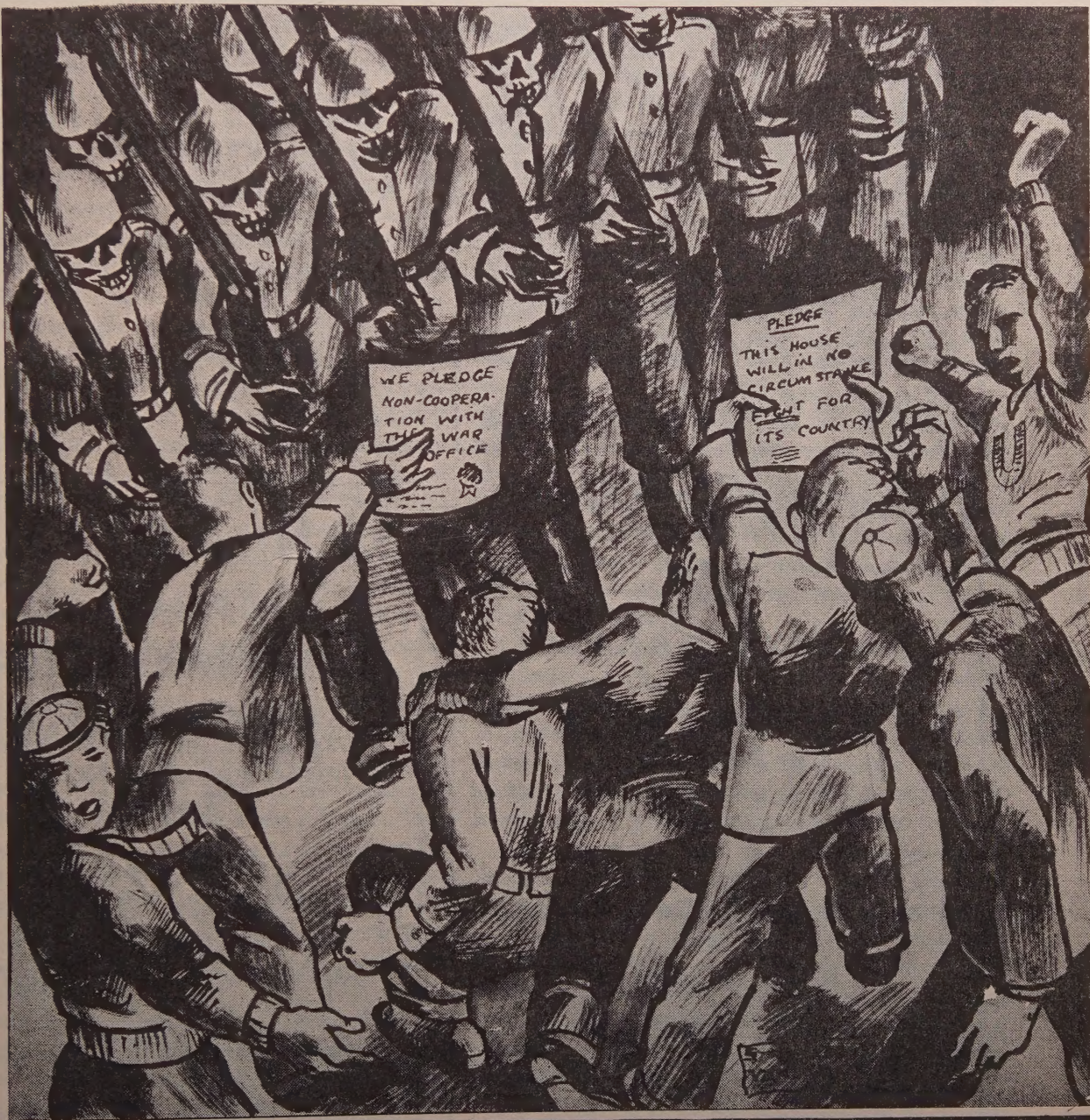


The STUDENT OUTLOOK

Formerly REVOLT
The Intercollegiate Socialist Review



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National Student Congress of the L. I. D.

DECEMBER 29-31st

National Conference on Students in Politics

Manuscripts should not go over 2000 words and
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19th Street, N. Y. C., by January tenth.

Our Job in Washington

An Editorial

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE on Students in Politics scheduled for Washington at Christmas time may become one of the most significant events in undergraduate annals, for it may mark the coming-of-age of the American college man and woman. More students will come together there than for any congress in the past. They will be resolute to find out the causes of the present chaos and insecurity, intent on acting on the basis of their findings.

The fact that leaders of the student Christian movement, of the National Student Federation of America, of Catholic college clubs and of radical student organizations are cooperating in the organization of such a conference is itself indicative of important trends in campus life. On the one hand responsible leaders of student organizations are becoming genuinely worried over the imminence of a fascist student movement here similar to that in Germany, which will be violently nationalistic, anti-intellectual, anti-socialist and anti-semitic. On the other hand the irresponsible leaders are being stirred to activity by the restlessness and growing radicalism among their rank and file adherents.

It would be self-delusion to assume that the National Conference indicates any more than this. Perhaps, in addition, we can be assured of magnitude of numbers in Washington, and we are likely to hear stentorian demands for action from the people who will be the least likely to undertake it. There will be newspaper articles hailing an "American Student Movement" irrespective of what may happen in Washington. But it is for us to remember that unless it is a vigorous forward looking student movement that emerges, there had better be no movement at all.

What will be the responsibilities of members of the Intercollegiate L.I.D. at the National Conference on Students in Politics? It must first be understood that the Conference is not intended to be legislative, nor is intended to provide an arena in which several aggressive students organizations can battle it out. The Conference will provide arguments and clarification, the

premises, so to speak, for students to take a stand.

It will be the job of L.I.D. members to function as catalysts in persuading students of the validity of our point of view. Though we will have our speakers on the platform, it will be in the corridors, at the eating-tables, and in the dormitories that minds will be changed and arguments clinched. It is in these places that we must let the world know that we are committed to integrating the student movement with the forces making for a cooperative commonwealth. We must convince our confreres that it is with labor, the unemployed, the negro workers, the dispossessed middle class farmers, and white collar workers that the student classes must align themselves. To the former groups, because they can find neither breath nor food in the present world, has been given the task of bringing into being the brave new world; and it should be the tenor of our arguments that a student movement which dissociates itself from the aspirations and endeavors of these groups is not worth fathering.

It will be our job to show that such an alignment has implications on the campus in terms of peace work, academic freedom, high wages for colleges employees, of protests against racial discrimination and added tuition fees; and to teach the appropriate tactics of students strikes and picketings, of public meetings and round robins, of printed leaflets and petitions.

Unfortunately many of us are ourselves hesitant as to what is and what should be the stand of the Intercollegiate L.I.D. For that reason we are having our own convention in Washington two days previous to the National Conference. It will be a gathering of L.I.D. student members from all over the nation to consider policy and organization in the light of changing conditions. It will be a conference not of outside speakers, nor of spectators, but only of *participants*.

By our clarity, by our forthrightness and by our sincerity, we will be able to do more to win adherents to our conviction than by any amount of machiavellian maneuvering.

DEMOCRACY and DICTATORSHIP

By G. D. H. COLE

I AM impelled to the writing of this article—which has no propagandist purpose, but is intended simply as an essay in the promotion of clearer thinking—by the controversy which has been going on during the past few months on the alleged issue of dictatorship versus democracy. For, though I have studied carefully what has been said in this controversy, the more I have read, the more convinced I have become that both these key words are being used without any clear conception of their meaning. I am by no means convinced that the persons who are supposed to stand for a system of dictatorship have in fact any such desire, and I am still less convinced that those who uphold on paper the cause of democracy against the would-be dictators have either an understanding of or a desire for real democratic government. It therefore seems desirable, in the interests of those who wish to make up their minds on the controversy without being swept away by catchwords or false appeals, to consider rather carefully what in relation to our present problems these two words dictatorship and democracy really imply.

In the first place, then, what is meant by democracy? It seems to be assumed by most of those who write in opposition to dictatorship that in Great Britain at any rate we are already living under a system of democratic government. But I for one am quite unable to agree that this is the case. For I do not believe that real democracy as a system of government can possibly exist under conditions which allow the enormous disparities of wealth and economic power which are recognized in the society of today. Democracy implies to me not that all men are to be of equal influence in the affairs of the community—for that is a totally impracticable idea—but that such differences of influence as exist are to be the result not of differences in wealth or economic power, but of differences of personal quality. It is fully consistent with democratic principles that a cleverer man or a more determined man, or a man who has more than others the power of convincing his fellows, should exercise a larger social influence than others. But it is quite inconsistent with democratic principles that one man should be able to affect the lives of his fellows not by virtue of any of those qualities, but simply because he possesses more money or a larger amount of economic power. Democracy in any real sense of the term therefore implies not a rigid economic equal-

ity, but a sufficient approach to equality of income to rule out entirely the possession by any one man of a power by virtue of his wealth to exercise a preponderant influence over the lives or opinions of other people. There could not be in a democratic community any such institutions as the propagandist societies which owe their existence to the subscriptions of a few rich men, or the newspapers controlled by the great Press lords. There could be propagandist societies and newspapers, I think, on quite as extensive a scale as today; but they would have to arise and maintain themselves through the support of a large number of persons no one of whom would have a sufficient amount of wealth to be able to regard them as his private possession.

