they could possible desire, he had a program and an ideology compounded of scraps from Hegel, Stahl, Chamberlain, and other patron saints of German conservatism. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of Hitler's program and the national-socialist movement. I can only indicate why the German student finds Hitler's program congenial to his present need and past tradition.

The German student understands quite well that Fascism is not a return to the feudal state although its propaganda sports the slogan of the old *Ständestaat*. Fascism is an advance from the state form of early industrial capitalism. Politically it means the destruction of the ideals of liberalism and democracy which were the battle cries of early industrial capitalism struggling to cut free from the vestigial legal forms of feudalism; and the substitution of a new political ideal more in harmony with the integrated economic structure of monopoly capitalism. In their propaganda, therefore, the German Fascists make effective use of the Social-Democratic critique of competitive capitalism; but it is directed not against the system of capitalism and international monopolist competition, but against the outmoded bourgeois, democratic political forms which are now a drag upon further capitalist expansion. That is why the German Fascists call themselves socialists, radicals, and sometimes revolutionists. Psycholog-

ically, the German student is quite sincere in his revolutionary self-consciousness. He is revolting against the political shadows of a system which has deprived him of a career and driven him beneath the margin of a decent subsistence.

In cold fact, however, the Fascist state does not imply an economic revolution, but the development of an instrument, more efficient than any hitherto evolved, by which the full political and economic force of the bourgeoisie may be mobilized against the working-class. Under the old democratic forms of industrial capitalism—and even then with difficulty—the proletariat was able to win a certain measure of organized strength. That organized strength acts like a continual brake upon the straining efforts of monopoly capitalism to rationalize industry by speeding up production and cutting wages. Consequently the victory of Fascism means first and foremost the ruthless destruction of all working-class organizations. State and industry become welded into one organic whole. There is no longer any working at cross-purposes between business and government. Those who rule one, rule the other. Here is where the strong German tradition of the supremacy of the state comes in to reinforce the needs of monopoly capitalism. And it must be remembered that there is no group among whom the tradition of state worship is so strong as among the students. The assertion of the naked state power of the bourgeoisie in industry and the whole of the cultural life which it conditions, can only be achieved through "the circulation of the élites" (a phrase of Pareto's which stands the Italian and German Fascists in good stead) who must occupy the key-posts in the completely articulated structure of modern society. The German students are naturally quite sure that they constitute the élites. If not they, who else? they ask.

We can now see more clearly what Fascism means to the German student and why it has such a hold upon him. It offers him an opportunity for action which he can get, under existing conditions and his own class prejudices, nowhere else. In becoming one of the lieutenants of a monopoly capitalism, in smashing the trade-unions and building new industrial cadres, he is fulfilling his life-long ambition to become a servant of the state. In supporting a state-controlled economy which must come into conflict with other national economies, he is gratifying his nationalistic illusions and indulging in high hopes of a renewed imperialist expansion which will create further opportunities for rising in the state service. In accepting Hitler's racial chauvinism, he gets rid of his Jewish rivals in all the professions and with that, their "unendurable superiority." (The explanation of the intense character of student anti-semitism is a chapter in itself. It will be treated on a subsequent occasion.)

This is what the German student hopes to gain by the victory of Fascism. Meanwhile he is helping it—as it stands on the threshold of power—in many concrete ways both in the field of theory and practice. He is organizing industrial engineering corps to perform all the technical functions necessary to keep the public services running in case of a general strike. The Fascists have learned the lesson of the Kapp *putsch* when their attempt to overthrow the republic was foiled by a general strike called by the socialist trade unions. As soon as Hitler comes to power the socialist and communist trade unions in self defense will probably be compelled to launch this weapon once more. This time the Fascists are preparing in

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LENIN'S STUDENT DAYS

By ARTHUR KING

LENIN all his life studied widely and intensely. His sister tells us that in early childhood he would leave the house every morning, laden with books and dictionaries, go alone to an out-of-the-way summer cottage and lose himself in study. Here he would make voluminous notes and extracts of all his readings. This extensive note-taking he continued even in later life, laying great stress on it as a method of study. Indeed he once chided his wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, for writing in an educational text that the taking of notes should be sparing, that it should be confined to the very important and significant. No, said Lenin, one must write down copiously and fully the results of study.

The child Lenin was favored with an intellectual background almost idyllic. His father, a provincial inspector of schools, was an educational enthusiast and provided six children with a wise abundance of culture. Albert Rhys Williams writes enthusiastically of the Ulyanovs (Lenin's family): "Their home became a little university in itself, in which all were devoted to art and music and science and literature."

It is said that the boy Lenin gave up skating because it made him tired and too sleepy to study. This may have been done during a juvenile period of fervor for books, but Lenin was far from the bookworm who keeps himself secluded from the outdoors and refrains from exercise. Nature to him was a place of beauty and of physical diversion. He liked to go on long hikes; he was very fond of hunting. Keeping fit, he believed, was a revolutionary duty and he would often urge the comrades to get outdoors and revive drooping bodies and spirits with lusty exercise. On one occasion, following his own advice, in order to recover from a mental and physical near-collapse brought on by the labors and strains of the Russian Social Democratic Congress of 1903, when the famous Bolshevik-Menshevik split occurred, he took to the mountains for a month. He and his wife hiked and climbed all day long and in the evening sank exhausted into sleep. He recovered completely and with his partner again took up the revolutionary task. (Incidentally, were the Bolsheviks sentimentalists, they could very easily weave a magnificent revolutionary romance out of the life-long companionship of Lenin and Krupskaya. The linking together of the lives of the two great revolutionists forms a grand story.)

When the young Lenin completed his "prep" studies at the Simbrisk Gymnasium, he held the highest grades in every subject. The head master, who, by one of those strange ironies of history, happened to be the father of Kerensky, said of Lenin: "very gifted; consistently painstaking and regular in his attendance."

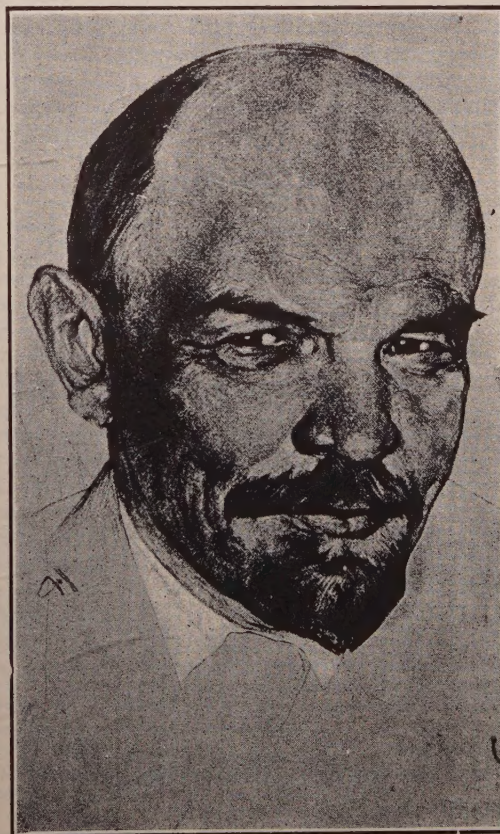
The model pupil, however, was already the budding revolutionist. He had drunk deeply from the well of revolutionary ideology. Krupskaya says in her *Memories of Lenin* that, contrary to general opinion, the hanging of Lenin's brother, Alexander, did not make a revolutionary out of him: he was already one. In fact, Lenin had felt that Alexander would not make a good revolutionary because he was too much interested in worms (referring to Alexander's biological studies).

It was at this time, early in life, at 17, that Lenin "learned the value of all liberal chatter." When Alexander was arrested, the liberal friends and neighbors of the Ulyanovs shunned them as they would a plague. No one could be found to accompany the grief-stricken mother on her visit to the son in prison. All this was a profound shock to Lenin and remained a well-learned lesson in "liberalism."

His college days were cut short almost at the start by revolutionary activity. He was expelled from the University of Kazan, after thirty days, for making radical speeches and taking part in a student rebellion. Banished to a provincial village, he continued his studies on his own. Law, the agrarian question, Karl Marx's *Capital*, these became his "majors" for the time being. He developed a veritable passion for facts and figures; so careful and painstaking was he in factual and statistical research that he would verify each item and even check over for himself all mathematical computations. During this period he wrote a remarkable survey, *The New Economic Movement Among the Peasantry*, based on statistical studies.

Marx taught him to definitely throw aside terrorism as a revolutionary method and to enter the proletarian movement. He went to Petersburg and threw in his lot with the Marxian revolutionaries.

(Continued on page 22)



Courtesy of the Workers Library Publishers

HAVE FRATS A FUNCTION?

A Symposium

A TEKE TALKS

"FRATERNITIES build men." So we are told. In some cases this is true. But it may break them.

There are, roughly, three types of men that "make" fraternities: the vacuum headed dandies that come to college filled with the egotism of high school social successes; the fairly well rounded average; and the man whose previous environment has denied him social relationships.

The first type are the target of rushing week. By further feeding their sense of silly importance, fraternities often reduce them to intellectually incompetent fashion plates. The second group furnishes the bulk of fraternity membership. By canalizing their social desires to activities offering campus prestige for the group, the fraternity tends to keep them at a level with the mass of memorizing, non-thinking college students. But to the last—when, rarely, he does gain admittance to the sacred portals—is offered the opportunity for broadening socially, and of becoming a more complete human being.

On many small campuses, fraternities, by force of competition, become much more democratic than at the larger institutions. Fraternities may lack a larger social purpose; they do fill a need—the outlet for the group urge. Only with a revaluation of the purpose of the college—a socialization of education—can fraternities be expected to become social institutions. The attack must be directed against the purposeless capitalist system itself. Then, and only then, can we expect college social groups, or for that matter, any of our present institution, to become socialized in attitude and purpose.

BOB CULLUM, *Albion College*

PI KAPPA ALPHA

Four years ago now I was President of my fraternity, and for three years I was its Rushing Chairman. While I still have a warm affection for many of the men with whom I lived, and for the House that was my home for four years, it is now clear to me that the fraternity was and is a detriment to social and political progress and that it functions in a way to perpetuate the status quo. As Rushing Chairman I assiduously sought out the prospects on a basis of (1) handsomeness and social responsibility, (2) ability to pay their bills, (3) probable participation in campus activities—somewhere down the list came intelligence, scholarship, musical ability, etc. The standard displayed in the selection of members is typical of the standard all along the line in fraternity relationships. "To rate" is the primary object, with its concomitant of social stratification, reflecting the standards of wealth, race, religion, and family which are paramount in capitalistic society. I do not believe that any Socialist, if he analyses the matter carefully, can continue to support the Greek letter fraternity system.

