

# The STUDENT OUTLOOK

The Intercollegiate Socialist Review



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# The Student Outlook

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## Note to our Readers from The Editors

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK is a student magazine. It is your magazine. It wants to publish articles by undergraduates. It wants to publish articles about university life. We earnestly urge you to send in manuscripts, drawings, photographs, and odds and ends that may be of interest. By manuscripts we mean to include not only theoretical articles, or articles reporting campus events, but poems, stories, plays. We want you to appoint yourself unofficial editor and solicit material for us. It should all be sent to The Student Outlook, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Manuscripts should be typed and include a stamped return envelope.

And above all we want your criticisms, suggestions and letters.



# The STUDENT OUTLOOK

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VOL. III

OCTOBER, 1934

No. 1

## WHAT IS A RADICAL?

An Editorial

IT is the happy fortune of the editors of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK to have been born into a younger generation that has taken to radicalism more seriously than any other younger generation, at least since the days of the First American Revolution,—taken to radicalism without the transcendental trimmings of Hegelian flapdoodle; without free love thrown in as a bonus, without the religious conviction of imminent world-conquest; and without the *Mercury* poisoning that afflicted youth a decade ago and made the then fashionable radicalism almost synonymous with disbelief in ideals and contempt for the masses.

Radical youth has attained sincerity. But sincerity is not enough. Those of us who take our radicalism straight, on an empty stomach, are likely to get very badly drunk on a very short drink, to mistake our friends for snakes, and to make frightful bores and nuisances of ourselves before company, until we awake as "tired radicals" in the cold, gray dawn of a morning after.

It is not likely that the Second American Revolution will be built upon the snobbish radicalism of literary Bolsheviks, who make up for their lack of experience in the class struggle by the purity of their theories, and who compensate for their lack of activity by the blood-thirstiness of their aspirations. If a radical creed is sought as a balm to alleviate the pangs that come to a sensitive soul holding a Wall Street job, the aesthetic variety of radicalism is most satisfying, and safest. If radicalism is picked up as a rational explanation of one's failure to obtain a higher salary, the purer and bloodier it is, the better will it serve its purpose. Above all, radicalism that is "pure" will appeal to the *nouveaux riches* of the socialist movement, the depression communists. Ex-admirers of Mencken, most of them are, and their lingering contempt for the "booboisie" can be adequately expressed only from the inner recesses of some clique or party that has never permanently attracted any group of American workers of ordinary un-intelligence.

For such radicals the prospect of harnessing a radical creed to one's day-to-day activities is not a pleasing one. Such an integration of life threatens not only to make one's day-to-day activity more painful but also to make one's radicalism less beautiful. After all, practical tasks are likely to demand compromises from time to time, and nothing spoils the fine points of a radical theory like compromises.

For those radicals who look upon radicalism as a practical technique for transforming society, rather than as mental solace for useless lives, every radical idea shivers until it is clothed in action. What makes history is ideas-in-action. Radicalism is socially effective only when oriented to a significant field of experience. The first responsibility of radical youth is to acquire such an orientation as quickly and efficiently as possible. Ordinarily this means that the student must orient his radicalism toward his studies, the graduate towards his job.

In default of this orientation, radical affiliations become badges of vanity.

The socialist doctor, nurse, teacher, lawyer, architect, social worker, government clerk, or engineer, like the socialist steel worker, railroad man, or farmer, must link his ideas with his job, upon penalty of impotence. The worker who has explored the implications of the struggle of classes and ideals in his own job attains a social vision and a concrete knowledge of the meaning of capitalism and socialism which are denied to those who are socialists one day a year or one evening a week. The worker who has learned the thoughtways of his fellow workers, who can see how the immediate issues that demand their attention are tied up with wider problems of a social system, who can talk sense to his fellow workers and command their respect, has achieved potential revolutionary power far more explosive than the firecrackers of party controversy.

The aesthetic approach to revolution looks upon the transition from one social order to another as a miracle which will be performed in due time by the Proletariat



or the Force of Dialectic Materialism. The pragmatic approach to revolution looks upon this transition as a series of technical changes which can be brought about in every field of human activity if there are those in each field who can make clear to their fellow workers the need of change and can lead the forces of change along the most direct route to a socialist society.

A revolution may be lost in the government buildings and public squares of the capital, but a revolution can be finally won only on the thousand fronts of industry and culture. On every front there loom the technical questions: How should this part of society's work be done? What is the meaning of freedom and democracy in this part of life? Where are the vested

interests that block the road to a better way of doing things? How can they be removed with the least mess?

The student, no less than the worker, must bring his socialist ideas and hopes to bear upon his daily work if they are to become socially effective. The ardent revolutionary who shinnies up a flag pole to replace an American flag with a scarlet banner, but does nothing in the classroom to replace individualist economics, history, ethics, philosophy, political science, and sociology with socialist science and philosophy, reveals a divided soul. The student who, having given his brains to individualism, offers his heart's blood for socialism, performs a heroic and beautiful act, but one that is not of much importance.