In this conception of a democracy based upon an approximate equality of wealth, the freedom of the Press and of propaganda is of course vitally important. Nor is the degree of freedom which we possess in Great Britain—and which has been lost in, say, Germany or Italy—by any means unimportant. It does matter that whereas in Germany, until the coming of Hitler, newspapers expressing divergent points of view could be published, nowadays the whole Press has to echo on penalty of suppression the views and wishes of the Nazis. But although this suppression of the freedom of speech is a vitally important matter, let us not run to the extreme of assuming that until the advent of Hitler and Mussolini Germany and Italy enjoyed democratic institutions. They did not; they enjoyed only institutions based on economic inequality into which some element of freedom had penetrated with the growth of consciousness among the less well-to-do sections of the people. This freedom was valuable, but it was not a product of democracy, but rather a foreshadowing of the democratic system which was being gradually developed within the framework of an oligarchical society.

Democracy, in any real sense, implies a near approach to economic equality; it is utterly mistaken to identify democracy with the existence of a parliamentary system. For though, as Parliamentaryism developed in the course of the nineteenth century, more and more people got the vote, this did not make Parliaments democratic even where universal suffrage had been established. Universal suffrage was nevertheless a valuable privilege, an instrument that was capable of being used for the furtherance of democracy. It was not, however, itself

democracy; for the voter who was able to record his vote in favor of this or that candidate was in fact still caught up within the entanglements of economic oligarchy, so that he could not cast his vote freely without being influenced by his economic subjection, and by subsidized propaganda directed upon him in the interests of persons richer than himself. It is utterly misleading to think of modern Parliamentarism as a system which depends for its working simply on the number of persons to whom it allows a vote and the ways in which they vote; for it works actually through the instrumentality of the party system, and parties depend for the possibility of success largely upon the resources at their disposal for the launching of propagandist appeals. A party of the poor is not in the same position for collecting votes as a party dominated by the rich, though it may be able in part to lessen its handicap by calling on more devoted service.

Yet, in the controversy which has been going on in recent months, most of the newspapers seem to have assumed without any argument at all that the would-be dictators are attacking a body of democratic institutions which already exists, that Great Britain is already in enjoyment of democracy, and that these wicked protagonists of dictatorship want to overthrow a democratic system already in being. This simply is not the case. Democracy is not in being, but only in the making, and the question for our times is by what methods its advent can be most effectively furthered and hastened. If something called dictatorship can be shown to be the most effective means of getting democracy, no argument against dictatorship can be legitimately based on the assumption that democracy already exists.

But what is this dictatorship, for which certain sections within the Labor Party, no less than the followers of Sir Oswald Mosley, are reputed to stand? There exist in Europe today a number of countries which are said to be ruled by dictatorships. But the governments of these countries present very different characteristics to anyone who objectively observes their working. Thus the dictatorship of the Nazis in Germany and of the Fascists in Italy involves a complete suppression of all opposing political and economic forces, and the occupation of all positions of power by persons who accept the dominant creed. So it may be said does the dictatorship of the Communists in Russia. But there the resemblance ends; for whereas the dictatorship of Hitler and Mussolini is based on leaving unaltered the existing economic relationships in society, and thus preserving the inequalities of income and status which render democracy impossible, the dictatorship of the Communists, though it

has not yet by any means fully accomplished its purpose, is directed to the obliteration of these inequalities, and therefore to the creation of the conditions necessary to make democracy a possible system. In Germany and Italy, as I see the matter, there has been a great suppression of thought, but no corresponding liberation of thought as a result of the Nazi and Fascist revolutions; in Russia, on the other hand, while there has been and still is a great deal of suppression of the freedom of speech and writing in particular directions, there has been to set off against this a tremendous liberation of freedom in other directions as a result of the disappearance of the grosser forms of economic inequality and of the sense of social inferiority which exists in all societies divided into conflicting social classes. I should say that, in spite of the dictatorship, Russia is today, taken all round, a far more democratic country, not merely than Germany or Italy, but even than, say, France or Great Britain. It is more democratic because there is in it more sense of equality, and in the ordinary man's mind more assurance that his contribution counts in the making of the social future, and that he has as good a right as anyone else to make his voice and opinion felt.

I say this not because I like the Russian suppression of the freedom of speech and writing in matters affecting the underlying structure of the Communist State. I do not like these things at all, for I value the freedom of saying and writing exactly what I like very highly indeed. But I recognize that this freedom belongs to me in Great Britain because I belong to a comparatively privileged group, possessing a reasonably assured economic status. It is not, save in a very limited degree, the possession of English people regardless of their economic circumstances. In one sense there is more freedom of speech and writing in Great Britain than in Russia, but it is predominantly freedom for a minority; and in another sense there is more freedom in Russia than in England, because Russian conditions are such as to extend the privilege of articulateness to a larger section of the people, and to remove that false freedom of speech which finds expression in the subsidized utterances of our wealth-ridden newspapers and propagandist agencies.

I see nothing undemocratic in urging that in order to create the conditions necessary to the existence of real democracy it is indispensable to use our available political institutions in a radically new way. When I hear Sir Stafford Cripps accused of advocating dictatorship, and then read in order to see for myself what he has

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Undergraduates Against War

ROAR, LION, ROAR

By HAROLD LAVINE

FROM the campus of Columbia University comes a protest against impending war that rises above the tramp of men on the march and rumbling of guns in Europe.

Saccharine expressions of distaste for war find no place in the resolutions adopted by the more than 200 delegates, representing every branch of the university, to the anti-war conference held at Columbia for two days beginning October 31. By an almost unanimous vote, they went on record as opposed to any co-operation with the United States government in the event of a declaration of war.

And, in an effort to insure success of this plan to prevent their alma mater from once more becoming an adjunct of the military machine, they laid the basis for a permanent peace organization, not only in Columbia but at every college of the country as well. . . .

Following the vote, Dr. James T. Shotwell, professor of history, who only a few moments before had said that "pacifist agitation may result in a social revolution far greater than the French or American revolutions," rose to call the decisions "immature and insufficiently studied." A co-ed said in answer:

"If students confine this fight to sweet sounding generalities, they have everyone behind them. Let us take

definite action and men like Dr. Shotwell start to sneer."

Organization of the permanent anti-war committee was begun immediately, after adjournment of the conference. Under the guidance of this group, lesser committees composed of students and instructors will be formed in every academic department or division of the university. A study is to be made of how in the last war the facilities of Columbia University were turned over bodily to the government to be used as a military instrument. On the basis of this study, such action will be taken as may definitely make impossible the utilization of Columbia's technical resources for war purposes.

Prior to adoption of the resolutions, the delegates listened to speeches by members of the faculty and others connected with the peace movement. At the opening session, two alternative programs for the abolition of war were proposed—international co-operation through bodies like the League of Nations, and universal revolt of the working class to overthrow "the war breeding economic system which exists today."

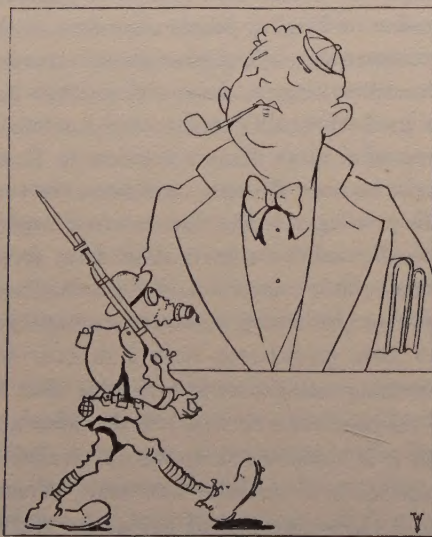
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

By ROBERT D. BLOOM

DISPLAYING a remarkable unanimity, the two hundred delegates to the recent New York University Convention Against War showed themselves definitely opposed to all capitalist and imperialist wars for profits and foreign markets. The preamble to the set of resolutions showed the delegates well acquainted with the economic nature of war. Significant, however, is the insistence "that the students join with all classes fighting war, not only the working class, but also with the farmers, the middle class, the professional groups, and with each and every group or individual who may be used for cannon fodder."

A realization of the important role which the university plays in war preparation and war propaganda is indicated by the resolution protesting against the use of advertising and social science classes for the dissemination of war propaganda and against the use of scientific laboratories and all other college resources in the development of war machinery.

The role of the Reserve Officers Training Corps in the building up of an effective war organization was condemned by the convention. The motion urging the complete and immediate abolition of the R.O.T.C. throughout the country was no half-way measure framed in the interests of expediency, for the militancy of the



Another Snub



L.I.D. Armistice Day Demonstration at Wellesley

group assembled permitted of no straddling of the issue. Compulsory military training still exists at the Heights College of the University despite a strong sentiment against its continued existence.

The solemn pledge against supporting the government of the United States in any war which it might conduct was carried by a very large majority. The non-cooperation resolution was adopted by the assembly as an outgrowth of the recognition of the essentially economic bases of war, and not upon grounds of conscientious objection or pacifism.

A third set of resolutions dealt with the problem of student liberties rather than with the problem of war and military training. Almost unanimously the convention deplored the recent City College incident which had arisen out of the opposition of a group of students to the R.O.T.C. The assembly went on record nearly unanimously in opposition to the infringement of free speech and action for both students and faculty members.

As a "united front" conference, the assembly had the exceedingly difficult task of formulating a program general enough to include all shades of opinion, and yet specific enough to use as a basis for concrete action in the immediate future. There was some opposition to the achievement of this end, largely from the R.O.T.C. delegation of five and from several disorganized minority groups without any program except that of consistent opposition to all platforms. In general, however, the mass of the delegates, over eighty percent of those present, worked together against war and for student liberties. Only on the pledge "that under no circumstances will we support or cooperate with the government of the United States in any war which it may conduct," did any vigorous opposition to a resolution arise. Even

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RAZZBERRIES AT CORNELL

By AL ARENT

A co-ed regiment has been organized at Cornell University to help the male students rid themselves of compulsory military training. Twenty of the university's most attractive women, bedecked with natty over-sea caps, attacked the campus one morning and pinned on 1,000 students the badge of the Optional Drill Corps, bearing the slogan, "Duck the Goose-Step."