MONROE M. SWEETLAND,
Wittenberg College and Cornell

OMEGA ALPHA THETA

Brother, I can spare a fraternity pin.

And the students of American can well spare their college fraternities. Why? Because:

1. Fraternity membership obscures the only loyalty which has meaning for the student. His loyalty belongs to the movement which is waging the war for a society in which his education will enable him to function as something more than a captive tied to the chariot of business enterprise.

2. Fraternities are the opiate of the student. Even though comparatively poor students can and do join fraternities, they harbor the illusion that membership makes them part of the privileged class. This blinds them to their present economic status and future prospects.

3. Fraternities stultify intellectual development in general and the growth of social intelligence in particular. They cause students to devote undue attention to the rituals of personal adornment and to the ceremonials of "hops," "soirees," "rushing," "pledging," and "installing". The prolonged vacuity of bull-sessions, the chronic noise and disorder and the excessive proximity of the fraters contrive to nullify any vestige of danger that some errant brother might go intellectual.

There is one fraternity pin which the student may well wear with pride—the pin which bears the symbol of the One Big Fraternity—the socialist movement.

ROBERT DELSON

AN EDITOR

It is time leaders of the greek organizations realized that fraternity houses will no longer have as primary functions those of providing housing and eating facilities for their members.

Today, the fraternity must become, essentially, a club, and that club must be based upon intellectual, educational interests. Its members will be predominantly upperclass students. There will be a real and significant social life; there will be fraternalism in as great a degree as there is today. But there will be no hell week; it will no longer be a disgrace to renew a classroom discussion at the dinner table. There will be carried into the fraternity organization the same attitudes of academic interests and tolerance that permeate the classroom and laboratory.

The new fraternity will realize that it cannot demand as much time of its members. The importance of the individual will be recognized in such a society, and the present chapters, which strive so desperately to subordinate the individual to the group and its traditions, will be entirely out of place. The true fraternity will melt all artificial prejudices, will forget the present horseplay, the sublimation of new members to the wills and pleasures of upperclassmen, and the remainder of that great list of childish antics and ritulary hoakum which characterizes the activities of most present-day chapters.

WARREN E. THOMPSON,
University of Chicago

TAU EPSILON PHI

Fraternities have become the college racket of America, and like all rackets, they must be exterminated. They stand indicted upon the following counts:

1. The "fraternity machine" is the campus symbol of a glorified Tammany.

2. Fraternities segregate one according to color, religion and wealth.

3. They breed cliques, administer formalized rituals, and become places where boys slobber over food, sex, snap courses and sports.

4. They preach justice and brotherhood, but like other capitalist institutions, make mere shibboleths of them.

5. They stifle individuality and initiative, place a taboo on discussion of interesting college work, and sop one into a stupor where it becomes rather awkward to think.

Fraternities are good places—for ostriches, who make a habit of burying their heads in the sand, but not for intelligent American students.

HERMAN WOLF, *University of Chicago*

SIGMA CHI

There is less excuse for the existence of fraternities in our present collegiate order than there is for intramural bull-fighting. I agree completely with Clarence Cook Little in his assertion that "the fraternity is the most undemocratic force operating in American life today." Fraternities suppose themselves to be endowed with a certain mystic and inscrutable educational divinity. They are, in reality, nothing more than eating and sleeping clubs—and second rate ones at that.

They are pledged—with their stolen masonic ritual—to the past. They are as bereft of outlook on the present and future as they are of intelligence or a sound academic morality.

To be a fraternity man, in the Greek sense of the word, is

to have to maintain a certain combination juvenility-senility of mental outlook which is totally incompatible with the exigencies of the situation in which we find ourselves today.

It is time that all colleges investigated the true status of these fungoid growths.

WILLIAM B. CHAMBERLAIN,
Oberlin College

SIGMA ALPHA EPSILON

I am a former fraternity man. My only regret is not in having left the fraternity, but in ever having joined. My acceptance of the bid was made under the impression that fraternity had something to do with brotherhood. It only took me about five days to learn differently but it took nearly two years to make the break.

In the fraternity I found myself forced to associate with many I disliked, to condone their rotten actions, help them to catch more suckers, break old acquaintanceships because they were non-frat or wrong frat, get a big kick out of pounding hell out of newly caught fish,—and all of this came under the name of brotherhood.

Since leaving that stench behind I have found myself one of a group which without any so-called mystic rites actually tries to practice brotherhood. More thinking is done by any one member in a week than an entire fraternity does in a year. New members enter because of convictions not because of money, social prestige or family connections.

DE MILT AIRD, *Syracuse University*

The Socialist Vote

THE accompanying chart is apt to make some Socialists think on the amount of political progress made by a radical working class party in the last thirty years. Not much comfort is to be extracted from the chart at first glance except that having hit bottom in 1928, we seem to have bounced up a little in 1932.

We are not now attempting to decide by hindsight whether the endorsement of LaFollette in 1924 was wise. Most radicals in 1924 believed there was wisdom in such action. For instance, it was after LaFollette declared he wanted no Communist support, that the Communist Party desisted in its efforts to work with

the third party. As to 1928, one might say in retrospect, the Socialist Party did as well as could be expected. First, thenational organization of the Socialist Party had in that year slowed down to a creep; second, Coolidge prosperity was reaping a just reward at the hands of a happy populace. Such retrospection today sounds plausible; though it must in honesty be added that in 1928 such reasoning was cold comfort to those who waged a hard campaign and who even in those gay times found prosperity a selective wench.

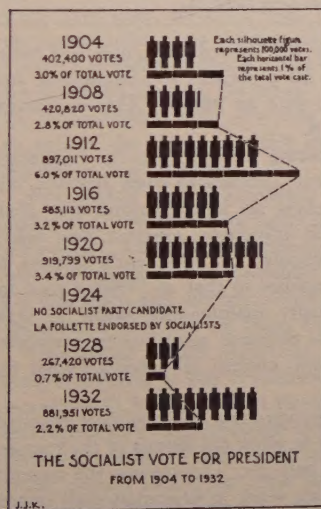
Came 1932, a year of deepening crisis, a year of cumulative suffering. The chart again gives us small comfort. Votes greater than

1928, and the percentage larger. However, that's the least the chart can do for us after the splendid campaign of 1932. But surely our voting strength ought to have been greater than that, we say. The depression should automatically have made us more votes. But depressions don't automatically make votes. For instance, the chart shows us that in 1908 our percentage was almost on dead level with that of 1904. Yet 1908 was a year of panic and crisis. Why was the vote so small? There was no Teddy Roosevelt to steal votes in 1908. There were only Taft and Bryan to vote for. Yet America's working class sat tight. Then followed four years of intense organization. Socialist newspapers sprang up, Socialists gave passion and strength to the trade union movement. In 1912, despite Teddy Roosevelt's comeback and a third party into which discontent might have poured to the detriment of our vote as compared with 1908; in spite of Wilson's New Freedom, and the lessons of the 1908 depression, our voting strength finally seemed to take increase by over 100%.

The following deduction may be sound: The election of 1932 did not bring to Norman Thomas and the Socialist ticket the expected voting strength. But that's because automatically depressions don't make votes. The comparison with 1908 can be made clearer. Through the campaign of 1932, the national organization has gained strength and assurance. The four-year plan of organization and education is rushing along to fulfillment. Socialists are aroused to the necessity of militancy in the labor movement and intelligence in organizing the unemployed. Our gains ought therefore to find themselves recorded in 1936. Incidentally, the analogy must not be pressed too far; there is no inner necessity which commands that we only double our vote in that year. The tempo of change requires more than that. Nor does the analogy seek to establish a universal principle—that would be disheartening, because in the limited period under treatment the pessimistic would say it would only mean the principle of one step forward and one back.

This is merely an attempt to find some sense in figures and clarity to draw the moral that the next four years must be a period of test and strain and ceaseless activity.

JOHN HERLING



Drawn by John J. Klaber
Official count not actual vote

Cents vs. Sense

By Al T. Hersill

UNIVERSITIES the country over have felt the depression, and felt hard, but in only a comparatively few have drastic and sensational changes been required. Of these Oklahoma is the latest, and in many respects the worst off. Ever at the mercy of a cross-road store legislature, depending for every cent on the log-rolling of horse-trader politicians, the state's system of higher education has of late fallen into even worse hands.

Characteristically, at 1 p. m. Monday, March 13, Governor William Henry (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, threw the campii of the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A. and M. college into a furore by issuing an unexpected order, directing that the colleges of engineering and home economics of the University be transferred to Aggie campus at Stillwater, sending in return the A. and M. departments of geology, pre-medic and pre-law work to Norman, and abolishing work in education at both schools, the work to be assumed by the six teachers' colleges.

The order was issued because "much duplication of work in the several higher institutions is indulged in, creating small classes with large salaried teachers of such classes at great cost to taxpayers." The governor has repeatedly declared that when the two institutions were founded, one was intended, as its name specifically declares, as a school of agriculture and engineering only, and the other for higher education, of which trades do not form a part.

Although Governor Murray's action was a surprise, it was not wholly unexpected. Throughout he has been antagonistic toward the University, perhaps because all told he has not had more than two years' schooling in his life. He is a self-made, self-educated man, and proud of it. In addition, his chief opponent in the election was the president of the board of regents, who carried Norman in the voting.

Soon after he took office in January, 1931, Murray made startling charges of graft, immorality, and other high crimes and misdemeanors in the University, citing numerous instances which had been discovered by a private investigator after interviewing, secretly, many malcontents. The senate appointed a committee, which found that graft consisted in taking of broken window-panes by the superintendent of buildings and grounds, that expense account padding consisted in failure to itemize meals, that misappropriation consisted in trading music with a symphony orchestra, that peculation consisted in taking goldfish, and that immorality did not exist.

His first message to the legislature, an unbelievably lengthy document, grammatically unworthy a fifth grade pupil, urged, among a multitude of other reforms, that "duplication" be eliminated among schools.

Advocating less frequent text-book changes, the governor in an address in the University fieldhouse declared that revision of arithmetic books every 25 years was too often. "Why, nothing has happened in mathematics since Isaac Newton jumped out of bed and ran into the street in his night-shirt—no new-fangled pyjamas—shouting 'Eureka, Eureka, I have found it' because he had discovered the binominal theorem."

When the legislature refused to pass some of his hair-brained measures, he appealed to the people in an initiative election, and was defeated. Both then and when he was run-

I Saw Tom Mooney

By Paul Blanshard

THE GREY WALLS of San Quentin rise almost sheer from the waterside and one can see them for miles across the bay. The sunlight drenched the ferryboat as Gordon McWhirter and I went over to see Tom Mooney.