## UNITY AGAINST FASCISM

ON SEPTEMBER 20, 350 Italian students arrived on the Saturnia for a good will tour of American colleges. They are here as official ambassadors from Mussolini. Their first stop was at Columbia University where they were greeted by Dean Hawkes for Nicholas Murray Butler. The National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy called a protest demonstration against the tendering of this official welcome to representatives of Italian Fascism. Our protest was not directed against the students as such but against the system which has wiped out all semblance of intellectual life in Italy. (See "Intellectual Life under Mussolini," page 11.)

When the Italian students emerged from the auditorium, they were at first greatly crestfallen at the sight of an anti-fascist meeting. The demonstrators formed a picket line and marched down the street with the shout "abasso il fascismo." The Italian students raised their hands in the fascist salute and sang the fascist national anthem. For a while it looked as if a pitched battle might ensue between New York Italians who were there to greet the students and the anti-fascist demonstrators. The latter were then chased off the Columbia campus even though many of them were Columbia students.

The surprising thing later was the number of defenders of Italian Fascism that were uncovered. Everywhere people spoke of supposed improvements Mussolini had brought in Italy. Students even spoke of a second golden age. Few people seemed to understand that inherent in the nature of fascism is intellectual corruption and working class impoverishment. They would grant the latter with regard to Germany but not with respect to Italy.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that wherever these students appear there be huge demonstrations at which the nature of Italian Fascism is thoroughly explained, and that these students be impressed with the anti-fascist sentiment there is in the world.

The Student L.I.D. is aghast, therefore, at the decision of the National Student League not to participate in a demonstration at Yankee Stadium on Columbus Day when these students make their departing gesture to the American public. The grounds of the N.S.L. are that the Young Peoples Socialist League had no business sending out invitations to arrange this demonstration, that it belonged within the jurisdiction of the two student organizations, a petty reason to stand in the way of a united front between the Y.P.S.L. and the Y.C.L. And secondly,—and this is the N.S.L.'s real reason,—they object to the presence on the Arrangements Committee of the Trotzkyite and Lovestoneite youth groups. In this they followed the lead of Young Communist League who did not even send observers to the Arrangements Committee, so great is their antagonism to these groups they consider "renegade."

The Student L.I.D. is opposed to this tactic of the Communists of trying to isolate working class groups whom they consider "counter-revolutionary." It has fought at united front meetings of the N.S.L. and the Student L.I.D. the former's attempts to slander Sidney Hook and isolate him from the radical movement. It now hopes that this principle, which is preventing the Young Communist League and, consequently, the National Student League, from uniting with us, a principle which no fair person would uphold, will not finally stand in the way of the first united youth demonstration in America.



# L. I. D. Summer School First Season

By LILLIE MEGRATH

THE STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY conducted its first Training School for Students this summer. The project had as its objective the training, both theoretical and practical, of college students for more effective work in the radical movement, with particular emphasis on the development of leaders in the student movement. In many respects the school was experimental in nature and consequently, its program was subjected to frequent change during the six weeks it was in session. However, the original plan to divide the limited time between a theoretical study of various phases of the radical movement, and actual participation in working class activity was adhered to.

The morning seminars, held five days a week during the six weeks period, consisted of discussions led by men prominent in their respective fields. The leaders and the subjects discussed were as follows: Roger Baldwin on Civil Liberties; David Lasser on Unemployment; George Marshall on the Labor Movement; Mary Fox on the Technique of Propaganda; George Streater on the Negro and the Labor Movement; the last week was devoted to a discussion of the organizational problems of the Student L.I.D. and to a description of the various organizations at present influential in the college world. Representatives of these organizations were invited to participate in a symposium on The Student Movement. In addition to the formal lectures already mentioned, the group met with Harry W. Laidler, who delivered several lectures on the History of Socialist Thought; Norman Thomas, Leo Krzycki, Frank Palmer, B. C. Vladeck, Richard Hipplehauser, George Sklar and Paul Peters, Herbert Mahler, Sam Friedman, Maynard Kreuger, William Feigenbaum, and John Beffel.

The field work of the students was carried on in the Workers Unemployed Union under the direction of David Lasser, its chairman. Each student was assigned to a local of the union and participating as a rank and file member of the Union took part in the activities of the local—street meetings, building up membership, serving on committees, grievance work, etc. One of the most valuable undertakings of the summer school was the block survey of unemployment made by each of the

students in the neighborhood of his local. Valuable, not only because of the statistical data it made available to the WUU but more so because of the experience it gave the students in dealing directly with workers and their problems, in the technique developed through the survey, in membership work, and in the lessons it gave in drawing public attention to a working class situation. An important experience in mass activity was afforded the students by the City Hall Relief Demonstration conducted by the WUU on July 27, in which all the students took an active part.

Other activities which made important contributions to the work of the summer school were: The First Choose-A-Career Conference held by Bamberger's Department Store in Newark (see page 14); picketing and other strike work in the Radio Workers and Knit Goods Workers strikes; attending the Civil Liberties trial of Corliss Lamont and Al Bingham in Jersey City; the American Youth Congress in New York in August; attending a performance of "Stevedore" as the guests of the Theatre Union. The variety of these activities opened to the students the possibilities of radical activity with which few of them had been familiar before. A number of the students participated in the annual L.I.D. conference at Bound Brook, N. J.