To each recruit the co-ed officers gave a copy of the Optional Drill Corps Manual—"What every O.D.C. Officer Should Know." The Manual listed the officers of the co-ed regiment and the Goose-Step Regiment, the former headed by Colonel Anne Wynne Allen, a sophomore, of Clarksdale, Miss., and the latter by Colonel George L. Price, a junior, of Peekskill, N. Y. Sham battles were called for every Wednesday evening.

For a week the campus celebrated the birth of the O.D.C., finishing with a formal dance called the "Goose-Step Hop," given under the auspices of the O. D.C. Officers' Club and ushered in with the battle-cry, "Let's Dance, Not Drill." At the dance a skit "Drill Time is Thrill Time," was presented by the O.D.C. Trio, and the co-ed regiment sang, "I Didn't Raise my boy to be a Soldier."

The cause of all the excitement was student resentment at the failure of the Cornell trustees to institute optional military training after the faculty by an overwhelming vote had recommended a change to the optional system. In a poll held at the close of the week, 1532 students joined the faculty in registering opposition to compulsory drill, while only 431 students joined the trustees in support of the status quo.

For years the Reserve Officers' Training Corps has been popularized at many universities, though not at Cornell, by the appointment of honorary co-ed colonels. Societies like Scabbard and Blade and the Officers' Club have been active in Cornell social life, and each year the Military Ball is celebrated with much pomp and ceremony.

Now the O.D.C. has been formed to share the glamor of the student army, and to function with satire and hilarity until optional military training is instituted at Cornell.

TRANQUIL ARMISTICE DAY

CORRELATIVE with these activities which are laying the foundations for permanent anti-war work within the colleges were the more spectacular Armistice Day demonstrations held in several places. In North-

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The Function of a College Editor

A SYMPOSIUM

FREDA YOURDIS

Hunter Bulletin, Hunter College

By far the most important concern of an undergraduate editor is to keep the paper uncensored, for with control of the press comes the impossibility of realizing many of his other aims.

In general, the editor must maintain a proper balance between the intra-school and extra-school news which he prints. His function is:

1. To keep abreast of advances in the educational field.

2. To recognize the rights of minority groups within the school for the emphasis is usually put on the protection of the majority against the minority instead of the more logical protection of the minority against the encroachments of the majority.

3. To participate in intercollegiate conferences including those on student government, student press, peace and the student, racial discrimination and the student and unemployment.

4. To lead reform within the school in connection with curriculum reorganization, professional training, better equipment, an honor system, and any other reform manifestly desired by the student body

5. To direct the paper in channels that correlate student activities with those of political, intellectual and aesthetic import.

MARY ST. JOHN

Vassar Miscellany, Vassar College

In a college where there is only one newspaper, the editor is happily free from the restrictions limiting the average journalist. Since the circulation is virtually assured, there is no economic necessity for catering either to the advertiser or the reading public. The editor may decide to express the college as a whole or attempt to influence it.

The majority of undergraduates are presumably more interested in football games than matters of social significance. But the tendency to dismiss them with such a sweeping generality is based upon an exaggerated assumption. The normal student will not bother to read a newspaper which concentrates entirely upon radical movements or international affairs. On the other hand, the present college generation, from long exposure to uncertainties, is peculiarly sensitive to economic and political developments. The college editor can articulate

and focus this sense of unrest without making the journal a propaganda organ for any particular "ism."

It is a common failing to pigeonhole education and the problems of daily living in separate compartments. But it should be possible for the undergraduate newspaper to point the way toward a compound of these elements. Perhaps its major function is to make the individual aware of his dependence upon, and responsibility toward the community."

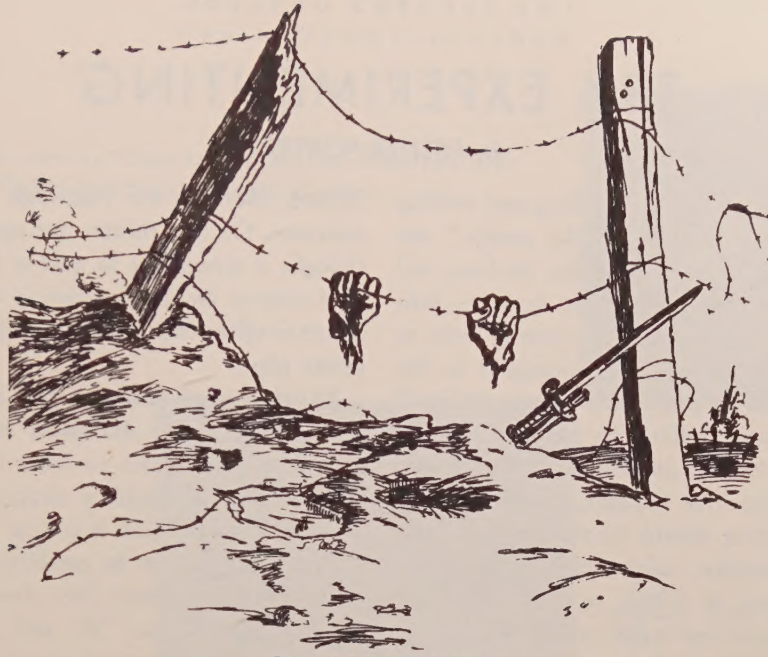
C. MILDRED THOMPSON

Dean, Vassar College

I have your inquiry asking me for my opinion upon the suitability of undergraduate students expressing their opinions upon such questions as the N.R.A., war, etc., in the editorials of student papers.

I see no unsuitability whatever in students expressing their opinions upon these matters or any others which affect them vitally. If education is real it should help to relate the program of study carried on in college to problems of the world outside; and if a student's mind is active she will of necessity have opinions upon war, peace, social reorganization, etc. Students cannot be expected to jump full-fledged into maturity and to face responsibilities of active citizenship if they ignore critical events and policies, simply because such policies do not happen to be confined to the college campus. Such separation of interests would thwart one of the chief functions of education, which is to interpret life through learning.

The columns of undergraduate newspapers should be taken for what they are, neither more or less,—the sincere expression of opinion of young people of twenty-one and under, upon the world as it confronts them, on and off the campus. It is not their fault, but that of outside readers of college papers, if they are assumed to "pontificate upon matters." Upon one matter at least, undergraduate opinion should be expert, and that is upon the question of war. Who, may I ask, has more right to have judgment upon war than the generation which would have to bear the chief burden if war should come?



CLASS OF 1933?

A cartoon drawn by John Conley which appeared in the UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER "CAMPUS" on Armistice Day.

BRUCE C. YATES

The Daily Californian, Univ. of California

Through the editorial columns of *The Daily Californian* this semester I have maintained a consistent policy of running four editorials per week on national and international topics. Below is my statement as to the function of an undergraduate editor:

"It is the duty of every undergraduate editor to present to his campus readers a fair balance of campus and world comment. If possible, a comprehensive and intelligent discussion of national and international affairs should occupy a prominent position in college and university editorial columns.

"During these days when the forces unleashed by the Industrial Revolution are producing a suicidal race for power in the world, students can bring a powerful influence to bear in the establishment of a world unity and socialized intelligence to control these unruly elements. The undergraduate editor must make it his goal to guide that influence in channels of enlightenment."

ARNOLD M. BEICHMAN

Columbia Spectator, Columbia University

Among the innumerable effects of the depression has been the development of a more mature approach by college editors towards economic, social and political problems. Whereas, three years ago it was the athletic do-or-die spirit with which the editorial columns of a college newspaper gushed forth, today we read quiet, logical criticism and discussion of matters which past

generations of undergraduate readers might have resented.

The college student of 1933 has developed, more so than his predecessors, a social consciousness, which, taking many forms—conservative, liberal or radical—must still be reckoned as an advance in undergraduate life. This development has been directly reflected at Columbia College through the editorials of this newspaper. Yet, in some cases, censure has been the fate of an editor for published editorials "which had nothing to do with the campus."

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HELEN MANNING

Dean, Bryn Mawr College

I would say that editorials in student papers have always seemed to me far more intelligent and mature when they dealt with campus affairs than when they attempted to discuss national issues. In the latter case I have not even seen an editorial in a college paper which did not seem to me to echo in rather feeble form similar editorials in the metropolitan press or in propagandist literature. This would be my only objection to a college paper adopting the policy of printing political editorials. If there is a possibility of having editorials which represent an intelligent and well informed public opinion on the campus I should think they might be both interesting and valuable.

TRY EXPERIMENTING

By ESTHER PORTER

WITH Elmer Rice and others thinking and writing of returning the theater "to the people," one cannot help wondering what present day students and theater students in particular are going to do to help make such a social goal possible. Too often it looks as though conventional Broadway will continue to be the only considered interest of graduated "drama majors." Like college liberals and radicals in the Law Schools and Medical Schools of the country, they soon forget their former desires for free thought, forget that the ingenuity their education should have developed, plus a certain spirit of adventure, might find for them new and challenging places in which to hang up their shingles. Perhaps the over-crowded traditional groups may be too preoccupied with their own bad years and unemployment problems to want new blood. That in itself should stir the courageous individuals to start building for themselves new paths of effectiveness. Watching graduates who really want a wholly engrossing job, something they can live heart and soul, apply for positions on the Macy's Training Squad is a disillusioning sight. Even in face of economic necessity some digging around in the half-hidden places of experimentation might result in exciting ways of making life interesting and worthwhile for others as well as for one's self.