We sat waiting in the outer room of the warden's quarters. The under-officers looked us over coldly. Some more reds to see Tom Mooney? We fell into conversation. It was the day after Zangara had shot Cermak.

"These — — — foreigners that come into the country and shoot our Presidents," said the under-officer, "ought to be shot on the spot. They should-a lynched him on the spot. . . . Why wait to put him in jail?"

"Maybe he was insane," I said. "There was something the matter with his stomach."

"Insane, my eye—and what of it? He was sane enough to plan the thing, wasn't he? The trouble is we shouldn't let the — — — foreigners into the country to shoot at our President."

"They are dangerous sometimes," I said mildly. I wanted to see Tom Mooney.

"You have a great many prisoners here, don't you?"

"Yes, several thousand. The warden is out now seeing about the hogs. Some hogs died. He will be back in a little while."

"Do you have any football here as they do at Sing Sing?"

"No. We don't have any of them kind of games. I caught some of the men playing with a ball made of jute the other day, but I took it away."

"Do you have any movies?"

"No, not regular movies. We had, a few years ago, but there was a stabbing fray in the dark, so we cut it out . . ."

The warden, tall, red-faced, came in. Would Mr. McWhirter and I come into his office? We sat in the inner sanctum while the warden stared at us gimlet-eyed. We were respectable? I had spoken in a church that morning. We

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ning for president "Alfalfa Bill" asked the University treasurer to collect funds from all professors and employees, and forward the money to him with an itemized list—a practice which amounts to extortion.

Despite the governor's taking the spotlight, the legislature continues on its illiterate way. Introduced since January, but not yet passed, are bills seeking to: impose tuition fees; abolish all fees; investigate the university; create a new board of regents for all state schools; cut president's salaries to \$6,000; limit salaries of coaches to that of "lowest paid instructor;" transfer university maintenance work to state board of affairs; establish entrance examinations; suspend the university for two years; abolish all schools except the university.

After issuing his consolidation order, the governor relented, and appointed a committee to work out details of the transfer of work between the two colleges. Tentatively, the committee has decided that graduate work in education shall remain at the University, and the Petroleum Engineering shall also stay with its refinery. Murray has threatened dismissal of both presidents if his orders are not carried out.

AN AMERICAN PARTY

By HERMAN WOLF

THE radical, in attempting to persuade others that his philosophy is sound and his program practical, too often forgets that people are influenced less by rational argument than by other factors. The educational process must include appropriate symbols and colors, phrases and vocabulary, and a strong appeal to tradition, for the populace is continually and systematically being stupefied by capitalist propaganda. Facts and theories are necessary weapons, but they must be couched in American terms, for men do not act from a rational motivation, but rather from impulses colored and prejudiced by their environmental background of social laws, institutions, and customs.

Surely you have met the person who will listen attentively, and even agree that society can be changed, that men can be taught to seek power and prestige in other ways than merely striving for profits. And then, when you have built up a conclusive argument, he will look skeptical, and dismiss your statements with a flippancy: "But you can't change human nature." And it will prove of no avail to cite opinions of eminent sociologists, for your listener has been rendered absolutely incapable of understanding you, by a society which has colored the glasses through which he gazes upon life.

Mr. V. F. Calverton well states: "Today in America the objective external conditions are ripe for a revolution, but the subjective psychological ones are not." If men acted rationally and for what appeared to their own economic advantage, can there be any doubt that the army of unemployed would long ago have organized to fight for a system under which they would have jobs and the right to live? The American stage is set for a revolution, with millions of people in dire need, living under an industrial system (built to a degree where it could easily be socialized) which holds little hope for them in the future. Yet no revolution appears over the horizon.

Many people are surprised that no real uprising has started in this country, and the daily press is full of stories remarking on the placidity of our people. Is there any wonder that Americans have been, on the whole, rather peaceful, when those very same newspapers acclaim the Bonus Rout, and scorn the Farmers Holiday Movement and Unemployed Leagues; when we are doped through the school, radio and movies to uphold the present order, right or wrong; and when we are supposed to believe the bunkum about equality of opportunity and American individualism?

Propaganda must be combated with propaganda. The capitalist class controls more facilities than we for molding people's minds. This control is especially dangerous in the schools, where propaganda is conveniently termed education. Yet there are loopholes, and our opportunities arise. It is of the utmost importance that we use them to the fullest extent.

One factor in the American scene which radicals have long overlooked is our revolutionary tradition. We have allowed the D.A.R. and Paul Revere Societies to win people to the reactionary cause through appeals on behalf of those first American revolutionists, many of whom, if they were alive today, would look upon these dear damsels with contempt. Wouldn't Thomas Jefferson, who wrote in the Declaration of Independence, "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap-

piness) it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," just enjoy having tea with the 1933 Daughters of the American Revolution! Or John Adams, who said in private, "We are politic in promoting these festivals. They cultivate the sensations of freedom; they tinge the minds of the people; they impregnate them with the sentiments of liberty; they render them fond of leaders in the cause, and adverse and bitter against all opposers." Or those other 1776 leaders, who knew that, "The spirit of liberty would soon be lost, and the people would grow quite lethargic, if there were not some one on watch, to waken and rouse them."

Neither Marxian philosophy or tactics are dogmatic, but an application of a scientific method to the situation in which the revolutionist is working. Lenin, as no other contemporary, realized this, when he wrote: "The best representatives of the American proletariat are those expressing the revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth century and in the Civil War in the nineteenth century."

The list of American radicals is a long one. Not only does it comprise those famed Revolutionary forefathers, but such men as Shay, Thoreau, Bryant, Lowell, Phillips, Garrison, Altgeld, Whitman, London, Debs, Haywood, George and Bellamy, to mention but a few. There is a vast job awaiting students, in applying themselves to work up this revolutionary heritage so it can be used in speeches and pamphlets. And this research is of more than the ordinary type. It seems not alone the digging out of facts, but their interpretation from a socialist viewpoint, and their application to present-day conditions. Many of us will find, as a recent article in THE STUDENT OUTLOOK stated, that "the value of our most practical activity, both now and in post-graduate days will depend largely upon our intellectual preparation rather than upon our emotional sincerity, for there is striking, picketing, and rioting that must be done within library walls."

There are two ways of looking at the first American Revolution. One is to say that Washington was a slave owner, an aristocrat who coveted western lands; that Hancock and Adams were merchants and smugglers; that Jefferson was an individualist; that the Revolution was guided so that the hate of the poor and unemployed was directed against England and not against the ruling class in the colonies. The other method, which is the proper one, is to overlook these facts. We are not interested in past history. We should not rave and rant because our Constitution was set up by a ruling class who wanted to safeguard private property, many of whom believed, with our second President, John Adams, in a government by an aristocracy of talent and wealth. Rather we should talk of the Washington who fought for liberty, of the Adams and Hancock who organized to overthrow tyranny, of the Jeffersonian spirit of revolt. We must learn "not to scoff at the American revolutionary heritage, but to build upon it." This does not mean that the movement should be nationalistic, but that Americans will be made better international socialists by a proper interpretation of the Declaration of Independence and

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WHO'S WHO AMONG THE REBELS

MARY FOX

By JOSEPH P. LASH



THERE are Socialists in New York who envision the movement as something dynamic, constantly seeking to embrace wider and wider groups, who believe that the success of a political movement, for all of the inevitability of the Marxian prognosis, depends on the originality, the energy, the ingenuity of the day-to-day leaders; that new tactics and new decisions must constantly be made. One can justly say that this viewpoint is centered in the L.I.D. office, and that the latter's growth from a suite of small offices on Fifth Avenue to a whole floor on East 19th Street has reflected in part the sympathy with such a viewpoint and the competence of Mary Fox.

For Mary Fox has always been identified with those activities which are considered to be outside of straight party work, and which "scientific" Marxians would eliminate altogether. The organization of a *Thomas and Maurer* committee of liberals, the organization of non-partisan unemployed groups in New York City, the setting-up of L.I.D. clubs on college campuses were activities which met with constant opposition

from some members of the Socialist Party, but which Miss Fox and the League staff have carried off with neat success.

The organization of transition groups which persons can join who are not yet ready to join the Socialist Party is a dangerous job. It requires from the leaders a devotion to revolutionary ideals and a consistency and integrity of viewpoint, to prevent such groups under pressure of immediate advantage from undergoing the fate of all reform groups. Mary Fox points with pride to the literature sent out to the members of the *Thomas and Maurer* committee which was genuinely militant and socialist. She is justly proud of the success of the New York Workers Committee on Unemployment which has sponsored an unemployment insurance bill in Albany more radical than any other introduced, which, with the aid of Norman Thomas, compelled Mayor O'Brien and Commissioner Taylor to admit the need of \$10,000,000 for relief to be adequate in April, which passed a resolution for the socialization of the banks.

A training in real-estate operations, in progressive education, even when backed with two years study at Oxford of economic and social history may not seem like the proper school for a revolutionist, but at least it gave Mary Fox a sound respect for activities that pay their own way. Her constant effort as Executive Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy has been to place L.I.D. activities on a self-sustaining basis. Perhaps such a standard is out of place in a movement that is trying to eliminate the profit-motive, but even revolutionists must eat, and even revolutionists appreciate efficiency. Nor has the desire to be on a "paying basis" ever caused Miss Fox to scruple at publishing a pamphlet or to undertake an educational project such as the chautauqua among the West Virginia miners, because they might result in a loss. On the other hand the lecture circuits started by the L.I.D., which now extend to forty-five cities, besides being fruitful pioneer work in educating the hinterlands, have actually paid for themselves. Even the chautauquas may be on a self-supporting basis this year, if Mary Fox's plan for each college liberal club to raise a scholarship of \$50 to enable one student to go on the chautauqua is carried out with as much zest as she has shown in promulgating it.

The Bohemian virtues of sloppiness, carelessness, have never characterized the L.I.D. offices. Miss Fox has a passion for shifting the furniture of the offices on the theory that it results in a parallel shake-up of the furniture of the mind.

Miss Fox is one of the "fundamentalists" of the L.I.D. office. To be a fundamentalist one has to avow an underlying conviction of the omnipresence of the class struggle and rear one's tactics on this premise. That is why she has entered with such passion and completeness into the work of organizing New York's unemployed into the N. Y. Workers Committee

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RESEARCH JOBS FOR STUDENTS

By LUCY M. KRAMER and FELIX S. COHEN

IV

VIII. Economics

When the student has finished his college courses in economics and has duly learned how to draw supply and demand curves and to calculate competitive and monopoly prices, he is ready to appreciate the insight of those economists who, a century ago, gave their study the name of "the dismal science." If the student has a suspicion that what he has been studying is "nothing, intricately drawn nowhere," the suspicion will be confirmed when he advances to the study of the beautiful mathematical tautologies to which Walras and Pareto and their followers have transformed the body of the Smith-Ricardo-Mill tradition. Iron laws of logical inevitability seem to forbid all human interference with the structure of free competition and capitalism. If some benighted legislature should attempt to interfere with that structure, courts more learned in classical Manchestrian doctrine will gravely announce that such interference violates not only the constitution but as well the eternal laws of nature.