The fourteen students who attended the summer school were recruited from the membership of the Student L.I.D. on campuses all over the country. Because of lack of funds a number of students who might have been excellent material for the summer school were unable to come and some of those who did come, came only after great personal sacrifice and hardship. The student body of the summer school was representative of not only every section of the country but of almost every type of American student. Two of the students were from New York City—Rose Albert and Esther Lederman, students at Hunter College; Justin Stewart of Salt Lake City, a student at the University of Utah; Wallace Campbell of Eugene, Oregon; Ralph Price from Pittsburgh, Kansas; Waldo McNutt of Topeka, Kansas; Juanita Pope, a Negro student from Bennett College, North Carolina; Howard Frazier of the University of Tennessee; Rhoda Pearson, from the Uni-



### The Student L.I.D. Summer School

1ST Row (l. to r.)—Waldo McNutt, George Edwards, Carl Campbell, Monroe Sweetland.

2ND Row—Juantia Pope, Esther Lederman, Rhoda Pearson, Rose Albert.

3RD Row—Ralph Rudd, Justin Stewart, Wally Campbell, Ralph Price, Howard Frazier



### A Summer School Idyll

(l. to r.)—Ralph Price, Ruby Weber, Wally Campbell, Rhoda Pearson, Justin Stewart, Lyonel Florant



Jef Rans, newly elected President of the I. S. S. F. is standing with paper in his hand talking to Lambert of Belgium, next to whom is Dourieux of France.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST STUDENT CONGRESS IN SESSION AT LIEGE



versity of New Hampshire; George Edwards, graduate student at Harvard University, from Dallas, Texas; Carl Campbell of the University of Denver; and Lyonel Florant of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

A survey of the students at the close of the summer school indicated that each considered the project well worth while in terms of both the L.I.D. and the individual student. Every one stated an increased enthusiasm for the work of the L.I.D. and a feeling that the summer's work had increased their potential effectiveness in the radical movement. It was the unanimous decision of the students that the summer Training School become a permanent feature of the L.I.D. Toward the realization of this plan, the students advanced several constructive criticisms of the school as it existed this summer. These included the following suggestions:

1. Greater care in the selection of students so that a larger percentage of undergraduates would be represented.
2. More careful planning of the subjects and leaders in the seminars—the inclusion of an analysis of

Marxian philosophy; devotion of more time to purely student problems.

3. Arrangement for cooperative living of the whole group.
4. Extension of the time from six to eight weeks.
5. More publicity concerning the summer school to be sent to the campuses—more advance notice given chapters to permit raising of funds.

As a training ground for leaders in the various fields of the radical movement the summer school, with the improvements in curriculum and management suggested by the students and by the members of the staff, should become increasingly important. With the inadequacies of this year's experiment, due largely to inexperience, there nevertheless has been turned out upon the academic and labor world a group of able students whose interest in the L.I.D. and in the Socialist movement generally has become enormously increased and activated. The degree of their effectiveness is a matter of conjecture, but the positions these young radicals occupy should be of interest.

The school was conducted and supervised by Mary Fox, Monroe M. Sweetland and Lillie Megrath.

## UPTON SINCLAIR SOCIALIST?

By LEWIS S. FEUER

**I** SUPPOSE most socialists dismiss Upton Sinclair's candidacy for the governorship of California as the act of renegade. For my own part, I should not withhold support if I thought his proposals could really end poverty. Allegiance to a political party is founded, after all, on its potential concrete achievements. Now, the prediction of social events is always hazardous, for their content is richer than the most well-informed anticipation. But let Sinclair's program undergo a careful examination, and this will be your conclusion: that the plan, if carried out, will promote catastrophe under state auspices, reduce the working-class standard of living, cleave their ranks with dissension, and finally, by indirection, discredit socialist principles with which it will have been confused. Qualifications, of course, are required, because of the probable deviations of a Governor Sinclair from the lines of the Candidate's epic. Already the abandonment of the factory and pension scheme is reported, and we have yet to await the results of the amiable rapprochement with the Democratic politicians. Sinclair's movement represents a general trend in American liberal politics. For that reason, it

is a warning to genuine radicals that their loyalty is now, more than ever, demanded.

Sinclair's cardinal principle is that socialist colonies and capitalist industries may co-exist without friction. He proposes to send the unemployed into factories to produce their basic necessities. Then, by an exchange of products with agricultural groups, a self-contained system would be constituted. To finance these projects Sinclair will "persuade the people to withdraw their savings from private banks, and turn them over to the State to be used for the development of a State system of industrial production." In other words, Sinclair proposes a run on the banks, a withdrawal of deposits, which would inevitably be followed by the recall of credits, and the consequent collapse of many private concerns. The outcome would be more unemployed workers, workers embittered by the realization that their plight was the direct result of Mr. Upton Sinclair's theories. The banks might conceivably appeal to the Federal Government for the safeguard of another holiday, or declare themselves insolvent. In any case, a general dislocation would ensue, without the re-



quisite funds being provided. Sinclair is trying to trick the people into socialism, but he will find economic sleight-of-hand a dangerous tampering with a complicated mechanism. The straightforward socialization of the banks must precede the democratization of industry; collapse can be avoided only by the maintenance of the necessary credits.