Of Thee I Sing and *Let 'Em Eat Cake* are not the only illustrations to be found today of a growing interest in critical, satirical, biting sarcasm or humorous dramatic comments on the social order in which we find ourselves. The growth of the Group Theater or the organizing this year of the Theater Union, a new propaganda theater company, are evidences of the same gradually developing public sentiment. Some college theaters, the Experimental Theater at Vassar College, for example, have discovered that the communities in which they function are eager to see and discuss provocative contemporary plays that merit production. Over and above all these answers to a demand for new thought in the theater, are the truly spontaneous Workers' Theaters now scattered throughout the country,—each, whether Socialist or more Left-Wing in its belief, springing from a sincere desire on the part of members of the laboring class to voice their opinions on contemporary problems.

In a locality where a group similar in make-up and aim to any one of these theater groups has not been

started, there is the challenge of bringing one into existence. Or if a theater for open discussion of social thought is struggling to gain a footing, it is bound to need support and cooperation in developing better techniques in effective production, and in finding and writing better plays.

Writing good plays on the subjects that are now thought of only as discussion material for economics classrooms and debate societies is the most staggering problem facing would-be experimenters. The Vassar Theater with the play it is now producing proves that theatrical values can be established from the raw material of contemporary life. *American Plan* by Mary C. St. John, Vassar '34, and Hallie Flanagan, the director of the theater, is a presentation of what happens to five groups of people during the years 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933. The audience catches a glimpse each year of Mr. Black, director of Black and White Foodstuffs, Inc., and his office force; Mr. Black's wealthy daughter and her husband; the Chief Buyer for the company and his family; Farmer Howe who grows apples for the firm and his college student son; and a truckdriver for B. and W., Inc., and the girl he loves. Each of the central figures voices the changing sentiments of his class as the play moves from the days before the Stock Market crash to the day of the N.R.A. parade.

Mr. Black is consistently sure of the stability of his country.

Mr. Black:

1929 "Nonsense! This country's sound as a dollar."

1930 "The nation will recover. It always has."

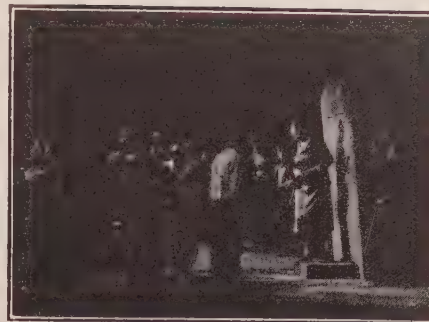
1931 "... This international situation is probably the best thing that could have happened—in the long run—get everybody down to rock bottom and you can start over again at scratch."

1932 "... It's not my fault—I didn't set out to be a homewrecker—chucking men out to flop-houses and charity soup. I can't help it, it's you or them. What am I supposed to do—go back on my own flesh and blood?"

Mr. Black's society-minded daughter, Helen's greatest problem is to keep herself constantly amused in a world based on extravagant spectacle.

Helen: "I'm wearing my new dress for you, John. It's very expensive and very daring. Worth dreamt it one night after eating oysters."

"Did you say your kids was starving? Come on!" A shot from "Can You Hear Their Voices?" produced by the Vassar Experimental Theater.



Wardell sends the boys away. From "Can You Hear Their Voices?"



From "Blocks," a symbolic play on the capitalist origin of war, produced at Vassar.

The Buyer for the company is proud of his rise to a position of responsibility with the firm.

Jim. 1929 "... Great feeling, Jenny, walking through the glass door with your name on it. Lord, I love that door. Bossing secretaries, telling people, 'do this' and watching them do it, all the time knowing you were in the other fellow's shoes once yourself . . ."

Jim. 1931 "They fired me with one hand but they took me back again with the other—as warehouse foreman—at one-third the wages—slide down six rungs of the ladder at one thump— . . ."

"That's business for you—a hell of a fine thing—up today, down tomorrow and the devil take the hindmost. Well, there're lots of us—learning."

As long as Farmer Howe can tell his son, "We're selling all the apples we can raise," he can quite calmly make statements of this sort.

Farmer Howe: 1929 "Well, I guess prices are all right controlled by those who understand them. I never had much trouble with the B. and W. people. They've done right by me."

Carl, the truckdriver, is strong, confident that he can build a future for himself similar to Black's.

Carl. 1929 "... I'm strong, see, and not dumb like these Polacks. I'm an American. I can get some schoolin' maybe. We'll be sittin' pretty one of these days."

1930 "It's gonna be O.K. soon. Ya hear the Boss over the radio? He says we just gotta hang on for a while, all workin' together and it'll be just like before."

1932 "Sure, they kill 'em all—one way or another."

Producing this play in a manner consistent with its contemporary theme, the Vassar Theater makes the whole performance a rapid-fire, cinematic, dynamically exciting show. Everyday problems are there, everyday emotions are there, and the best of artistic and technical thought makes the whole effective.

It can be done! All that is needed now is a strong delegation of well trained theater students who will care to—and dare to—bring their thoughts and energies to new dramatic experiments bearing on the American scene.

Codes for Professional People

By KENNETH MEIKLEJOHN

THE desperate plight of hundreds of thousands of professional people during the past four years of depression and at the present time does not in itself justify a special plea in their behalf for fair treatment in the codes that have been and are being drawn up under the National Industrial Recovery Act. It is no worse than, nor essentially different from, that of millions of the working class, most of the agricultural population, and some sections of the white collar and business groups. Nor is it important in this connection that persons engaged in the pursuit of the various professions, by virtue of presumably long periods of education and training, may be entitled to somewhat better standards of living than those accorded to other groups. It is not even terribly significant that these considerations have been embodied in a demand by the American Federation of Teachers for a code to be applied throughout the public school system. If there is any justification for immediate concern with the treatment accorded to professional groups it must be found in their peculiar position at the present time.

Their difficulties are inherent in the Act. Unless professional people are employed in some business or enterprise engaged in trade or industry, unless, in other words, they are classifiable as "employees," they can not be brought within the scope of the statute. As pointed out by one of the officials of the Recovery Administration, "so far as professional people are engaged in trades and industries, we are empowered by this law to make their condition of employment subject to codes of fair competition. In cases where professional people are not engaged in trades or industries, the law gives us no power to write a permanent code governing their status." The number of persons who fall in this second category is, of course, very large. Furthermore, Section 3 (a), which embodies the code provisions of the Act, provides that codes are to be arrived at by voluntary agreement of employers or associations of employers. In that process neither employees, nor consumers, nor any other group has any direct part. Their claims are given a hearing only after application has been made for presidential approval. Employers are, in effect, given a power to exclude such groups as they desire from the protective clauses of the code by appropriate definitions of the word "employee." Unless this is opposed by governmental authorities or by representatives of the groups concerned, or objection raised at the hearings,

whole classes of participants in the productive and distributive processes may be exempted from the conditions and standards set up by the codes. In a very large number of cases this has actually happened. Most professional people are still without protection, regardless of whether or not they are engaged in trade or industry.

In the code for the Retail Drug Trade, for example, registered pharmacists are expressly exempted from certain of the hour and wage provisions applicable to other employees. Section 2 (2) states that "the maximum hours of labor . . . shall not apply to registered pharmacists, assistant pharmacists and apprentice pharmacists, employed and working as such, who may work ten (10) per cent above the maximum hours otherwise applicable, or more in case of emergency." Similar exemptions as to hours, wages and working conditions may be found in other codes as well. In many trades and industries chemists, engineers, medical staffs, and research groups have suffered radical cuts in both salaries and personnel. Today there is little improvement in their status by virtue of the codes. They are forced frequently to see other employees granted relatively better employment conditions while they continue on the old basis without substantial improvement. The same thing has happened to many young lawyers whose remuneration and hours of service have not been improved, while the standards of the clerical and office staffs have been raised under the President's Reemployment Agreement or under the codes. The disparity in treatment is acute everywhere and becoming more glaring every day.

Among teachers the situation is especially bad. While the N.R.A. has been operating since last July with the avowed purpose of putting men and women back to work and of increasing purchasing power, the schools have been used as the scapegoat of an insistent nation-wide "economy" campaign. To cite an instance by no means the most spectacular, on August 1 the State of Wisconsin by the hand of its Governor raised the Blue Eagle over the Capitol in Madison. Within a few days thereafter a budget cut for the faculty of the state university was announced. A graduated scale of waivers ranging from 12% on salaries of \$500 and below to 23% on those of \$20,000 and above was approved by the Board of Regents, whose chairman, incidentally, is N.R.A. administrator for the state. This is not an isolated case by any means. Of over a million teachers it is estimated that 25% are unemployed. The

rest are receiving miserably low salaries, if, indeed, they are being paid anything at all.

The need is a pressing one. Unemployment and inadequate income are very widespread today among professional groups. They have become characteristic of every calling. Unfortunately, it is difficult to obtain adequate data on the number affected; nor can figures be given on the income losses of those still employed, since none of any value are available. Isolated cases may be cited and may reasonably be taken as indicative of the general situation, but this is about all that can be done in pointing out the necessity for embracing professional employees within some sort of codes.

One fact, however, is clear. The problem of the professional people has been made even more acute than last spring by the rise in prices which has accompanied "recovery" since that time. The wage earner has not, perhaps, felt this added burden so severely where his wages have been raised under the codes. The professional groups, on the other hand, have received no corresponding increases in salary. Like the farmer they are caught by the rising cost of living. If no outcry has been heard from them, with the exception of the teachers, it is because they are not organized on the basis of militant protest which has enabled the Farmers' Holiday Association to place the farmer's plight dramatically on the front pages of every newspaper in the country in recent weeks.