Americans are not given to abstract economic thought, but it is wonderful to observe how faithfully popular discussion of concrete economic problems pursues the classical lines of individualist economic theory. Selfishness is the hope of humanity; governments, not being selfish, cannot be trusted to run industry; individuals, if they are only selfish enough, will produce complete economic efficiency and harmony. The object of industry is profit; therefore the cure for hard times ("overproduction") is to raise prices, lower wages, destroy commodities, and discharge workers.

For the dissatisfied student there are two ways out of the becalmed sea of classical economic theory. One way is to extend the abstract analysis of classical economics so as to build a science that will explain economic phenomena in Soviet Russia as well as in Manchestrian England, and will cover the economic consequences of conscious control as well as of free competition. To show that there is in the realm of abstract economics, as in pure geometry more than one possible system, to give content and "transformation formulae" to what J. M. Clark has called "non-Euclidean economics, is to knock the props of dogma from under the capitalist structure.

More appealing, perhaps, to students with a hankering for concrete realities is a second way out of the abstract complacencies of traditional economics: the concretizing of the variables of economic theory, (e.g. the analysis of what demands are made of, in terms of consumers' habits, advertising, government regulation, group organizations of workers and consumers, etc.), and the study of the functioning of concrete economic institutions.

The focus of realistic economics is the problem of control. Free competition of individual entrepreneurs no longer explains economic phenomena. To an ever-growing extent free competition is supplanted by organized control. Government regulation, trade associations, labor unions, consumers' and producers' co-operatives, and organized groups of bankers and industrialists dominate the economic scene and control the nation's economic life.

How, in our complicated corporate and financial structure today, is the power of capital wielded? How much of the control over industry is today in the hands of salaried employees, managers and technicians? Would the position of these individuals be fundamentally different in a socialist state? (See *Industrial Research Bulletins*, *Managers in the Profit System*, *The Profit Motive*.)

The potential power of the consumer is indicated by the rapid growth of the consumers' co-operative movement, particularly in Europe (consumers' co-operatives today serve one-ninth of the world's population). The extent to which this movement constitutes a threat to the profit system, the potentialities of its economic and political alliance with organized labor against capitalism, its possibilities as a stable basis of international peace and co-operation, are problems of profound significance long neglected in traditional economic study. (See *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Consumers' Power*.)

Perhaps the most serious problem in the strategy of social reconstruction in this country turns upon the weakness and inertia of the American labor movement. What are the causes that have led once powerful labor unions to disintegration or complete decay? (See *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Decaying Unions*.) To what extent can this decay and the reactionary temper of unions which are still strong be ascribed to ignorant, autocratic, or corrupt leadership? (See *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Democracy and Leadership in Labor Unions*.) To what extent are these facts the outcome of a spiritual divorce between the American workers and the American intellectual? (See *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *The Intellectual and the Labor Movement*.) How far has the power of labor been emasculated by capitalist courts? (See *I. R. G. Bulletins*, *The Labor Injunction*, *Labor and the Police*.) Have labor journalism and the entry of labor unions into business advanced or hindered the growth of a militant labor movement? (See *I. R. G. Bulletins*, *Labor and Its Press*, *Labor in Business*.) How far is the backwardness of the labor movement the result of its failure to find a basis of co-operation with the dominant figure in American politics, the farmer? (See *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Agricultural Prosperity and Labor Unionism*.)

In the last analysis the problem of economic control is political. The future of socialism in America rests, in large part, upon the timeliness and solidity of the plans which socialists will offer, in the crucial years before us, for government seizure and democratic control of broad areas of economic life in which the despotism of private capital is now the dominant form of government. (Cf. *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Company Towns*.) Patient study of the available techniques of government control. (See, for instance, *I. R. G. Bulletin*, *Public Ownership*), and of the peculiar problems which different industries present in the transition to socialism, and a constant barrage of well-grounded criticism against the panaceas of fascism, constitute the most significant contribution that the student can make to the building of the United Socialist States of America.

(For *Industrial Research Group bulletins* referred to in this and in previous articles, write to the Editor.)

BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION

The Continental Congress

A NEW Continental Congress has been launched! It will be held in Washington, D.C., on May 6 and 7. The purpose will be to draw up a program of constructive relief and a plan for a sound economic reorganization. To this significant gathering the students of all universities are invited to send delegates, and what group ought to be more interested in economic reorganization than the students and young people who after years of study and specialized training find themselves without a place in the economic life of today? All workers with hand and brain—labor, farm and unemployed—will be there! At this Congress a national council of working people will be set up to insure realization of the program adopted. It is a real challenge to persons sincerely interested in building a society based on production for use and not profit, based on opportunities for all and special privilege for none.

As students we must make a real contribution to the Congress. This may be done chiefly in three ways: first, by sending fraternal delegates to the Congress; second, in cases where local organizations included in this Call are unable to send delegates students should either assist in financing the representatives or get themselves elected as official representatives of these groups; third, students should publicize the Congress in local press and through the usual means of publicity. Where there are locals of the Socialist party students should work in conjunction with them.

We suggest holding an "On to Washington" or a "Continental Congress Day" on which speakers would present the story and your delegates would be elected, or messages to the Congress drawn up.

Financing the delegates is being done by running dances, mass meetings, card parties, "hard times parties," pie bakes, candy pulls, and other activities. We are issuing a book of seventy attractive stamps which, when sold, yield \$10.00. Organizations applying for them may secure them free after this office has been notified of the election of delegates. Fifty stamps sell at ten cents each, twenty at a quarter each. In this way the expenses of the delegates can be covered.

Set up a committee and make plans now to have your delegates there. Every day and every stroke must count during these critical times. This Congress will be a landmark in the history of social change in America. We must insure its success by action.

Syracuse has already lined up two carloads of students for Washington, and others are planning to go a-foot if no cars are available.

Free Tom Mooney

It is the opinion of the Intercollegiate Student Council that it is now time for the focusing of student opinion on the Tom Mooney Case, since another drive for his freedom is now under way. Paul Blanshard's recent visit with Tom Mooney in San Quentin Prison, and the frequent references to the case in the STUDENT OUTLOOK have been only background for an intensified drive on our own part, in coopera-

tion with many other organizations, for his freedom. We are asking you to devote at least one meeting of your organization during the next four weeks to the Mooney Case, recommending that it be a public meeting at which the story of the case is reviewed once more, and from which a resolution or petition be sent to Governor James D. Rolph, of California, demanding Mooney's release. Also, will you personally solicit as large a number of students and faculty to write personal notes to the same effect? See that your meetings, petitions, and other devices are publicized in the college and community press, and report your results to us. Obviously, our share in the drive to free Tom Mooney is relatively small, but we must contribute all we can to this crusade of protest against class injustice.

Vacation Suggestions

At Brookwood during the coming summer several ten-day institutes are being held, of which one in particular will be of interest to readers of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK. It is called, "Introducing the College Student to the Labor Movement." It will deal with the following topics:

- Cross-currents in the Labor Movement
 - The Effects of the Depression on the Trade Union Movement
 - The Political Outlook
 - Prospects for a Vital Trade union Movement
 - Organizing the Unorganized
 - The Effect of Roosevelt's Legislative Program
 - Working with the unemployed
 - Workers' education and labor culture
 - Radicalizing the A. F. of L.
 - Economic Prospects for the college graduate
 - The place of the college student in the labor movement.
- Information may be had by writing to Brookwood, Katonah, New York.

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE REBELS

(Continued from page 12)

on Unemployment. Out speaking five nights a week to women's groups, trade unions, settlement houses, she has managed in a short while to build up a committee of thirteen locals in districts where the Unemployed Councils and other groups have met indifference and discouragement. Her work with the Workers Committee has become paramount; and luncheon engagements, committee meetings have become secondary to advising grievance committees, pursuing Commissioner Taylor with a delegation of fifty workers racing along behind her, and ironing out internal differences.

Her complete devotion to this work has infected the whole staff, and young men of Princeton, young women from Vassar, get out of bed at ungodly hours, [for them] to go with a grievance committee to a Home Relief Bureau or to canvas from

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Campus Tammany

By Reed Harris

ACCOUNTS of the founding of the "Society of St. Tammany" in New York City in 1789 speak of that order as a "benevolent, patriotic and social body devoted to the particular advancement of New York City." To describe its present state, and its contributions to New York history, would be superfluous.

At many American colleges there exist organizations, the avowed aims of which are very similar to those of Tammany—to benefit the city (college). Their real purpose, like that of Tammany, is to control the city (college) for the benefit of organization members. In Tammany, the booty sought is cold cash. In these student-alumni organizations, the booty is power to secure high alumni and campus positions and to perpetuate an extremely narrowed form of alumni control of student life.

In the February issue of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, Helen Fisher of Swarthmore wrote of two men's honorary societies, both of which attempt to control activities at that institution. One, called Book and Key, is a "mystic group of seven men, holding meetings at seven minutes past seven every Thursday and otherwise hallowing the number seven." It is made up of campus wire-pullers and athletic heroes. The other, called Kwink, is also strictly limited in numbers and has a membership composed of student managers of athletics.

In order to give as true a picture as possible of the workings of one of these organizations, I will give the essential facts concerning one such "secret" society of which I was a member. Having resigned from the society, I feel no obligation to keep secret the facts concerning its purpose, methods and actions.

The Senior Society of Nacom at Columbia University, is, I believe, typical of "secret" societies everywhere. (I place the "secret" in parentheses because such societies are seldom really secret except in their hocus-pocus, which, after all, is of no importance.)

Fifteen students of Columbia College are elected to the Senior Society of Nacom every year. They are elected in the latter weeks of their Junior year, after the campus elections have been held, and in a period when organization elections, such as *Spectator* and managerial elections, have been scheduled and choice has been narrowed down to a few individuals and can therefore be predicted with some accuracy.

There are two types of meeting held by the Nacom Society. Three weekly meetings of each month are devoted to the undergraduate group of fifteen members. The fourth meeting is devoted to a combined meeting of alumni members and the undergraduate members. In such meetings, every alumnus in the organization may attend, thereby giving the alumni an overwhelming control of such gatherings—the only important meetings of the organization.