Sinclair's cooperative islands can solve the economic problem only in the sense in which Fascist work camps do. Their existence is compatible with a depressed standard of living. Mr. Sinclair proposes that the unemployed, settled in tents, sell their products on the open market only to procure commodities produced beyond the confines of the barter system. But, given the productive capacity of modern machinery and the natural aspiration of the workers to possess more than mere necessities, it is inconceivable that export sales will be controlled at the ordained limit. Their costs of production, moreover, will be low, inasmuch as the government will be paying the factory rents. The market will then be flooded with commodities, prices will decline, and unemployment, among the ordinary industrial workers, increase. Union labor would now protest the competition of the colony workers, and the unemployed would become far less tractable than the Plan expects.

In short, Mr. Sinclair's proposals are at odds with themselves. He insists that he plans no interference with private business, and yet we find the latter crumbling at the end of his campaign pamphlet. It is a perilous kind of political opportunism which deludes itself into the belief that business can be hoodwinked into a catastrophe legislated as the precursor of socialism. Mr. Sinclair's plan is an attempt to intensify the capitalist depression by governmental competition; at the end of the mess, a cooperative economy is hopefully expected. All along, by insisting that business is safe, he will be schooling the people against socialist measures. And without the ground-work of socialist organization on socialist ideas, he cannot, at the crucial moment, expect to steer the economy into socialism. Instead, he will have furnished the capitalists with the powerful argument of an increased unemployment, and the mis-educated workers will turn in disgust from these manoeuvrings of an infantile socialism. Thus the dilemma: either a low standard of living for the unemployed colonies or a more aggravated depression.

Confronted with a situation so pregnant with disaster, what policy should socialists adopt? Certainly their attitude should not be one of unqualified hostility. They must emphasize the dangerous implications of the Epic

Plan, and dissociate it in people's minds from truly socialist principles. At the same time, however, they must show how socialist ideas, correctly applied, would guide through the newly created difficulties. When, for example, the factories are rented, and the capitalists become outright absentee owners, socialists will have a rare opportunity for stressing objectively their assertion that capitalists are of no economic use. The expropriation of the rents would be a justified socialist demand. Sinclair will learn like the former British Labor Government that you cannot impede the workings of the capitalist system, and continue to expect its unimpaired maintenance of employment. Unextended beyond its announced intention, Sinclair's program will lead to chaos. Withal, a popular movement has arisen; and the duty of socialists is to work strenuously towards its enlightenment.

Sinclair's campaign has been otherwise instructive. For one, it has shown that the days of effective political pamphleteering are not gone. "I, Governor of California," is a resourceful document, despite occasional lapses into verbosity. His phenomenal success indicates that the actual immediate abolition of poverty, the prospect of self-betterment, exerts an appeal to the American people, which for the present overshadows any reiteration of principles of class war. One is tempted, also, to compare the fraction of an effort which Sinclair contributed to his socialist candidacy for governor with his present activity. Like a Wolsey to his Cromwell, he will yet lament that he served not his God with half the zeal he served his king. Meanwhile, a wave of uncertainty sweeps the country, new alignments are in the making; the patriotic direction lies in an adherence to socialist principles.

## WHAT DO YOU THINK?

*Sinclair's candidacy and success has stirred great controversy. The STUDENT OUTLOOK invites your comment on what relationship radicals should maintain toward the Epic movement; comments on the prospects of the Plan; on its various features; on Sinclair's technique of capturing the Democratic Party. We should especially like to hear from our California readers*



# The Socialist Student Congress

By JOSEPH P. LASH

AUSTERE and mature law candidates from Esthonia, youthful Hollanders in shorts always whirring up to the conference hall from their encampment on the outskirts of Liege in a flurry of bicycles, disputatious and politics-loving Frenchmen were among the hundred-odd conferencees and delegates who assembled for the Week of Seminars and the triennial Congress of the I.S.S.F. the first week in August. And all about us were the thousands of young Socialists who had assembled for the International Socialist Youth Fete that was taking place simultaneously with our Congress.



It was a glorious yet sobering atmosphere to work in. Thirty miles away was the German border. A year ago it was the "heartbreak house" of the Socialist movement. Today it was a challenge. There was the memory of Red Vienna filling our hearts with loyalty and devotion to a movement that could inspire such heroism, and driving us forward to work—to work until Red Vienna lived again. For February 12th has become the inspiration of European socialism, the Roland epic of the working class movement.

The Socialist Student Congress was preceded by a Week of Seminars into which was crowded all the rich life and new developments in the European Socialist movement. A leader of the Central Committee of Revolutionary Socialists of Austria spoke on the problems of the road to power in light of February 12th. Sir Stafford Cripps, probable next Labor Prime Minister, described the program of the Socialist League which has done so much to reorient the English Labour Party. Lucien Laurat, one of the ablest scholars and theoreticians in the working class movement, presented us with the problems of socialist construction that will confront every Socialist Party once it controls the government. And Henri de Man, one of the leaders of the Belgian Socialist Party, an earnest and brilliant man, presented to us the *Plan du Travail*, of which he is the author, which has so completely revived the morale of the Belgian working class, and which is drastically influencing the programs of the other European Socialist Parties. It was a profitable week, packed full of information and challenging ideas. (It will be

described more fully by Raymond Renaud of France in the next STUDENT OUTLOOK.)