In short, the N.R.A. has done practically nothing for the professional employee. He has been almost systematically excluded from the benefits that might have accrued to him legitimately from a proper administration of the program. Its incidental effects, in the form of higher prices, have added to his burdens.

But two things may be said in regard to the effect of the N.R.A. on professional people. One of these is very obvious. It has been said time after time in connection with organized labor. The administration of the code provisions, involving the procedures of drawing up codes on the part of employers and of hearing the claims of other interested parties, has demonstrated the need for organization in a peculiarly effective way. The codes are temporary at best; they are subject to modification at any time; their standards may well become maximum instead of minimum (there is a noticeable tendency in this direction even now); their authority lasts no longer than the emergency; the legislation expires two years from the date of enactment. Maintenance of the standards achieved in the codes for professional workers, as for all labor, will only be realized by vigilant and militant struggle which depends entirely on organization.

For them the N.R.A. can serve as an impetus to organization, permanent as well as transitory, and as a stimulus to clarification of their essential aims. It must be so regarded.

The recovery program has, however, made clear another fact, closely allied to the problem of organization; a fact that should have been obvious for some time. It is forcing professional people, if they would bring themselves within its scope, to regard themselves as employees, as workers, as dependent for their work and livelihood upon the owners of capital in fully as definite a sense as are other workers. This identity of economic status, arising out of modern conditions of production and distribution, can no longer be ignored. Of course, no such common concern is realized even now except in very limited circles. Recruited largely from the middle class—prior to the depression, and today, this class would have the reserves necessary to sustain the financial burden of a long and costly period of education and training—professional people have been inclined to throw in their lot with big business and finance. Unemployment and depleted incomes during the past four years should have demonstrated, however, the tenuousness of this alliance. The similarity of economic status can now be supplemented by awareness of the

GETTING NOWHERE BY DEGREES

NEWS ITEM:—"College alumni, unemployed brain trust, off for capital in cap and gowns, with diplomas, on job crusade."



Reprinted through the courtesy of the World-Telegram

identity of interest as between labor and the professions. It is implicit in the whole social situation; the N.R.A. has only made it obvious.

This identity of interest, which should form the basis of all organizational attempts by professional groups, lies, of course, in the common labor that all producers carry on, whether in the office or in the factory or in the fields. The immediate conflicts arise out of the class structure of existing competitive (the word is used advisedly) capitalism. They are implicit in the relentless struggle to obtain a share of the products of

trade and industry after the claims of ownership and privilege have been satisfied. Codes for professional groups, as for labor, are, if anything, no more than temporary shelters and protection. They can be an incentive to organize militantly, with a consciousness of the role which the workers, professional, clerical, factory, and agricultural, must together play in reshaping the social and economic structure so that society may perform its work, not in terms of separate warring interests, but in terms of the general social purposes which all men have.

A Code for Radicals

Dear Mr. President,

Perhaps this isn't exactly in your line, but then lately you've had to do a lot of things you never expected to. One more shouldn't upset you.

Before we abandon this code-writing racket completely, may I submit my tentative code for radicals of every shade?

Preface: The radical movement has been sorely tried and severely weakened on every front during this ghastly period of economic depression by cut-throat competition and selfish individualism within its own ranks. Its own wage standards have been slashed below the subsistence level, its hours have been inhumanly long and strenuous, and its annual deficit has mounted at an alarming rate. Unless drastic steps to assure more impressive results per unit of energy are taken promptly, the entire radical structure is in danger of collapse.

The existing subdivision and confusion in left-wing ranks is the negation of cooperation, the height of inefficiency, and the worst of tactics. We now have a dozen minor political parties sharing 1% of the population, we have fifty-two pacifist groups quarreling helplessly among themselves when war is imminent, we have three moribund national federations of the unemployed with a majority of the jobless leagues in none of them, we have more than one hundred and fifty Communist organizations and no Communist movement. *Alice In Wonderland*, compared to this, is merely an essay for *True Story Magazine*.

1] As a possible alternative to the present chaos, may I suggest that all radical groups (except labor unions) be listed under eight headings: a) political, b) fraternal and educational, c) farm and cooperative, d) competing unemployed, e) contentious peace societies, f) youth groups, g) legal boards (Civil Liberties, I.L.D., General Defence, and many of the special defences), h) "holding companies" (Continental Congress of Farmers

and Workers, Farmer-Labor Political Union, the United Front formed at the Trade Union Unity League's general convention in Cleveland last August, and assorted additional united fronts).

2] A plebiscite should be held to determine which twenty organizations, including at least one from each classification, deserve to survive. Any member of any organization on the list shall be entitled to cast one vote in each classification, but he shall have one vote only, regardless of the number of organizations to which he belongs. A representative committee of pretty tough birds shall decide upon eligibility of voters in case of disputes.

3] These twenty organizations, if they agree to adhere to the following rules and regulations, shall be supported whole-heartedly, and the others shall vanish before their creditors lock up the officers.

a] The minimum wage (while capitalism lasts) shall be \$30 paid regularly on a specified day of each week in cash, not in dues-stamps, I.O.U's, tax warrants, checks on closed banks, or stock in the revolution. The maximum wage shall be \$90, subject to the same qualifications.

b] Maximum hours shall be thirty per week for staff workers and thirty-five for executives. Organizations claiming more executives than staff workers shall be viewed with considerable suspicion.

c] No person can be expected after office hours to attend more than four lectures, conferences, or committee meetings per week.

d] No organization shall be permitted to make a collection speech at more than 20% of its meetings.

e] Unremunerated speakers shall not be asked to travel more than one hour on a street car to reach the meeting-place.

f] The revolutionary vocabulary shall be clarified
(Continued on page 22)

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANIZE!



THE outstanding events of the past month among L.I.D. groups generally were the Armistice Day activities. As the nation knows from the Associated Press dispatches, the Harvard L.I.D., the Wellesley girls under Betty Muther, and the Amherst-Holyoke-Mass. State-Smith College combination all made history by their forthright anti-war demonstrations. At Rochester, St. Bonaventure's, Syracuse and other places our chapters led or participated in various Armistice activities, from distributing leaflets in the high schools to peace meetings in the chapels. But especially challenging was the almost unanimous anti-war note in the undergraduate editorials of that day.

* * *

Less encouraging was the U. S. Supreme Court's upholding the right of the University of Maryland to require its students to take military training by refusing to review the case of Ennis H. Coale, a conscientious and religious objector who was expelled last fall. Previously the Maryland Court of Appeals had reversed the action of the Baltimore Superior Court, which held last winter that the student must be reinstated.

Some twenty-five students at Ohio State University have refused to take military drill on grounds of conscientious objection. In an effort to put them on the spot, the Administration is compelling them to sign a statement that on similar grounds they would refuse to support the United States in any future war, even if it were of a defensive nature. Despite its nasty intent, we hope these students will sign the pledge.

* * *

Since last month three new clubs have officially been admitted to the L.I.D.—the Temple U. Socialist Club, the Tulane U. Socialist Club, and the U. of Minnesota Socialist Club. At Denver U., they are doing a swell job—last month 33 new members signed up with the L.I.D. there.

* * *

Among those on the committee of Marylanders who

recently visited President Roosevelt to request that federal anti-lynching legislation be enacted immediately, were Leona Morris and Aline McQuown of the Goucher College L.I.D.

* * *

The Syracuse University Socialist Club (formerly the Liberal Club) led a brilliant fight to break the control of the Republican ring which has had voting illegally between 300 and 500 students at every election. While the campaign for decency in elections in the University ward is not over, Roland Burdick's series of articles in *The Daily Orange* has done much to advance the campaign.

* * *

The camaraderie of participation in a great social adventure is what one senses down at the new Students and Workers House taken over jointly by the New York Intercollegiate L.I.D., the Workers Committee on Unemployment, Rebel Arts and the Association of Unemployed College Alumni. The student quarters, painted a vivid blue to contrast with the deep red of the flags which sentinel the fireplace, are a nightly babel of discussions, songfests and plottings when they are not occupied by the more sedate institution of round tables in literature and the class struggle. Any night at about eleven one can hear the dying strains of Columbia's "Roar, Lion, Roar" mingle with the determined rhythms of "The International."

* * *

No speaker at the University of Chicago since Ruth Hanna McCormick back in 1930 has taken a beating comparable to that given November fifteenth to Professor Friedrich Schoenemann of the University of Berlin, subsidized Nazi propagandist in America. Speaking at International House on "Cultural Aspects of Modern Germany" or some such topic, he tried to educate the students to a fuller appreciation of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and the rest of the gang.

In the face of infinite provocation the audience allowed the speech to be finished without interruption other than occasional incredulous laughter from some sections of the audience and suspiciously prolonged applause in other sections. The chairman allowed written questions to be sent up, but the speaker proceeded to answer only selected ones, and even on these he did a hollow job. The tension increased; someone demanded that all questions be read if not answered; others wanted questioning from the floor; a third group wanted all "but the decent" members of the audience tossed out; a fourth moved to "end the torture by adjourning."

A German Jewish doctor who just arrived in America stated that it was folly to expect honest answers from Schoenemann, for if he told the whole truth, he would promptly lose his job and his rights in Germany. The president of the Socialist Club shouted that, if the speaker couldn't answer the questions, there was fortunately someone else in the audience who could, and he called for Miss Mary B. Gilson, Asst. Prof. of Economics at the U. of Chicago and an L.I.D. member who recently returned from Germany.

The audience took up the cry and, over the protest of the chairman, Miss Gilson mounted the platform, Prof. Schoenemann quietly disappeared, and she proceeded to give the true picture of the terror which the former speaker had described as "a great brotherly experiment." She was in turn heckled by the Nazis in the audience. One of them cried, "Have you ever seen a single Nazi outrage?" "I have never seen a single Chicago gangster," she replied, "but I know there are such."