The typical composition of a section of fifteen members of the society is as follows: majority of the members of Student Board (usually five men), editor of *Spectator*, manager of football, captain of football, captain of crew, manager of crew, manager of basketball, majority of the student section of the committee on athletics,* and several outstanding athletes in special fields, such as tennis champion, track champion, star backfield man in football, captain of basketball. The usual contingent is made up in such a manner that there are 12 or

13 members who are athletes or athletic managers. The other two or three members are usually: editor of *Spectator* (daily student newspaper), manager of Varsity Show and editor of *Jester* (comic magazine), or very occasionally two or three *Spectator* men.

With each delegation composed as noted above, it will be seen that the alumni body of the Nacom Society is largely of the type intensely interested in big-time intercollegiate athletic competition and preservation of the worst features of college tradition. In years when wire-pulling political figures or athletes reach the editorship of *Spectator* and of *Jester*, the society is completely in accord with the views of the alumni majority on all issues involving athletics, tradition and similar matters.

Graduate members of the Nacom Society are well placed in alumni organizations and even in the university, prepared to carry out the wishes of the society. At Columbia, there are a number of strategically-placed men who are loyal members of the organization. Among them are: Associate Dean Nicholas McD. McKnight, Alumni Secretary Clarence E. Lovejoy (the man who, for two years, has been trying to put *Spectator* editors under a part-alumni controlling committee, and who, during my editorship, commented on the editorial policy thus: "Harris is too serious. He should be more collegiate."), President of the Alumni Association Frederick K. Seward, Athletics Manager Reynolds Benson, Freshman Football Coach Ralph Furey, Athletic Ticket Manager Robert Moore and Chairman of the Alumni Section of the University Committee on Athletics R. L. von Bernuth. A multitude of others within the university and its alumni organizations are to be found on Nacom membership lists. Even the Columbia Club, the somewhat exclusive meeting place for Columbia alumni, is also usually controlled by the Nacom Society, whatever snobbishness it may show being due to Nacom supervision of the membership list.

The organization tries hard to keep Columbia College under rigid control. It has succeeded to a marked degree in the past ten years. The student body has often been neglected and forgotten while Nacom ideas and Nacom suggestions were being followed by campus politicians.

In the last three years, however, there have been stumbling blocks in the way of Nacom control of campus affairs. One of the most vital units in its system of control has been the Columbia *Spectator*, the editorial policy of which has been more or less controlled by the organization until recently. With the accession to the editorship of Randolph Phillips in 1930, however, the control was reduced to a minimum. When I took over the editorship in 1931, I accepted membership in the society, but ran counter to its expressed wishes in practically all matters, finally resigning from the society, with Donald Ross, *Spectator* editorial associate, early in 1932. Arthur J. Lelyveld, who is now editor of *Spectator* and a member of the society, has quite evidently run counter to Nacom directions in a number of instances.

A thorough investigation of the Columbia University Club Scholarships, a majority of which always manage to reach football men each year, would reveal that Nacoms are behind that "miraculous" tendency toward subsidization. The Society

(Continued on page 21)

*All references to athletics in this article are to intercollegiate athletics not intramural or purely recreational athletics.

ECONOMY IN EDUCATION

By LEWIS S. FEUER

THE PLIGHT of American students and teachers is analogous to the situation that confronts American workingmen: to grasp their common difficulties is to point to their sole effective hope, cooperation. At the outset of the depression, the workers were promised the expansion of public works, and the corporations pledged the maintenance of the wage scale; while the teachers rested on the salary increases won after many arduous campaigns. Progress had been made towards a widespread, free and democratic education. But what the depression brought to the wage-earners was the curtailment of public works, programs of drastic "economy," the repeated reduction of wages, and unemployment. The academic groups fared similarly. University endowments were impoverished by the decline of investment values and state legislatures cut budget appropriations for the state universities; hence salaries fell, instructors were discharged, scholarship funds reduced, and building programs abrogated. The public education system underwent economy. Within a short period, gains so bitterly achieved were swept away, and the outlook is even more hazardous.

Some data may be cited. At Yale University, the president announced a ten percent reduction in salaries as the last alternative to cutting the staff; while a number of state universities have even had to resort to the latter. The news that Chicago could not pay its school teachers for several months, at one time shocked the country, now it is a commonplace occurrence in many cities. Harvard University, with its resources of over one hundred million dollars, has decided to keep its library closed during evening hours, and is substantially reducing scholarship aids. In New York, the authorities blithely proclaim the disbandment of the three teachers' colleges, and demote the faculties to ordinary positions.

More recently so drastic have been the proposals to cut the budgets of the University of North Carolina and Wisconsin, institutions foremost in liberalism and scholarship, that, if the cuts are carried out, they will rapidly sink to the rank of third or fourth-class universities. President Glenn Frank stated that under the proposed budget cut the situation is such "that we cannot retain men of the calibre which make the university great."

Unemployment has struck teachers and students alike. The Harvard catalogue informs those desiring to work their way through college that "because of the temporary business depression, however, opportunities are at present greatly limited." In New York City, the list of the five thousand eligible for public school teaching appointments is said to be sufficient for the next ten years' needs. The graduate schools, Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, are plentiful with masters of arts and doctors of philosophy, whose prospects for jobs are slim. The avowed policy of American colleges is retrenchment; and correlative with the decline in scholarship aids, is the increase in tuition fees, as at Cornell and City College, to above the prosperity level. A curious phenomenon generally unobserved hitherto in sheltered academic circles is in the making. Motivated by an active discontent, the educated groups are uniting to form a sort of intellectual proletariat. Common problems bind them closely to the laboring classes, and effective cooperation between them promises to develop into an important force. Thus, the Association of Unemployed College Alumni has grown from a small metropolitan group to an or-

ganization of nation-wide proportions. And to demonstrate solidarity of hand and brain the New York Chapter of the A.U.C.A. has affiliated as a local of the Workers Committee on Unemployment.

The present demand for economy in education shows the difficulties that beset an isolated public ownership enterprise in a capitalist economy. Let us, for example, consider the case of the College of the City of New York, an institution supported by the city, and representing a municipal intrusion into private industry's domain. The formal organization of the college is, in a large measure, autonomous and independent of local misgovernment. This independence was wrested from the municipal officials in a series of lawsuits fought several years ago. In 1922 City College contested an effort made by the city to obtain a writ of mandamus compelling the restoration to the city of the appropriations for salary increases that were supposed to be automatic. The city's contention was that it paid salaries higher than those at Yale and Harvard. The court, however, ruled in the college's favor. Moreover the college possesses the power to extend its facilities to accommodate a growing student body as the state has given it the right to automatic budgetary increases proportionate to the number of students. But under pressure from the Realty Board, with its incessant propaganda hostile to a free college, from the Chase National Bank and the National City Bank, the college administration voluntarily undertook to check the growth of the college. It raised the entrance requirements to a peak which made admission equivalent to scholarships for distinguished students of neighboring high schools. It imposed tuition fees of various sorts. It lowered salaries and overworked its instructors. It threatened students who defended academic liberty and political freedom with quick expulsion on the ground that thousands of meek and deserving were eager for the chance of a free college education. Very similarly had relief agencies nearby threatened to stop giving aid to people who joined radical groups.

In Chicago a Citizens' Committee composed of bankers and railway presidents with no legal standing has forced a reduction of salaries for teachers whose pay was already nearly a year in arrears, has denied pay to sick teachers, has cut off night, continuation, and vacation schools, has eliminated adult education, and halted the building of new schools. "If the Sargent group (of Chicago) and similar extra-legal 'economy' committees are permitted to continue their activities, there will be no free education above the sixth grade in the United States two years from now," said Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson of the Teachers' Union at the last A. F. of L. convention. Private commercial interests, in other words, are determining the course of public education.

Remarks of similar import may be made concerning the other forms of semi-socialist activity in a capitalist setting. The post-office, the police, the research departments, roads and dam construction,—all these services have been distorted for capitalist ends. The government industries have not been used for unemployment relief and no extensive reduction of hours of labor has been attempted. Economizing to maintain the bulk of capitalist incomes cannot be wed with expansion to secure an adequately equitable distribution of goods.

AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE

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

NO ACTIVITY in which L.I.D. clubs have been interested has caught the fancy of the student body so completely as the poll on whether students should refuse to fight. In the crescendo of undergraduate majorities refusing to bear arms one can see years of patient propaganda having their effect. In one week *THE STUDENT OUTLOOK*, *The Brown Daily Herald* and the National Student Federation *News Service* all called upon college editors to conduct a poll on a resolution similar to that passed at Oxford. Now the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council is polling about 750 colleges on this proposition. Peace polls having become so popular L.I.D. members can turn their energies to less favored undergraduate activities.

* * *

At a meeting of the Mid-West Intercollegiate Student Council, J. Kuzma and Bill Hart of the Chicago Training School reported on conditions in Southern Illinois, and, as a result, colleges in the Chicago area are staging a relief-day. Students there are going to take responsibility for securing lodgings for as many of the delegates to the convention of Unemployed Leagues as possible. But the most important activity of the Chicago-area L.I.D. has been in connection with the failure of the city to pay teachers' salaries. Some 12,000 high school students deserted their classrooms in a sympathetic two-day strike. Emanuel Muravchik on behalf of the Chicago District Council of the L.I.D. has been advising the student strike committee and assisting in mapping an educational campaign designed to instruct students in the fundamental issues involved.

* * *

The University of North Carolina, traditionally closed to negro students has received a request for admission from a negro student in Durham. The L.I.D. group at the University is circulating a petition requesting the University to reverse its Jim Crow policy.

* * *

Students' editorials in the papers of Cleveland's major universities and colleges, the suspension of Alexander H. Buchman, senior and leader at the Case School of Applied Science, and the formation of campus clubs to carry on the fight for tuition cuts, cooperative bookstores and a slashing of activity fees have been the activities of L.I.D. members there, reports Barnett B. Lister.