At the Congress itself, eleven Socialist student organizations were officially represented: Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, France, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, United States. There were fraternal delegates from the University Labour Federation of England and Yugoslavia and communications from students in German universities who still maintained contact with the Secretariat of the I.S.S.F. The latter in addition to a few scattered émigrés now studying at universities in France and Belgium were all that remained of the once powerful German student organizations. The delegate from the University of Vienna, however, reported a flourishing underground organization with three hundred members which regularly publishes a newspaper called the *Rote Vorhut*.

Plans were made for illegal work in Germany, Austria and the Balkans. The elimination of the *numerus clausus*, restoration of academic freedom, and resistance to incorporation into government youth organizations are to be made the rallying points of underground Socialist student work in fascist countries. To carry on this work a fund in memory of Georg Weissel, one of the heroes of February 12th, is to be established, toward which every section of the I.S.S.F. is to contribute.

A resolution was passed for close cooperation between Socialist students in colonial lands and those in mother countries in the fight of the former for liberation from imperialist domination. The American delegates pledged themselves to call a pan-American student anti-imperialist conference.

The I.S.S.F. approved the one-hour student anti-war strike initiated in this country last April by the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L. and moved to make the strike international in 1935!

The political committee of the Congress brought in a resolution approving the establishment of the united front in France, recommending its establishment among all sections of the I.S.S.F. and instructing its two delegates to the Socialist Youth International to support a motion for cooperation between the Communist and Socialist youth internationals. Although this motion



provoked great controversy it was passed with only one section dissenting.

A huge demonstration which had 30,000 participants was the climax of the Fete of Socialist Youth. As the lines deployed in front of the reviewing stand, in which were Emile Vandervelde, chairman of the Labor and Socialist International, and Friedrich Adler, secretary of the International, one thought of the 30,000 Austrian youths in Vienna in the 1931 fete, their splendid and colorful ranks. Today there were only one hundred of them, the most disciplined marchers, the most spirited, all bronzed from their two months' trek from Austria, chanting: "Wir sind die Arbeiter von Wien." As their contingent marched into the Cointe Stadium with their huge Red Falcon banner saved from the Heimwehr mercenaries, the whole mass of 50,000 spectators rose and cheered and wept. As the delegation passed in front of Vandervelde and Adler it gave the

Social Democratic salute and shouted "Einheitsfront!" When the thousands of young Belgians and Frenchmen went by they shouted "Unité d'action."

At the closing session of the Liège congress of the I.S.S.F., after Vandervelde had concluded a remarkably stirring indictment of fascism and the preparations for war, the president of the Socialist Student Federation rose and handing Vandervelde a copy of the resolutions, calmly asked him to pay particular attention to that on unity.

It was the hundred Austrian youths and the memory of February 12 that made the Liège meetings more than a congress and more than a demonstration. The Austrian youngsters seemed to embody a living flame, from which everyone took fire and which translated itself into a demand that internecine strike in the working class cease, and that socialism take the offensive against its enemies.

## The High Point Project

By ANNA L. CAPLES

THREE STUDENT members of the L.I.D. went to High Point, N. C. during the summer to work for six weeks with the Socialist Party, in that southern business paradise of cheap labor. They wanted to get some first hand information about industrial conditions and to do what they could to help build working class organizations in High Point—scene of many valiant labor struggles ruthlessly crushed by the forces of law and order. They



were John Walters, graduate of Drexel, Betty Bliss, Vassar '36, and Anna L. Caples of the L.I.D. staff.

They found themselves working among people who were unemployed or working at N.R.A. conditions—\$3, \$5, or \$7 a week for part time employment; or if they happened to be Negroes, working for \$1.50 to \$5.00 a week fulltime in domestic service.

The unemployed had banded together. It was easy to see why. Intermittent grocery orders of a dollar fifty or two dollars a week don't keep families satisfied, nor do case-workers who swear at their grumbling customers. The Unemployed League in High Point was a thoroughly militant organization, its officers quite willing to risk their own jobs on relief rolls, by going to the relief office to fight for a relief grocery order for any member who had been turned away. The unemployed meeting hall was the only place in High Point, one of the few in the state, where Negroes and whites sat down together, and joined as brothers to fight their

common battle. But the League had its difficulties. When the members went to the Relief Office to complain about inadequate relief, the case workers' director, told them in chilly tones, that they didn't know what they were talking about when they said a man couldn't live on one dollar a week. Hadn't she gone to school in New York to find out how much relief people need? She explained away the short-comings of the High Point Relief Administration by using words so long that no unemployed worker could understand her. The League welcomed the outsiders, who had also gone to school in New York, and could answer the relief administrator back.