* * *

The Socialist Club of the University of Chicago has long been aware that countless students are compelled to write term papers and theses on subjects which they do not care for in the first place, which do not evoke their interest as they work on them, and which they are convinced are useless when finished. In order to harness this wasted brainpower to some useful purpose, the educational committee of the Socialist Club has undertaken to provide topics for students who desire them, topics on which research and clarification are needed, and whose conclusions can be put to immediate practical use in campaigns, lecture-outlines, speeches, magazine articles and pamphlets. These topics have been classified under the various departments of the University-political science, sociology, psychology, history, etc.—and the student need only mention the name of the course in order to receive suggestions for useful work. (The Industrial Research Group of New York City for several years has been carrying on similar

work. For a description of their bulletins on research which would be useful to the labor and socialist movements see last term's *Student Outlooks*.)

New Student representatives of the month include Robert Ballentine of Bucknell Forum, Fred Bettelheim of the Penn State Social Problems Club, Richard Feise of the Johns Hopkins Liberal Club, Harry Powell of the Cornell Liberal Club, Jean Avery of the Wells College Forum, Gifford Irion of George Washington University, Samuel Silver of American University, and Henry S. Haskell of Pomona College.

* * *

A note about the Student Department of the L.I.D. —This year five recent graduates carry on the college work. Two, Monroe Sweetland and William Chamberlain, are constantly on the road as field organizers. Two, Anna Caples and Joseph Lash, are in the national office, the first routing speakers through the colleges and the second editing *THE STUDENT OUTLOOK*, and finally Dorothy Shoemaker, who is spending most of her time organizing the Christmas conference.

Monroe Sweetland, whose field of activity is the eastern seaboard, left Syracuse Law School to undertake his present work. Youthful and energetic, he is known for his work in the Socialist Party as well as his college activities. Last Christmas he was elected National Chairman of the Intercollegiate L.I.D. Like all veteran revolutionists he has been in prison because of his principles. He was jailed last March for pasting up stickers on closed bank windows which read: "CLOSED! Socialism will keep them open!"

William Chamberlain works among midwestern colleges. He was recruited last month from that training ground of revolutionary preachers, Union Theological Seminary. Jokingly irreverent about all things, superbly unself-conscious Bill works well with unsentimental people. Before coming to Union he graduated from Northwestern and spent a year at Oberlin during which he was jailed in a free speech fight, but won his case.

Anna Caples, a recent Vassar graduate, has done yeoman work in the L.I.D. chautauquas in West Virginia, and in the Workers Committee on Unemployment. While at Vassar she built up one of the strongest and most active chapters in L.I.D. annals.

Dorothy Shoemaker, Swarthmore '29, and Joseph Lash, City College '31, last year almost single-handedly built up the Association of Unemployed College Alumni and organized the cap-and-gown march on Washington. *THE STUDENT OUTLOOK* was started and has been constantly nursed along by Joe Lash.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Planned Sabotage

THE ROOSEVELT REVOLUTION: *First Phase*, by Ernest K. Lindley. 1933. Viking Press.

THE HEART of the American tradition is found in the word "revolution." For this reason, the American people have a penchant for describing the most superficial changes with this startling word. Speaking of those first few weeks of the Roosevelt Administration, Ernest K. Lindley insists that "no other word seems strong enough to describe a change so swift and so fundamental. . . ." So characteristically American is this frivolous use of the word "revolution" that our best Tories have organized their patriotic cults around it. I do not intend to suggest here that Lindley or Roosevelt is to be considered a Tory. I merely point out the important psychological fact in American politics that every shade of economic and political opinion has tried to make capital for itself out of the American revolutionary tradition and has thereby helped to immunize American society from further revolutionary change.

The reviewer's first quarrel is, therefore, with the title of Mr. Lindley's volume. Do the Roosevelt policies or the events of the past six months offer any vindication for his selection, or do they suggest that he has indulged in the familiar journalistic device of obvious exaggeration, amounting in this instance to misstatement? Admittedly Mr. Roosevelt came to the White House at the lowest ebb of a political bourbonism which threw into welcome relief any quality of leadership even though limited, and it isn't, to the contagion of a gracious personality.

Mr. Lindley's volume gives much intimate *tete-a-tete* of the chief figures of the new administration, which in its way is both illuminating and interesting. In fact a great deal of space is given over to the narrative of how the President met this professor and that, and how they came to be admitted into the brains trust. This sort of material is hardly the stuff of revolutions.

If "revolution" is a misnomer in the title of the volume, Mr. Lindley's text supplies the appropriate words; they are "stabilization" on the one hand and "pacification" on the other. For the capitalist system in general and its profits in particular the effort has been to *stabilize*—an effort which has behind it the overwhelming mandate of the American electorate. Incidentally

revolutions are not made without the mandate of the masses; and the great American majority wanted stabilization, even if they eventually get only beer and disillusionment with no promise of relief from the disillusionment in the content of the beer. For the declassed bourgeoisie and the disinherited workers the effort has been to *pacify*. Stabilization and pacification are the *alternatives* to revolution in a capitalist society, and *not* revolutions.

The heart of Mr. Lindley's book is in the chapter on the N.R.A. Here, if there has been any revolution, the evidence should be offered. "The first drive of the N.R.A.," writes Mr. Lindley observing caution in his claims, "was merely the first shock of a guided industrial revolution." He is at one with many liberal writers in his assertion that "the N.R.A. is a planned economy in embryonic form." This is the particular presupposition of his thesis that requires special examination. Is the N.R.A. planned economy or even the beginnings of it?

As a counter claim, this reviewer offers the theory that N.R.A. is not planned economy but planned sabotage! Fourteen years ago Thorstein Veblen defined sabotage as "the conscientious withdrawal of efficiency." He saw it clearly as a necessary strategy in the price system of capitalist society. There has been no clearer description of the device than Veblen's when he said: "The traffic will not bear so large a production of goods as the community needs for current consumption, because it is considered doubtful whether so large a supply could be sold at prices that would yield a reasonable profit on investment—or rather on capitalization; that is to say, it is considered doubtful whether an increased production, such as to employ more workmen and supply the goods needed by the community, would result in an increased net aggregate income for the vested interests which control these industries." Business integrity in other words is determined by the meticulously correct use of sabotage, "the conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" in such degree and manner as to secure the success of a business controlled society—meaning successful profits. Long ago it was easy to envisage a state of industry in which sabotage could not with safety be left to *laissez-faire*. "The needed sabotage," wrote Veblen in 1919, "can best be administered on a comprehensive plan and by a central authority."

In speaking of the breakdown of *laissez-faire*, and al-

most everyone is speaking of it, it is usually the *laissez-faire of production* which is meant. In reality we have come to the breakdown of *laissez-faire in sabotage*. The distinction is a fundamental one. Those who think of the breakdown as one of *laissez-faire* in production, will naturally see in the New Deal the first measures of a planned economy. What we really have however is planned sabotage, administered on a comprehensive scale and by a central authority. The ruling purpose of sabotage, whether planned comprehensively or practised with haphazard individualism, is the maintenance or recovery of a price level that will yield a "reasonable" return on investment or capitalization.

There is the planned sabotage of currency manipulation in its various forms—a governmental effort to cheapen the dollar and thereby reduce its purchasing power as a consumer's medium. Why? To raise the price level to a plane that will put life into the debt structure.

There is the planned sabotage of the Farm Relief bill to reduce the cotton crop by 3,000,000 bales—the conscientious withdrawal of efficiency in cotton growing by the simple method of paying cotton farmers to restrict planting or to plow under one-fourth of the current crop. Reliable authorities report that mules, long accustomed to the blow of a lead pipe for stepping on the cotton rows, have refused to cooperate in this gigantic collusion of government and cotton farmers to introduce planned sabotage. Mule sense is incapable of rising to the levels of intelligence required by the New Deal. Only the cooperation of the boll weevil and the drought have been obtained.

There is the planned sabotage of corn production, to be achieved by the slaughtering of \$50,000,000 worth of young pigs this winter—with a view somewhat incidentally of feeding the unemployed but principally of raising the price of corn to a level that will put it into "a workable relationship" (the phrase is Lindley's) with the debt structure. The pigs may well wish they had cultivated that fastidious taste for pearls instead of hoggishly demanding corn.

So goes the planned sabotage in wheat limitation, oil production, and the provision in the cotton textiles code requiring government permission to install new machinery.

Over and above efficient consumption, which it is *hoped* may follow as a by-product; over and above the security of employment, which it is similarly *hoped* will increase, stands the dominant demand for a return to the price levels that will secure a reasonable profit for business on its 1926 capitalization. So utterly ineffective had

laissez-faire in the curtailment of production become, that only planned sabotage on a comprehensive scale administered by the central authority of government remained as a solution. The New Deal has risen to the requirements of the occasion. This was, I repeat, Roosevelt's mandate from the electorate. The revolution, with *planned economy*, still waits for the effective mandate of a class conscious workers' movement, Mr. Lindley.