* * *

Last year the Socialist Club and the Social Problems Club at Columbia University formed an independent party, which in the election, had its candidate, James Gorham, a member of the Socialist Club, receive the highest number of votes. In the interim the Independent Party seemed to go the way of all reform groups, in just trying to seize the patronage for itself, so the two radical clubs split off from the Independent Party and set up an insurgent slate on a platform that is so admirable that we quote it in full:

The Socialist and Social Problems Clubs will support candidates for Student Board and for class officers upon public affirmation of the following program:

1. Complete freedom of Spectator from any sort of censorship, advisory supervision, or control.
2. Active support of academic freedom, on other campuses as well as at Columbia.
3. Revision of scholarship distribution, so as to help only those students who are in need of financial assistance; less attention to be given the state of origin and vague imponderables.
4. Advocacy of a general reduction of fees; especially of S.A.F., degree, and dormitory residence fees. In the case of S.A.F. it may be advisable to make the fee entirely voluntary, or only partially voluntary.
5. Advocacy of an equitable distribution of jobs under the control of the Appointments Office and the Department of Buildings and Grounds; primarily on the basis of need.
6. Opposition to all University retrenchment and economy programs primarily at the expense of Campus employees. Support of all campaigns for the betterment of working conditions to the end that administrative practice and academic theory may be in greater accord. Support especially of a demand for administrative recognition, in public, of the right of all Campus employees to organize at any time in their own unions.
7. Opposition to the "star" system of athletics. Reduction of expenditures on intercollegiate sports, with greater emphasis on intramural sports.
8. Opposition to control of College activities by fraternity or other cliques. All extra-curricular positions and offices to be awarded only on the basis of merit and competence.
9. Absolute opposition to any form of military education in the schools; support of the national students organizations against war; recognition of the fact that it is an issue on this campus whether ANY campus is forced to submit to R.O.T.C. and other militaristic propaganda agencies.
10. Student representation on committees now consisting solely of faculty members and Trustees; e.g., scholarship, A.A., dining halls, University Committee on Student Organizations, etc.
11. Opening, to the student body, of the athletic budget as well as other accounts and budgets in which the student body has a vital interest.

The Social Problems and Socialist Clubs are fighting for issues so vital that parties and chaises lounges cannot be mentioned in the same breath with them. We will support candidates who are eager and ready to put their academic knowledge to work on the most important questions facing students today. Candidates unwilling to subscribe to this platform emasculate the program of the group that elected Gorham and brand themselves as "Independents" with no other purpose than to obtain extra-curricular patronage.

* * *

At the University of Missouri boarding houses are complaining, according to *The Missouri Student*, "that Ted Graham's League for Industrial Democracy Boarding house, popularly known as the L.I.D., has caused much unjustified complaining among the students on the high cost of room and board."

* * *

Down in Huey Long's state a young couple are doing brave, pioneer work organizing Socialist locals and Socialist clubs on the college campuses. Edward and Martha Johnson travel around in their battered car searching out people with socialist inclinations and putting them to work organizing. When Norman Thomas was down in New Orleans they staged meeting after meeting for him, and started a flourishing local. They have just initiated a Socialist club on the campus of Louisiana State University. We hope to see them and their rattlebang car at the Continental Congress.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

A Socialist Analysis

A GUIDE THROUGH WORLD CHAOS, by G. D. H. Cole.
1932. Knopf.

THIS is a textbook on economics in the light of the present world crisis. It ought to be on the bookshelf of every person genuinely concerned with influencing sound public policies to conquer the depression. Does the reader want to write a letter to his congressman urging him to support cancellation of war debts, let him read Mr. Cole's book for the arguments to show why war debts cannot be paid and why the attempt to pay them must necessarily disrupt world trade. Of course, it would not hurt if most congressmen could be persuaded to buy a copy and study it.

Is the reader appalled at the increased unemployment sweeping the country because of banker insistence that government budgets be balanced by firing civil employees and cutting public works programs to the bone? Is he baffled by the logic of our "great industrialists" who day in and day out repeat the formula that a "balanced budget" accomplished by these methods is the sure cure for our economic ailments? Then, let him read Mr. Cole's devastating exposure of the economic illiteracy of the great minds of the capitalist world who cannot see that the only way of saving their economic system is by large scale governmental expenditure. It is the sole method whereby surplus bank funds lying idle in the vaults can be translated into wages and salaries, thus creating new purchasing power which alone can start the paralyzed wheels of industry moving again. The reduced volume of sales and low prices makes it impossible for most private firms to incur additional debt to put men to work; the existing debt is proving so oppressive that more and more of the strongest businesses are being forced into bankruptcy. Only government with its revenues secured by a first lien upon the wealth and income of the nation is in a position to go into debt to rescue the economic system.

Mr. Cole doubts whether capitalism possesses the brains and leadership to take the steps necessary to reconstruct itself and so he predicts a steady march towards complete collapse. He sees the United States as the only capitalist country likely to revive. Six months ago your reviewer might have agreed with his prediction for the United States. Subsequent events are steadily destroying this belief. Although the tide of unemployment was stemmed from last July to October, it resumed its relentless sweep in November, December, and January. Each month witnesses a further decline in the employment indices. For a time it looked as though construction, the key industry of all might revive. Now reliable estimates indicate that private construction in 1933 will be one-seventh of what it was in 1928—the peak year, while public construction will be forty percent off with the "economy wave" forestalling any attempt to fill the vacuum by increased public expenditures. These figures are the signs pointing to the end of the capitalist era in these United States—the supreme flower of the capitalist epoch. One suspects that Mr. Cole would revise his diagnosis if he were writing today.

Unlike the romantic barricade revolutionist, he does not *ipso facto* conclude that breakdown must mean socialism.

The latter will come only if men fight boldly and daringly for a new social order through a disciplined political party which has sufficiently won the confidence of the masses of people to capture political power with the understanding that that power must be used to end the rule of monopoly of private property. It is too late for the middle road. Palliatives there must be, like unemployment insurance, but the difficulties inherent in financing social services in a period of economic collapse must be recognized. The need expands while the ability to collect taxes shrinks in proportion. Increasingly, the problem becomes one of reviving production. Capitalism has demonstrated its failure to so organize the most potentially productive economic organism the world has ever known, that men starve in the midst of plenty.

Much of what the *Guide Through World Chaos* teaches the informed radical is not new. Nevertheless, the argument is so well documented and substantiated by a wealth of evidence and statistical detail that it should prove to be an invaluable source book to all propagandists for a new social order. A Socialist Philosophy plus the training of the skilled economist makes a perfect combination.

HENRY J. ROSNER

An American Party

(Continued from page 11)

the Bill of Rights than by familiarity with the Communist Manifesto and the Erfurt Program.

If people could be convinced by rational reasoning, we might say to them: "Many of those who set up our government were slave owners who had no thought for the downtrodden. They wanted to separate from England, not for great principles of freedom and democracy, but to increase their power and wealth. They feared an uprising from the unemployed of the depression of the 1760's and saw to it that the mob's energies went off against England and not themselves. Now we radicals today are not as selfish as our forefathers. We want no glory and profits for ourselves. We wish merely to free the wage-slaves and make this a better world to live in."

Whereupon the average American would think, "I have been taught in school to revere those who founded this country. They were great men. And these radicals are always finding fault. There is no use listening to them."

Let us realize that people are prejudiced by their upbringing, and take advantage of those prejudices which prove useful. Humans are not rational, but sentimental. Think of how you yourself became a radical. Was it through the rational questioning and answering of facts concerning our industrial civilization? You will probably say "yes," but are you sure that your reason for saying "yes" isn't just another example of that rationalization of which man is capable? It takes more than reasonable arguments to break down the barriers of social inhibitions.

Whad'ye Mean—Class Struggle?

A Symposium

POWERS HAPGOOD

Member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party

THE class struggle between the owners of industry and natural resources on the one hand and the workers on the other hand is a definite fact in this country as in all other countries where private ownership of capital goods exists. A classless society is impossible as long as some people control the things that all people need to live. Inasmuch as the owning class will not give up its power to exploit others until forced to do so, it is necessary for the working class, which does not exploit and which will include every one who does useful work, to struggle and to win before we have a society without classes.

Technological changes have not modified the conception of the class struggle but have intensified the struggle as ownership gets into fewer and fewer hands. The middle class as a whole, being numerically and economically weak, will not play the important role that industrial workers and farmers will play in the coming change.

A person who recognizes the existence of the class struggle, who realizes that it will only cease with the victory of the working class, and who wishes it to cease must choose between the Socialist or Communist Parties. I belong to the Socialist Party because its discipline is created by its members instead of by a small clique who have seized power and one does not have to be a "yes man" to belong to it.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Author of "Farewell to Reform"

QUESTION: Do you use the term class struggle and what do you mean by it?

ANSWER: I use the term class struggle as a rough shorthand when I am certain whatever group I am writing for will understand it in its context. For general purposes, I think it should be qualified by speaking of the "struggle of alignments of groups." Rigid classes don't exist—just yet, as Veblen would say—in America. We have blocs, not classes. I can see a very definite struggle between the consumer and the rentier class; between the common run and those who stand to benefit by retaining the dividend-and-investment system. For our lifetime, given certain American traits conditioned by the cultural lag of the frontier psychology, I think the class war will have to be fought out along these lines. This does not involve any return to the principles of the free market; it does involve using any tools that may be at hand—from taxation of big incomes to the capital levy—toward forcing beneficiaries of the dividend-and-investment system to support the less lucky until such time as the less lucky shall have attained the necessary political power to take control of the state—and the industrial machine.

QUESTION: Do you believe that a classless society can be achieved without strife between the working class and the ruling class?

ANSWER: No, not any more than a Ford can maintain control of his own industry without strife with bankers. But strife can mean many things. The ballot, the general strike, controversial journalism—all these are "strife." I would be care-

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 will receive a copy of Trotsky's three volume History of the Russian Revolution. Replies should be under 500 words and written on one side of the paper. The contest has been extended to June 30th, 1933, at which time all replies must be in the hands of the Editors.

ful about advocating cutting loose from parliamentary processes. As Hitler has shown German Marxists, this game can be played two ways. And the ruling class has the Maxim guns. Of course another World War would toss all rules out of the window.

QUESTION: In what way do you consider technological change to have modified our traditional conception of the class struggle.

ANSWER: By taking men out of the traditional "industrial proletariat" and making either skilled workers of them, or unemployed men, or servile flatterers of capitalism (look in any advertising agency). This undoubtedly weakens any dramatic conception of the class struggle. It creates the conditions in America making for the situation outlined in answer to question No. 1.

QUESTION: Do you believe the proletariat will play a more important role than the middle class in any approaching significant social change.

ANSWER: I have yet to meet an American "proletarian" outside of the Communist intellectual class who has his roots in America. Distinct class lines have yet to form here. Until a new generation grows up, any significant social change must come in America from an alignment between dissatisfied members of the middle class and the proletariat.

Political affiliation? I voted for Norman Thomas because he seemed the most available symbol of such an alignment. I don't think writers should join parties—"just yet."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DR. SIDNEY HOOK's book *Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx* was recently published and violently attacked by the Communist Party. Although they are not on speaking terms Dr. Hook still believes in the Communist Party as the vehicle of the revolution.

ARTHUR KING is the pseudonym of a student at the University of Wisconsin.

JOHN HERLING is Secretary of the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief.