Relief conditions were unspeakable. But, how was the Unemployed League to convince the authorities at the state capital or the citizens of High Point of that? The Student L.I.D. groups undertook a survey of the relief distribution of the city, and gathered data that could not be questioned. For more than three weeks they visited the unemployed workers of the city, black and white, skilled and unskilled. They went into their barren homes. They saw the sick children, and the malnourished wives. When they were through they released the completed survey to the newspapers. It described how half of the people on relief in the city got fourteen cents a day or less for all of their needs; that one-fifth got seven cents a day or less. It revealed that negligence in administering medical care had caused death to at least one person, and permanent illness to

(Continued on page 19)



# Intellectual Life Under Mussolini

By X

UNDER Fascism, Italian intellectual life has suffered in all its phases. John Chamberlain recently drew attention to this fact in a review in the "New York Times" (September 19). Chiding John Strachey and other critics of Fascism for their assertion that there has been no Italian literature since Mussolini's accession, he pointed out that there is a very good contemporary Italian literature, consisting of the novel "Fontamara," by Ignazio Silone, an anti-Fascist exile. That symbolizes the state of creative literature in Italy.

By definition and by political necessity the Fascist mentality is emotional, anti-intellectual. True, there have been in Italy no dramatic book-burnings, professors have not been discharged wholesale, and in general the Fascists have sedulously avoided those monster demonstrations of mass insanity so dear to the Nazi heart. That, however, does not mean that persecution has been any the less violent or thorough. In fact, this silent terror is infinitely more effective, for it does not call attention to itself, especially abroad. Mussolini is certainly as much alive as are the Nazis to the fact that Fascism must entrench itself behind an incessant barrage of propaganda and "enlightenment." Yet he was too canny to create a "Minister of Propaganda," whose functions the Duce admirably fulfills himself. (Mussolini is, of course, vastly more fortunate than the garrulous Adolf in that he is his own Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, and Blomberg rolled into one.)

The abolition of journalistic freedom is universally regarded as an inseparable accompaniment of dictatorships, the effects of which are perhaps more political than intellectual, although the latter are not to be ignored. Newspaper work has always been one of the avenues to fame and fortune trodden by budding literary geniuses, and its stereotyping into a mere clerical function cannot but have a paralyzing influence on intellectual life in general. Since 1926, freedom of the press has been dead in Italy, in spite of Mussolini's recent assertion to the contrary in an interview with Paul Block. Newspapers have become a part of the state machinery. Their number has greatly diminished, as have their circulations. All the papers say the same things in virtually identical words: a unanimity that inspires the opposite of confidence. Recourse to foreign papers (including the Paris editions of American journals!) is widespread among the educated classes.

Naturally, even these papers are culled by the "censura," as they enter Italy; one could hardly expect to purchase "L'Humanité" in Rome! The decay of Italian journalism is one of the saddest spectacles of Fascist Italy.

Periodicals other than dailies are also under the strictest supervision. A few learned publications directed by men known to be unsympathetic to the régime contrive to eke out a hand-to-mouth existence, and so long as they do not openly criticize the government, they are tolerated in order to keep up the bluff abroad that real learning is not interfered with. A publication in the field of economics, political science, history, or sociology suffers a greater handicap than one in philology, chemistry, or the arts. In general, social studies have suffered much more than natural sciences, although the latter can be made to suffer when the scientist for some reason or other is regarded as unsound politically.

A clandestine press, operating both in and out of Italy, manages to smuggle extra-thin printed sheets from hand to hand, but there is no way of determining its influence, which in any case is at present not great. For it must be admitted that the mass of the Italian people is apathetic. It complains *sotto voce*, but its dissatisfaction is dissipated aimlessly for want of a coherent program and the necessary leadership. The slogan "Down with Mussolini" is not enough. Many want to know "After Mussolini What?", and are chary about joining any subterranean organization with no definite program. On the other hand, movements with integrated platforms alienate those persons with less definite, and perhaps less extreme political philosophies. It is distinctly a case where the "ins" have all the practical advantages.

For a number of years a number of the more rabid Fascist "intellectuals" have clamored for a rigid censorship on books, a demand finally met a few months ago. A publisher now has to obtain the "nihil obstat" of the political authorities before he may publish any volume. In the past publishers sometimes issued books only to have them confiscated immediately after publication, even though in some cases they were by men supposed to be Fascists in good standing. In other cases the authorities permitted the book to be published and then suppressed it to punish the publisher for *lèse-Mussolini* or some other heinous crime against the régime.



The radio is likewise under the strictest government control. Except for the Duce himself, His Holiness is the only inhabitant on the peninsula who can with comparative impunity say over the radio what he pleases. The Pope, however, is not given to radical utterances, and is likely to express himself in Latin. The original cost and the taxes on radios preclude a widespread diffusion of this magnificent instrument for mass "enlightenment." Mussolini does not begin to employ the radio with Hitlerian enthusiasm and constancy. As for the absence of those commercialized radio programs, so obnoxious in this country, that is a European, and not an Italian phenomenon.