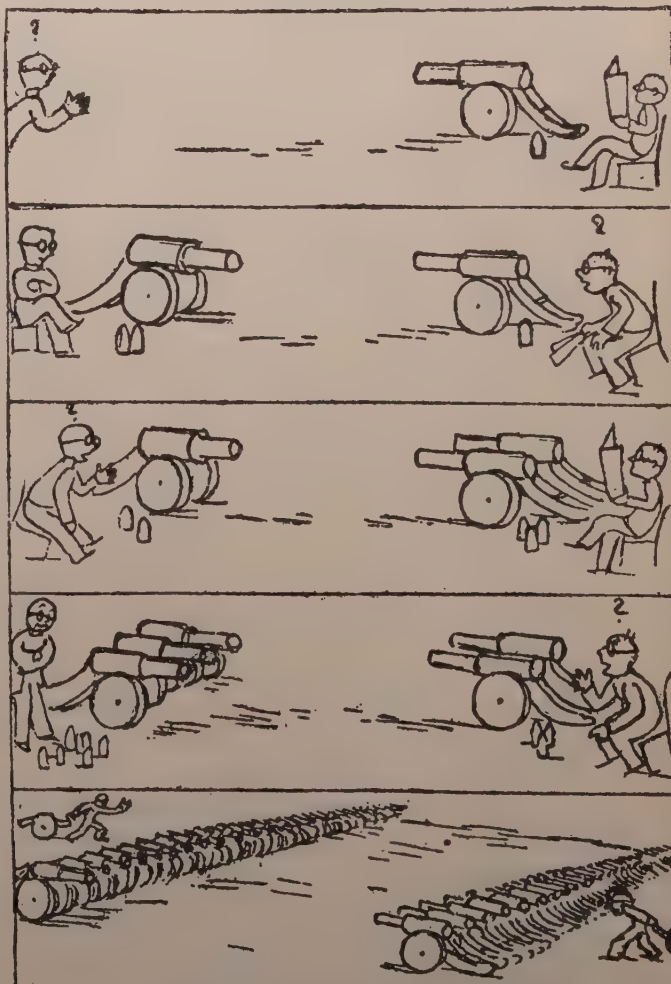
J. B. MATTHEWS

We Are Opposed to War—But

PEACE ON EARTH by George Sklar and Albert Maltz, produced by the Theatre Union at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

The evening we went to the Civic Repertory Theatre, the balcony was filled with college radicals, who, as the exciting course of events unrolled on the stage,

SECURITY



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could not suppress delighted exclamations of recognition, for what was happening on the stage, had all along been happening to them. This was their flesh and blood. Here was represented their aspirations and short-lived triumphs, their defeats and discouragements. From the planning of a campus protest meeting, from which Professor Anderson dropped out because it looked "too much like a bid for notoriety," a protest meeting which the police busted up with a "to hell with the Constitution" through to Professor Peter Owen's *Strum und Drang* it was their play. Perhaps I should say our play, because that may in your eyes eliminate us as rational critics of this first production of the Theatre Union.

The Broadway critics found "Peace on Earth" fantastic, maudlin, untrue; but then Broadway critics could not be expected to be familiar with such material or sympathetic to it. Broadway critics are successful people in the \$5,000 — \$10,000 income class. The sort of people who are outraged by issues and strikes that force them to take sides. The sort of people who believe class issues can be settled by conferences of inside persons, by arbitration and pulling of wires. The sort of people who believe peace will be secured by pacts, Leagues and adequate defenses. The sort of people who sincerely believe themselves to be opposed to war and the class whom the play attacks most bitterly and most tellingly. Cries Peter Owens, who has aligned himself with the striking munitions workers in his college town: "Al-right—don't protest. Don't protest, Howard, the University needs its endowment fund. Keep your art pure, Murdock, protest, Bishop, Christ needs a new cathedral — Keep quiet, all of you. There are too many people in this world. Let some of them die. What do you care? Hold tight to your honorary degrees. Keep quiet. Don't protest. Let another war come." In other words the play is a fierce exposure of the we-are-opposed-to-war — BUT people.

The play assumes a socialist analysis of the causes and methods of preventing war. So that in one sense it can best be considered as an exciting, interest-sustaining dramatization of the program of the American League against War and Fascism. That may seem a pedestrian theme on which to rear a drama, but only because we have been habituated to thinking of literature as something concerned with purely or essentially personal problems. Yet a social vision must and can (as this play proves) be embodied in the drama. Take this judgment for what it is worth since it comes from a pen qualified by sympathy with everything the authors are striving after: "Peace on Earth" is excellently acted and staged, well-constructed and competently written.

Or let's put it this way — we submit that a play which can make even the brittle, cynic-shellaced minds of New York drama critics "think furiously" (*N. Y. Times*) about the causes of war, has more to recommend it than a hundred Broadway butterfly dramas concerned with delicate personal problems revolving about the male and female organs of generation.

Joseph P. Lash

A Socialist Quarterly

AMERICAN SOCIALIST QUARTERLY, *Autumn*, 1933
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The daily tasks of a party as small as the Socialist are so numerous, the demands on its followers are so insistent, that there is no leisure time to integrate policies with long range objectives or to consider traditional strategies in the perspective of new facts. The thinking through of the problems confronting the Socialist movement is the job the *American Socialist Quarterly* has set itself.

The autumn issue deals with several such problems and if it does not provide final answers, at least it sets the stage for discussion and further analysis. Henry J. Rosner, who has the faculty of handling the most complicated economic issues with a homely clarity, shows how far the economic policies of Roosevelt fall short of socialism. The dilemma of whether Socialists can advocate democracy and yet, once they are in power, prevent unscrupulous counter-revolutionary elements from ousting them without repudiating that same democracy, is ably analyzed by Haim Kantorovitch. The all-engrossing but very confused issue of a third party is placed in its historical setting by David J. Saposs who is perhaps our most informed scholar of labor history. And there is much else in this magazine to provoke thought.

The editors, up to this issue they are Haim Kantorovitch, Anna Bercowitz and David P. Berenberg, have adopted the wise policy of not limiting contributors to holders of red cards. With the next issue the *Quarterly* becomes an official organ of the Socialist Party, and its Editorial Staff will include in addition to those just mentioned, Harry W. Laidler, Devere Allen, Roy Burt and Andrew J. Biemiller.

Perhaps events will engulf us so quickly that discussion and analysis will seem fatuous and irrelevant, meanwhile the more active socialists are, in as many fields as possible, the healthier our movement.

J. P. L.

The Function of a College Editor

(Continued from page 9)

It is our belief that one's mentality should not be circumscribed by the geographical limits of an environment. What is happening in the capitols of the world is just as much the concern of the undergraduate as are grades, courses, fraternities or athletics. As regularly as possible, we shall "muscle in" with comment upon phases of American life, which hitherto had been considered the sacred province of metropolitan publications.

It is this point which in the past has caused a great deal of misunderstanding. Our position has been made clear. There should be no division of interest between the college community and society as a whole. The American university has forsaken a great part of its cloistered monasticism. It has begun to realize the urgency of giving its students a glimpse into a world which has been considered alien territory. The duty of a college newspaper should be to assist in this unveiling.

FREDERICK S. MILLER

The Campus, University of Rochester

A primary aim of every college newspaper must be to stimulate interest and action in college problems and activities.

However, to limit discussion on the editorial page to purely institutional problems would be contrary to the aims of a college. A major criticism of the American university has been that its students are too much cut off from the outside world and its problems, and that thus it fails to fulfill one of its purposes, to fit the student for a worthwhile life after graduation.

Too few undergraduates take time to read their newspapers carefully; too few know what is back of what they do read; too few care what goes on in the outside world. For these reasons it has been my policy since I came into office in April to include frequent editorials on current events in the *Campus*.

JOHN BARDEN

The Daily Maroon, Univ. of Chicago

A callow college editor who discourses upon current world problems from the condescending heights of an expert attempts a colossal bluff unworthy of serious challenge.

When an erratic student writer etches a fiery philippic against the N.R.A., for example, I am distinctly reminded of a parrot that somebody taught to swear. I speculate on how the parrot achieved his position of

MORTON GOTTSCHALL

Acting Dean, City College

The question you raise regarding the function of the undergraduate college newspaper is extremely interesting, but I cannot answer it categorically without reference to the broader topic of student discussion generally on social and economic problems.

The modern college has two primary intellectual functions—to transmit the heritage of the past and to arouse consciousness of the changing world in which we live today. To this end it should deliberately foster the development in its students of a critical faculty. To some extent this may be done in the class-room not only in discussions on current topics in history, economics, sociology, philosophy and political science, but even in less directly related fields, as, for example, in oral and written English and in literary criticism. And, of course, this should be supplemented outside the class-room by permitting wide freedom of expression of opinion in discussion groups, in open forums, and in student publications.

To my mind, the attitude of the student towards such discussion is of at least equal importance, and possibly even greater, than the discussion itself. Student discussion should not be regarded as an opportunity for the display of forensic or dialectic ability, but rather as a sincere, dispassionate effort to find the truth and to avoid conclusions based on inadequate, inaccurate or one-sided evidence. It is surprising that boys should come to the college—and this applies to some that entertain so-called "radical" ideas as well as to others more conservatively-minded—with their minds already set in favor of definite political doctrines. Discussion frequently arouses purely emotional reactions in such youngsters, in which they repeat in parrot fashion statements that they have heard from older people; they seem almost impervious to the values of a rationally conducted discussion in which the disadvantages as well as the advantages of any given plan are carefully considered.

It should be evident from what I have already said that I regard the formulation of definite conclusions, whether in the form of resolutions by student groups or of editorial pronouncements, as distinctly less important than the process of discussion itself. Yet it is precisely such conclusions that constitute "news" in the eyes of the metropolitan press. Press comment, even though well-intentioned, almost invariably is not desirable because it stresses just those things that are of least importance in the discussion process and thus makes it more difficult for the college to direct the attention of students to a more fruitful attitude. Students should learn to think for themselves; I doubt that it helps to write or speak with a view to attracting the attention of the outside world.