HERMAN WOLF is a "kippy" hardworking undergraduate whose article on an American Party was written after lengthy discussions at the Chicago Socialist house.

SINCE GOVERNOR MURRAY is the kind who never overlooks any attack, Al T. Hersill is the pseudonym of an undergraduate at the U. of Oklahoma.

REED HARRIS is now free-lancing in New York City.

After reading a paper before the American Philosophical Association on "The Logic of Continuity" Lewis Feuer returned to Harvard to help organize a philosopher's chapter of the Association of Unemployed College Alumni.

HENRY J. ROSNER is one of the research secretaries of the City Affairs Committee and a frequent contributor to *The Nation* and *The World Tomorrow*.



Why the German Student is Fascist

(Continued from page 6)

advance for the eventuality: and it is the Fascist students, especially of the technical and engineering schools, who will step into the gas, water, and electric works until the old unions have been liquidated and the new state industrial unions—forms of peonage sugar-coated with patriotic myths—will have been organized. In addition the German student is supplying Hitler with the leaders and heroes of his *Sturm-~~abteilungen~~*—shock troops, ~~who carry out a murderous physical terrorism~~, especially during election campaigns, against socialists, ~~communists and Jews~~. On their home-ground, the universities, the German students harass liberal, radical, and Jewish elements among both the student body and the faculty. They break up the lectures of "unpatriotic" professors, attack individuals with their metal-tipped canes, beating them sometimes to the point of death, and often cause the not altogether unsympathetic authorities to close down the universities for short periods. In some universities with the aid of their cultural allies in the faculty and administration, they have introduced the hateful *numerus clausus* for Jewish students.

The main activity, however, of the German Fascist student has so far been on the theoretical front. Here he has been busy developing for consumption among the masses the Fascist ideology of *das dritte Reich*, the third empire, in which there are no classes in theory, but where in practice everyone is to serve the interests of monopoly capitalism. This is the German variant of economic planning. Interestingly enough, when the Socialists were in power they prepared the way for this new doctrine by regarding the German republic as an *Arbeits-Rechts und Kultur-gemeinschaft* of capital and labor. The leading intellectual lights of the Fascist movement are drawn not from the German students themselves but from their teachers. Men like Othmar Spann in Vienna; Max Wundt in Jena; Carl Schmitt in Berlin; and Hans Freyer in Leipzig have baptized the Nazi movement with the holy waters of German philosophical idealism and with a few sprinkles attained an easy fame denied them by their scientific colleagues. Not only do these men and their like preach the philosophy of Fascism but some of them are even helping to revise and renew the myth of the purity of the Teutonic race, thus feeding the flames of anti-semitism. Despite Hitler's professional anti-semitism, he did not hesitate to accept the financial assistance of Jakob Goldschmidt, a Jewish banker afraid some years back of a red Germany, and to adopt the antiquated political philosophy of Julius Stahl, the apostate Jewish court

advisor of the "40's". International finance capital against which the Fascists inveigh so bitterly is heavily involved in the plants of Thyssen, Siemens, and other who are now acting as Hitler's paymasters.

The Fascist student body and faculty are at present engaged in a great crusade, revamping and reinterpreting the whole of German's cultural inheritance for their own political purposes. The official celebrations of Goethe and Hegel made them out to be the forerunners of the movement. The entire history of German philosophy, art, and literature, has been laid under tribute to plead for all those virtues which are necessary for the efficient functioning of monopoly capitalism: discipline and obedience; belief in the hallowed traditions of the past and the future national destiny; worship of the hero and contempt of the masses. More serious still, the sacred character of German culture which is regarded, in typical pre-war fashion, as the crown of Western civilization, is being opposed to the "degraded, materialistic, anti-spiritual" culture of communism. Russia is spoken of as the anti-Christ among nations. With France and even with Poland, a compromise can be reached. But only a war with Russia can save the West. Just as the German students regard themselves as the shock-troops of Teutonic-Christian culture against the Bolshevik within, so they expect to be the shock troops of the last great crusade of Christian imperialism against the Bolshevik without.

So far the handful of radical students have been too weak to serve even as a slight counterpoise to the hordes of academic Fascists. Part of the reason is to be found in the costly failure of the Social-Democrats when in power to throw the universities open to working-class elements and in their toleration of high-handed student persecution of liberal and social professors. Today they are reaping the fruits of their policy, adopted in the days of Scheidemann and Noske, of saving the German republic from communism—a policy which led them to approve of the building of armored battle-cruisers, to conclude a Concordat with the Catholic Church, and to ban the May-day demonstrations of 1929. Although in the universities socialist and communist students reflected the struggle of their political organizations, and for years were little better than study sects often compelled to meet secretly, the rise of Fascism is rapidly bringing them together in a united front. In many universities they are fighting shoulder to shoulder for survival against the furious attacks of the reactionaries. But the signs seem to show that this last-hour union, carried out in the teeth of the official policies of the Socialist and Communist parties, is too late.

If ever Hitler comes to power, the tactical errors of the socialists and communist parties especially from 1929 to 1932, will not be among the least important of the contributory factors.

New Editions of Socialist Classics

- Marx, Karl, "Capital" and other writings, with an introduction by Max Eastman and an essay by Lenin. 1932. Modern Library. \$.95
- Marx, Karl, *Capital* with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. 2 vols. Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton & Co. \$.90 ea.
- Marx, Karl, *The Communist Manifesto* with an essay by Harold J. Laski. 1933. The League for Industrial Democracy. \$.25
- Bellamy, Edward, *Equality*. 1933. Appleton. \$2.00

I Saw Tom Mooney

(Continued from page 10)

came from a clergyman who buries some of San Quentin's dead. Perhaps we were all right. Still, he would try us out.

He launched into a eulogy of Hiram Johnson.

"There's a man for you! No entangling alliances with these foreign people. He wouldn't get us in with those quarrels in Europe. He knows that the thing that Japan will respect is big battleships. Mooney did not get a fair deal, you say? Well, his case went to our highest court—what else can you want?"

It seemed that the warden had been a state senator with Hiram Johnson once. I remarked on the remarkable oratorical gifts of Mr. Johnson. I had seen him on the floor of the Senate. He was a handsome, upstanding man. Japan certainly had no right to go into Manchuria . . . I wanted to see Tom Mooney.

"In all the propaganda for Tom Mooney," I said, "I have never heard one word of attack upon prison authorities. You must have a magnificent prison here, Mr. Warden."

"This man Mooney is getting too many privileges," said the warden. "He is getting to see all sorts of people. He ought to be treated like anybody else."

"Yes, yes," I agreed heartily. "I am just here from New York and am starting back tonight. I am interested in getting the professors and college students of the country interested in Tom Mooney."

That was respectable enough. We wore white collars. We had spoken genteelly. There were no obvious callouses on our hands. We did not speak in a broken dialect. Presently Mooney was brought in.

He is a shining man, and sixteen years in prison have not yet dimmed the light of his personality.

All that we said is not of interest here—we talked in the presence of the warden and the words and phrases skirted neatly the dangerous words, "Socialist, Communist, capitalist."

Mooney, above all, wants this message brought to the labor and radical forces of America.

"My fight is the fight of all workers of all political faiths for labor justice. I want no one group, Socialist, Communist or progressive, to fight for my cause alone. . . ."

Mooney has become a cultured man in prison, widely read, alert, aware of the city affairs of New York, struggles of the workers in Russia, the rise and fall of the American labor union. Whatever cruelties he has had to endure behind those grey walls of San Quentin, his mind is alert and aggressive and keen.

He told me of his new fight for freedom, the chance for a new trial by the revival of the old indictment, buried for so many years. I smiled at his optimism. He was apologetic about his own hopes. His optimism seemed to me born of desperation.

But the miracle has happened! Judge Ward has ordered a new trial on the old indictment! To me the gesture means just one thing — the business masters of the San Francisco Bay area and the politicians who dominate the old political parties have at last decided that keeping Tom Mooney in San Quentin does not pay. The case for his freedom is too absolutely clear. He was imprisoned on perjured testimony, and he is held in the living tomb in defiance of every tradition, even of capitalist justice.

Mooney, I am convinced, will soon be free, if we, who believe in the untiring battle for labor justice, will continue that battle.

Campus Tammany

(Continued from page 15)

is also responsible for the fact that the Baker Field stadium of Columbia University now holds 45,000 instead of the 20,000 spectators it formerly seated for football games. (The stadium is used for nothing but intercollegiate football games.) The Society was also an important factor in the hiring of Coach Lou Little, the football mentor who has brought Columbia football to the top for the paltry salary of \$17,500 a year (partly from student funds). In 1931 it put over a five dollar increase in the compulsory activity fee.

Nacoms are the American legionnaires of the campus. They spend a good deal of time wondering what they can do with the Social Problems Club. They went on record last year as opposing the trip of the students to Kentucky, and fought every association of Columbia's name with that trip. It considers itself so important in college affairs that it has gone on record as being opposed to radicalism in the faculty. Of course it has tried gradually to exclude all Jews.

The Nacom Society, however, is only an isolated example of the type of secret organization which controls most college campuses in one way or another. Only a tremendous effort to discover just what these organizations are doing and how they are doing it will bring the facts to light on various campuses. These secret organizations are, with the fraternities, the greatest obstacles on college campuses to any sort of

change for the better. Their alumni control sees to it that no Student Forums, or Social Problems Clubs, or Socialist Clubs have any real co-operation from the student politicians in charge of campus affairs.

Students now going through undergraduate careers should begin the process of destroying these campus Tammanies now. The organizations should be regarded by every socially-minded student as enemies, to be given no quarter. And whenever and wherever their destruction can be effected, the cause of student rights will have achieved a tremendous step forward.

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE REBELS

(Continued from page 14)

door to door. So absorbed in the work have these people become that they have moved into the city and rented rooms near the headquarters of the various locals. They have done this not in the spirit of "we're helping you out" but in the common feeling that this is the fight of all of us.

Sometimes internal strife, jealousies and hurt vanities depress Miss Fox and she wishes she could follow her own maxim, that every radical should take a year off every three years to become a human being again; but then at some exhilarating session of the Workers Committee, some eloquent Italian will get up and declare that he is a 100% Red, or a resolution will be passed for the socialization of the banks, and the feeling of discouragement passes.

Lenin's Student Days

(Continued from page 7)

Even prison and exile did not check his studious activities. While in prison, he not only kept in secret correspondence with the workers' movement, remaining a directing center of it, but he continued intensive economic studies and wrote the famous Russian classic, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

Exile for him simply meant opportunity for undisturbed study and writing. Each day in the Siberian village was utilized to the utmost: in the morning, translating of important Socialist works into Russian; in the afternoon, writing of books and articles; in the evening, studying or recreational reading. To keep fit, he went on long hikes or on hunting trips. He studied the peasants at first hand, hobnobbing with them intimately. He went so far as to defend them in juridical matters, and after several successful cases, he became a sort of local attorney and judge.