The end of free speech in Italy has not meant the end of public oratory, merely a dilution of its quality. Obligated by political exigencies to refrain from saying anything important, public speakers have been reduced to employing elaborate formulae for emitting nonsense at great length. Under the impulse of this necessity, the Italian language is rapidly being transformed, especially in its vocabulary. The rich tradition of Europe's most beautiful idiom is being broken by half-educated men trying to cover up their own intellectual and moral incompetence by throwing a language into a straight-jacket.

Academic freedom does not exist. A few well-known anti-Fascists continue to teach, their world-wide reputations shielding them. All teachers must take the oath of allegiance, which only a handful have refused to do, many taking advantage of the Pope's suggestions concerning mental reservations. There are a few men who preserve a semblance of independence in their lectures and who thus endear themselves to anti-Fascist students. Unfortunately, Americans do not need to go to Italy to find suppression of academic freedom. The extenuating feature in our case is that we still have a modicum of liberty guaranteed by law that we can protect and extend if we will fight for it.

Fascism's effect on the student bodies is not easy to determine, for changes would indubitably have occurred had there never been a "March on Rome." Italian university life must be projected against the European idea of a university rather than the American. European students have always been more mature and have entered more into the political life of their countries, and have consequently had less time for rah-rah activities than have their American confrères.

More than in America the university has been the necessary corridor into the official and professional classes. Yet even before the war, the supply outstripped the demand. This helps explain the students' interest in

the numerous fractional parties, especially the radical ones, a situation impossible in America where the two competing political monopolies failed to attract young men with ideas and principles, and where the students' time was occupied with "collegiate" activities. In Europe, political life, including not only the public office, but journalism, oratory, pamphleteering, agitation, and even conspiracy, drew spirited young men. Many a man famous later in life won his spurs in these radical groups. Some of the student groups supported the existing government, but usually the most vociferous and daring did not. Consider the *Camelots du Roy* in France, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Nazis in Germany, and the Fascists in Italy, not to go farther back than the World War. These represented not only the natural youthful tendency to be radical, but an effort to make a career out of movement. How magnificently they succeeded in Russia, Italy, and Germany, is now history. A similar situation is arising in the United States, and will grow if our universities continue to turn out thousands of graduates that cannot be absorbed by our capitalist economy into the professions for which they were trained. It may be depended upon as axiomatic that more and more our university men and women will have to seek their professional salvation in radical organizations, labor unions, or Fascist movements.

With their customary vigor, the Nazis have arbitrarily cut university enrolments to less than 5,000, all of whom must be politically pure. It will be interesting to see how soon opposition sentiment redevelops among this hand-picked élite. In Italy, matriculation has not been limited in this drastic fashion, and one therefore encounters students anything but Fascist in their sentiment. The liberal-minded and the humanly idealistic would be little attracted by Fascism. But there are the others: the crudely ambitious, who had hoped to use their Fascist loyalty as a ladder to success, but find that they are too many, and that the soft berths are already occupied by the "*Fascisti della prima ora*," men in their thirties and forties. Hence the insistence of the younger Fascists on the principle of frequent "changes of the guard" (*cambi di guardia*), or rotation in office. (Students of the American spoils system are acquainted with the severe strain imposed on the public treasury by compelling office holders to found family fortunes in the short space of four years.) This situation is especially glaring in the universities, where the "assistenti" and the "liberi docenti" are consumed with a most indecent eagerness to occupy professorships. Not content to await the natural course of time, they excogitate devious

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## BOOTING OUT THE R.O.T.C.

*U. of Minnesota*

Following our anti-war conference a general continuations committee of nine was elected to carry on activities, especially as regards the endorsed move for an anti-war demonstration on Jingo Day—the time of the annual R.O.T.C. general review.

On Friday, May 18th, the next day, "The Daily," student daily newspaper, naturally played up this demonstration. At noon of the same day, Governor Floyd B. Olson, speaking to a Students' Forum audience of over one thousand, in reply to a question from the chairman of the continuations committee of the Students' Peace Conference, stated that he wished to encourage the plans for the demonstration and said that he hoped it would be more interesting than the military parade.

Despite efforts of the Dean of Student Affairs, Edward E. Nicholson, to prevent the demonstration on the ground that it was "discourteous" to the military department, plans went ahead. Although the Dean refused his permission, the demonstration was held anyway and as yet no action has been taken against the participants by his or any other University office. To make reprisals by the Administration difficult, all previous committees were dissolved before the demonstration and a general committee of 58 was set up, taking all responsibility for the demonstration. "The Daily," because of its sympathetic treatment of the demonstration, both editorially and in its news columns, was censored for one week by a special committee of the Board of Publications. In reply, "The Daily" published two satirical editorials advocating a square sprinkler system to water campus ground and calling on all students to keep off the grass to protect the "tender shoots." Both these editorials were published under a signed statement from the editor that they had been approved by the censorship committee.

During the period from Friday till the demonstration much activity was carried on by the continuations committee and its sub-committees in propagandizing the demonstration, constructing banners and one large sign paraphrasing a remark by the gentleman in charge of the military department—"Drill is a dead issue."