In short, I should say that editorial writing in the student newspaper is one of the least desirable ways of conducting intelligent discussion of social and economic problems, and is far less efficacious than the conduct of student forums, of debating societies, of book reviews and scholarly articles in undergraduate magazines, or even of correspondence columns in the paper to which students contribute. The college administration should not, of course, forbid such editorial expression but it should discourage it in favor of better means of cultivating tolerance and intelligence in discussion. It should be the function of the student editor to assist in developing these other avenues of discussion rather than to attempt himself to pass judgment in his editorial capacity on the problems of the world.

prestige and which of the Hearst papers can claim him as an addict.

Once the college editor has recovered from the prejudice that he is an expert on anything, he is often capable of very intelligent comment on topics that refuse to tie up to his campus.

For editorials on national and international affairs, I offer one device from the several extant that is plausible in theory and reinforced in experience.

On a cosmopolitan, alert campus like the University of Chicago, an editor can, ear close enough to the ground, record student opinion on political and economic topics for edification and amusement of all—especially the editor.

After making such an analysis, the editor, if he is ambitiously astute, will not hesitate with mere record, but will interpret his researches into undergraduate opinion.

If he is idealistic and gifted with a measure of leadership, his editorial will begin with exposition of student opinion, continue with interpretation, and finish in whimsical exhortation for belief or action.

If the editor cannot tie his discussion to the campus in this or some other way, his editorials, though they are masterpieces of English prose, will sink in a tide of student indifference. If, on the other hand, he attempts too liberal interpretation and too impelling leadership, his Nemesis may overtake him. But calamity is preferable to "all quiet on the editorial front."

Democracy and Dictatorship

(Continued from page 5)

really said, I find that he has urged not what I understand by dictatorship, but merely that a Socialist Government, having, despite all the handicaps imposed by economic inequality, got a majority of the people behind it, should make use of its power though by drastic and authoritative means, against possible sabotage and opposition, a programme designed to create the conditions which alone will make real democracy possible. This so-called dictatorship stands in fact at the opposite pole from the sort of dictatorship that exists in Germany and Italy. For these dictatorships are designed not to realize democracy, but to prevent its coming. It is also contrasted, though less sharply, with the dictatorship which exists in Russia. For the Russians have refused to build on the existing institutions which came nearest to possessing a democratic character, and have insisted on breaking away from these institutions and setting out to build up a Socialist society on totally new foundations.

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But does not this difference proceed largely from the difference in the circumstances of Russia and Great Britain? It was hopeless for the Russians to attempt to build on the institutions which Czardom had left behind; but it is not hopeless for us in Great Britain to attempt to use the institutions of a Parliamentarism which, while it remains undemocratic, has not been unaffected by democratic influences. We in this country can afford not to be dictatorial, even in the Russian sense, or at least we have reasonable hope that we can. But it is mere misuse of terms to brand as a would-be dictator anyone who proposes to take the necessary steps to render the use of the existing parliamentary institutions effective for the purpose of a change of social system; and it is mere disingenuousness to argue against him on the false assumption that even in Great Britain democracy is already in existence. We have valuable democratic privileges which we could lose, as the Germans have lost them, as a result of a Fascist dictatorship; but we have not democracy, nor can we hope to have it save as the result of a radical change in the direction of greater economic equality.

Tranquil Armistice Day

(Continued from page 7)

ampton, Mass., the Intercollegiate Committee for Action against War, composed of students from leading colleges in Connecticut Valley, led church and pacifist groups in a parade through the center of the town, and had their banners ripped up by the police. Wellesley College girls horrified American Legionnaires by tagging on to the end of the latter's parade with pacifist banners demanding peace and no more war and then conducting their exercises on the town green in a position directly opposite the veteran's.

More good taste was outraged at Harvard when the L.I.D. and the N.S.L. determined to hold their demonstration in Harvard Yard just at the time when the Yard would be filled with 1200 visiting cadets, present for the Army-Harvard football game. Forbidden the use of the yard by President Conant, having their posters announcing the meeting, torn down by Yard detectives as soon as they were on the boards, the meeting nevertheless was held, and a new tradition, closer in spirit to Emerson and Thoreau than to Army-Harvard football matches, was started within the hallowed precincts of Cambridge.

A Code for Radicals

(Continued from page 14)

so that one at least does not find himself simultaneously labeled a "fascist" by the communists and a "communist" by the Fascists, an ordinary "workingman" by some critics and a "labor aristocrat" by others.

g] There shall be a redistribution of cranks and nuts in order to permit a more equitable allotment to the non-radical groups in society.

If the above plan, simple as it is, were put into effect, Mr. President, you would, I assure you, be perfectly astounded at the results. The money-changers would be scared out of the temple in no time, the "chisellers" would have to chisel from behind the bars, if at all, and the road would soon be clear for the real new deal that's been advertised so much.

Needless to say, even this minimum program would be difficult to carry through. You've heard about radicals, Mr. President, and how they love to quibble and argue. Nevertheless I'm convinced that the code is worth trying.

Respectfully submitted,
Robert E. Asher

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS, OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of *The Student Outlook* published monthly from October to May, inclusive at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1933, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph P. Lash, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of *The Student Outlook* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, wit:

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH P. LASH, Editor.
(Signature of Editor.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 26th day of September, 1933
MARTHA HOHMANN, Notary Public
(Commission expires April 26, 1934.)

Undergraduates Against War

(Continued from page 7)

this was carried by a vote of 167 to 37.

The election of a permanent committee indicates that the convention resolutions will not be merely scraps of paper, but the basis for continued combat against war and other reactionary movements. Cooperation with the permanent committees of anti-war conventions at other colleges is indicated by the enthusiasm with which the convention's results were greeted by the liberal student elements throughout the university.

FREE FOR ALL

Note Out of Germany

(We print the following excerpts from a letter out of Germany, because they indicate how secure foreigners, even Aryans, feel in Germany.—EDITOR'S NOTE.)

DEAR SIR:

Well here I am in the land that has been brought to Right, to Freedom and to *Alles in Ordnung* through the medium of the National Socialist Party...

Don't believe a thing you may hear about van der Lubbe, Torgler and Company not getting a fair trial in the Reichstag arson case. They are getting as fair a trial as the Scottsboro boys or our pal out on the West Coast ever did. . . .

How is the blue eagle today? Is the Civil War between the states east of the Mississippi and those west of it over? As you may gather from the fore-going, what we hear of our country here in Germany is precious little, save that the dollar drops five points every day, and fifteen on Sundays. . . .

And now, children dear, gather around Uncle Hennery, as he has something very, very special to say to you before the next "Uncle Hennery among the Germans Hour." Pleezee, pleeeze, don't ask Uncle Hennery to tell you anything about politics and such grown-up matters. And don't tell him about how things are going outside Germany in regard to Germany, or what you think of the present situation, for instead of getting the letter, he may get it in the neck. . . .

B. T.

P. S. I did not exaggerate the censorship angle. It does go on. If you get this please answer, if only with a post card. Sam left for France today because a letter he wrote to a friend in England didn't get there. I can't go to France in time unless I know something's wrong, so please answer if only a post-card saying Pull in your Ears, Sap!

Red Bouquet

DEAR SIR:

Pray, tell me why in the — do you keep such a fine Socialist magazine a deep secret?

More power to you!

M. V. HALUSHKA

Young Circle League

Socialist Parties and Illegalism

DEAR SIR:

In the *New York Times* of November 18th apropos of the recent elections in Norway, Sidney Hertzberg posed the old Socialist dilemma, assuming as is done in such instances that there are but two horns. I propose a third.

The facts are simple and familiar: the Labor Party in Norway gained 22 seats giving it 69 out of 150 seats in the *Storting*. Its continuance in power will be contingent on the support of the liberals. The case differs from the English pattern in that the *Storting* cannot be dissolved and an appeal made to the country. Therefore, if the Labor Party in Norway were to adhere to its traditional non-coalition policy,

it would discourage its supporters who have given it a clear mandate—by resigning on an issue involving principles and then waiting three years for a new majority. Moreover it would discourage faith in parliamentary government by putting back into power a coalition empty of fruitful policy—and in so doing will encourage the fascist party that has already appeared.

If it remains in power and assumes responsibility, it will be forced to compromise on basic principles, relief, taxation, economy. Whatever it can accomplish in ameliorating the lot of the worker and in maintaining a far-sighted foreign policy will be minute in comparison to the fact that the party becomes the scapegoat of the capitalist system and loses its adherents who turn to the "straight-goods" parties of fascism and communism.

What is the third horn? If the Labor Party were to resign on an issue of, let us say, taxation, and go to the country—ditch the constitution—and hold a general election, it could win the majority it needed notwithstanding its high-handed policy. It could make a gripping and dramatic issue of its unconstitutional election.

DOROTHY ELISEFF

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

G. D. H. COLE needs no introduction. His intelligent appraisals of economic and political trends are universally acknowledged, his contributions to the English Labour Party recognized in the governmental officers he has held.

An excellent newspaper man, it was HAL LAVINE's digs that finally caused the expulsion of the four editors of the City College "*Campus*," Harold included.

ROBERT D. BLOOM is the present vigorous editor of the N.Y.U. "*Heights News*."

AL ARENT is a student at Cornell Law School.

ESTHER PORTER is Assistant to Hallie Flanagan in the Vassar Experimental Theatre.

Over few people in the Socialist movement has there been more controversy than over J. B. MATTHEWS whose endeavors for a united front have earned him on the one hand suspicion and hostility and on the other gratitude and devotion, depending on one's own attitude toward the united front. At present he is Chairman of the American League against War and Fascism.

No one is better entitled to write jestingly about the bitter sectarianism of radicals than ROBERT ASHER who has worked assiduously in the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment and in the Chicago L.I.D. office.

KENNETH MEIKLEJOHN, one of the hardest workers in the Madison Socialist Party and the U. of Wisconsin L.I.D., at present has a fellowship at Columbia Law School.

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of the
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Edited by Devere Allen

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