Banishment from Russia after the Siberian exile opened for Lenin the great libraries of Europe. The academic treasures of London, Paris, and Geneva became his. London, especially, with the most extensive library in the world, became an intellectual haven; here he "marked time" with further studied and researches. The many museums of the great metropolis, however, bored him, with the significant exception of the Museum of the Revolution of 1848, where he carefully examined every item. This, of course, was demanded by a revolutionary conscience that never swerved from its singleness of purpose. All thought, all action was directed toward the revolutionary goal. Lenin read and re-read everything Marx and Engels had written on revolution and insurrection. "He perused numerous works on the art of warfare, considering the technique and the organization of the armed insurrection from all standpoints."

London, furthermore, was the city where he could study the proletariat under classic capitalist conditions. He went to the most out-of-the-way places in order to see at first hand how the workers lived and struggled. He visited meetings, strikes, homes, outings, wherever workers gathered together. What interested him in particular, and delighted him immensely, was the workingclass expression as revealed at lecture-meetings. "The speaker talks rot," he said, "and a worker gets up and immediately, taking the bull by the horns, himself lays bare the essence of Capitalist society."

II

Lenin first assumed a teacher's role in the workingclass circles of Petersburg. There were a number of revolutionary educational circles at the time and Lenin soon came into active prominence as teacher, lecturer and organizer. A typical meeting conducted by him would proceed as follows: for the first half of the session the workers would listen to him as he lectured and answered questions; for the second half he would listen to the workers, questioning them about their everyday problems, their sufferings, thoughts, needs, their factory labors.

While Lenin possessed to an extraordinary degree the teacher's sense of affinity with his pupils, he never for a moment talked down to the workers, nor did he countenance any "talking down to their level." He denounced vulgarization and oversimplification—"baby talk," he said—as insults

to workers' intelligence and dignity. "Talk about serious things in a serious manner; leave pedagogics to the pedagogues, and not to politicians and organizers!"

His writing style was a model of clarity, precision, vigor, and logic. Here was keen thought moving swiftly into action—revolutionary persuasiveness *par excellence*. The many pamphlets Lenin wrote for workers were fitted into a compelling revolutionary form all his own: a logical building up of concrete situations, facts, and figures; explained step by step.

While Lenin never failed to berate vulgarity and infantile simplification, his whole person could truly be called the embodiment of simplicity. His way of living, mannerisms, speech, writing were as unpretentious, direct, and sincere as stark Truth. Gorki says of his speechmaking: "It was the first time I had heard complicated political questions treated so simply." A worker once remarked after hearing Lenin for the first time: "He's one of us all right." Another worker told Gorki that the most striking feature about Lenin was "Simplicity. He is as simple as truth itself." Klara Zetkin contrasts Lenin's demeanor with the stiff, affected grandeur of German socialist leaders; there was no trace of a "master man" about him; he moved in comradely fashion as an equal among equals. When he speaks, she says, he does not dazzle; he convinces. Lenin once came to an appointed conference with German socialists to whom he was unknown and immediately entered into the discussion. Someone asked Klara Zetkin who the new comrade was. The questioner was dumbfounded at the reply; he had expected some "great man" to come stalking in. Trotsky writes of the "terrible" and "deadly" simplicity of the Lenin of the revolutionary storm period.

Lenin perhaps reached his pedagogical height in the manner of presenting his ideas on momentous occasions, as, for example, party congresses, the eve of the Revolution, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty negotiations. He would organize his message, point by point, resolution by resolution, into a masterfully formulated program—his famous "theses." The "twenty-one theses," for instance, gave his reasons for signing the Brest Litovsk peace.

Trotsky tells us that all Lenin's learned talks were masterpieces of scholarly profundity and convincing simplicity. On one occasion Lenin gave an official lecture on the agrarian question to a group of exiled Russian professors in Paris. This was his first lecture and beforehand he became very much excited; but once at the speaker's desk, he controlled himself immediately. A professor Gambarof, enthused over the discourse he had just heard, exclaimed, "A true professor!" Trotsky adds with characteristic sarcasm, "The delightful man thought he was praising him highly."

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A Letter from Germany

DEAR SIR:

... Speaking of books, I am seriously considering sending you a book. You will remember the copy of Karl Marx which I bought? I still have it, but I am beginning to wonder if it is a wholly safe possession. The police might discover it in my room, and might thus suspect me of being a communist and might then put me in "*Schutzhaft*" along with all of the other important communists!

The mess certainly is not encouraging. The last election (last in two senses: the last in time, on March 5, and the last for a long, long time to come, in all probability) was simply a large scale demonstration of the power of modern means of propaganda, mass hypnosis, and organized repression. As such it is not very encouraging; it shows the lengths to which propaganda could go in time of war, and it indicates that a true democracy may be almost impossible with modern propaganda. The government: (1) *Verbot* all communist and socialist newspapers (*angeblich* because of the Reichstag fire), (2) Had Hitler speak over the radio every evening. In all of his speeches he specialized in slamming the "Marxists," "the misrulers of the last 14 years," the "November *Verbrecher*," (i.e., the revolution in November, 1918). His speeches were noticeably free from every positive indication of how he might intend to run things better than these despised Marxists. (3) *Hakenkreuz* flags hung from many public buildings, including the city *Rathaus*, and just recently, the city schools. This stimulated the populace in the same way—and many people hung out *Hakenkreuz* flags and *Schwarzweiss-rot* flags (the flags of the old German empire, now the colors of the Hugenberg Deutsch-National party). The idea of hanging out a flag became epidemic, and the city streets were mad with flags. The main *strasse* in the center seemed to be almost nothing but flags. It was reported that sundry Social Democratic minor government officials, anxious to hold their jobs, had also hung out Nazi flags.

(4) All election posters and placards of the communist and socialist parties were *verboten* officially. The election posters of all other milder opposition parties were unofficially *verboten*—a very simple process; the S. A. men came along at night with a big bucket of tar and painted over all the *non-regierung* posters!

(5) The day before the election (Saturday) was the "*Tag der erwachten Nation*." You will remember that the Hitler S. A. always used as their battle cry, "*Deutschland erwache!*" It seems that they have been shouting that so long and so lustily that now—on Saturday, March 4—*Deutschland* has finally *erwacht!* The whole day was a sort of celebration in advance for the Nazi victory on the morrow. Hitler spoke over the radio in Königsberg, and it was spread abroad by loudspeakers everywhere. In the city there were loudspeakers in five or six public places, including the Market *platz*. During the whole speech, Nazi—S. A. men with torches stood and looked properly military. After the speech the S. A., S. S. and the *Stahlhelm* made a long parade all through the town—they even came by my street. It was interesting to note that the *Stahlhelm* kept a good distance away from the S. A. and S. S. in the parade. Even if the two parties are combined in the *Regierung*, they do not show much open love for each other.

(6) On election day there were S. A. men standing around all the election "*Lokals*"—but Communists and Sozis were conspicuous by their absence. I walked inside one of the locals and found a placard "*Arbeiter*, look at your leader, Braun (former Prussian Minister-president). He has just flown out of the country into Switzerland. Vote for Hitler!" If Braun did actually flee the country it was in a way but a natural reaction—for he was probably slated to be put into *Shutzhaft* along with all the Communist leaders.

(7) The combined exertion of all these means of propaganda, together with the natural human desire to jump on the band wagon, resulted in a gain of five and a half million for Hitler's party!

(8) The government understands the heart of youth. Today is a school holiday in celebration of the great national victory in the elections!

The most fundamental question is this: What will happen should Hitler fail? It is hard to see how seventeen and a half million Germans can forever stay in one party, even if it be Hitler's party. Such is not the nature of Germans. The reaction must come some-

time, it may come violently; it will probably be a reaction toward the communists; it may bring a revolution.

Such speculations are far in the future. In the present I have only this speculation: Hitler has by *Notverordnung* eliminated those provisions of the Constitution which call for freedom of speech and the privacy of letters. What would happen to me should the censor get hold of this letter? For the sake of safety, I will leave it anonymous.

A New Recruit Speaks

DEAR SIR:

Every bank in the country has been closed by Presidential proclamation. Such far reaching action is unprecedented in history. In the midst of this world crisis, I sit at my desk writing. I am a student and bank failures seem to have little effect on my sheltered life. My father's salary has already been cut three times. He is a salesman who three years ago led the country in orders sold for his firm. Last month he made two sales. At home there are five beside myself for him to feed.

Tomorrow, there may be rioting in the streets. If a feasible plan isn't discovered by a frantic congress called in special session, the situation will become acute. Men, women and children will suffer. Workers will be underfed; this will not be a novel experience for them. But for the first time many of the middle class will feel the insistent prod of an empty stomach. The rich will continue to eat; their credit is good. If I am not on the streets tomorrow, a part of the struggling mass, I will be within a year. Where will I stand?

My family is of the middle class, with a yearly income of \$3,500, convinced in the omnipotence of Mellon, Mills and God. I cannot believe with them for I have seen too many responsible men during the past year stripped of their shining cloaks. Underneath there has always been found a shriveled ghastly spectre of greed. These men who make "honest mistakes" with 90 million dollars of other people's money, or worse, have shown that they are not fit to govern this country. They are dangerous men who work not for public good but for their own.

Some still cling to the hope of patching the present order; to me this is only the postponement of progress. Others are content with mere cynicism. This is an admission of the inadequacy of man to cope with his own problems. It is a futile acknowledgement of his inability to pull himself out of the mud hole he has dug and stumbled into. Yet finding myself as deeply mired as anyone—through no fault of my own—I cannot be content with glorying in the slime. I look about for solid ground where I can get a firm foothold for a new start. I find it on the left.

In all modern philosophy there is only one program which offers a sane plan for rebuilding. It is socialism—the common ownership of the natural resources and the socially necessary means for life. Here is a fresh ideology; the way out of the mire. Yet, while I throw in my lot to work for this better state, I know that the present Socialist Party is a compromise. I do not agree with its entire platform. But I know that it will inaugurate a state so much superior to the present economic insecurity and social injustice, that I must support it and work for it. Anything less would be cowardice.

GORDON H. COLE,
Syracuse University

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DEAR READER:

Many of you have taken bundle orders of the STUDENT OUTLOOK and have made no return on them. Since we will be unable to come out again after the summer if your checks are not in, clear your conscience and fill our pockets by making a clean sweep. Send in money for copies you have distributed or return the copies unsold.

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