By RICHARD M. SCAMMON  
and LESTER BRESLOW

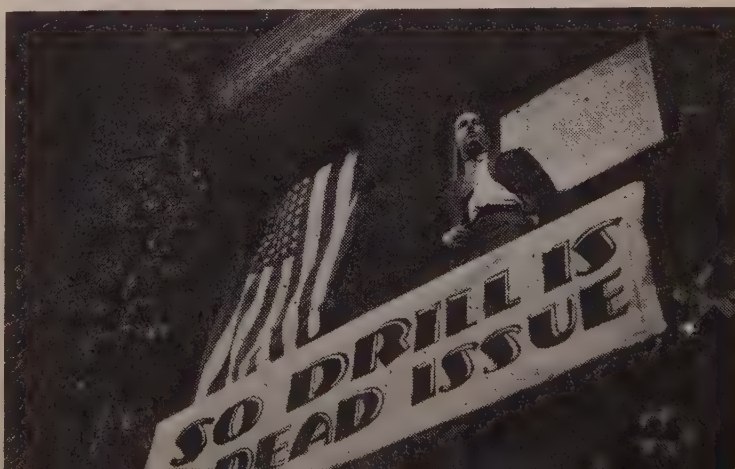
Many volunteers appeared from all sides and the work went ahead rapidly.

On Wednesday morning, the day of the demonstration, six thousand handbills were distributed by volunteers who met every street-car, stood at every entrance to the campus, by campus parking lots, in the Central Campus Post-Office, and generally covered the campus. Several minor brushes occurred and one distributor was beaten up and two advanced officers received minor contusions during the distributing of handbills. A car, filled with husky volunteers cruised around the campus during the time that the distributing took place and succeeded in keeping the distributors protected. The cadet Lieutenant-Colonel tore off the chevrons of a corporal who was handing out bills, but the campus was rather generally covered without too much trouble.

A room had been secured in the Minnesota Union—mens' club house—and from the windows of this room the speakers addressed an assembled crowd of over 1500. While some interruption was experienced at first from advanced drill officers and pro-drill basic students, these disrupters were forced to leave to attend the review and the meeting went on without trouble. Although many rumors had been circulated of attempts by athletes and advanced drill officers to break up the gathering, nothing more than some heckling was indulged in by the reactionaries. The demonstrators were equipped, however, to meet all comers and this may have been a discouraging factor to the militarists.

The program itself consisted of a number of speeches by representatives of all campus elements. Among those appearing on the platform were the President of Mortar Board, campus womens' senior honor society, Ray Ohlson—the only Minnesota student to be excused from drill because of conscientious objection, Chairman of

*Dick Scammon asks a  
significant question*





the University Farmer-Labor club, Chairman of the N.S.L., three basic drill students, a graduate student, and members of the womens' debate team who presented the case against the munition makers. A telegram of congratulation from the Student L.I.D. was read and the resolutions of the Student Peace Conference were re-affirmed.

Two weeks later drill was made optional by the Board of Regents, and present reliable information leads us to believe that all units save the coast artillery and the signal corps will be abandoned this year and that the total enrollment—basic and advanced combined—will be around 250, as compared with 2300 last year under the compulsory system. However, as this plan has not been officially announced, arrangements are being made by the Social Problems Club to hold a meeting during the coming Freshman Week to acquaint freshmen with the drill situation and to introduce them to the organizations.

## The Hamilton-Reynolds Case

THE case of Al Hamilton and Reynolds, conscientious objectors to military training at the University of California (Los Angeles branch), is scheduled for oral argument before the United States Supreme Court during the week of October 15th. With Mr. John Beardsley of Los Angeles briefing their plea, the legal side of the Hamilton-Reynolds case is in the hands of an expert constitutional lawyer.

Readers will recall that almost a year ago the U. S. Supreme Court declined jurisdiction in the case of a conscientious objector at the University of Maryland.

Al Hamilton, one of the students involved in the case is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Student L.I.D. We are informed that funds, necessary to finance the litigation, are urgently necessary. Readers are urged to send donations directly to Rev. John Gabrielson, Box 54, Pacific Palisades, California.

## Choose a Career —

L. BAMBERGER & CO., the Newark affiliate of Macy's, behind whose counters college alumni work for twelve to fifteen dollars a week, undertook last June to sell vocations on its eighth floor to college men and women. Some twenty-five business leaders (Gobi desert explorers to beauticians), "successes" as it was explained, appeared before 1500 undergraduates and alumni as salesmen of careers. But the first Choosing-A-Career Conference which had taken shape in the public relations department of Bamberger's neglected to inform one, after one had chosen a railroad manager's career (upon Mr. Loree's advice), or a department store executive's career (Mr. Strauss's advice), or a career in the mercantile marine (upon the urging of Mr. Kermit Roosevelt), how one got a job.

If the sponsors of the Conference were oblivious to the need of explaining this elementary step, neither the students nor the speakers tried to dodge the issue. Said Mr. Roosevelt of the International Mercantile Marine: "But we are looking forward to the time when increased business will enable us to *take back old employees* as well as give employment to new material." And Mr. Simon of Simon and Schuster, after a delightful address that made everyone hanker for a publishing career, stated his doubts whether even four or five out of the thousands looking for jobs in the publishing business would get them. And Mr. James P. Warburg of the Bank of Manhattan frankly stated

## But Try and Get A Job

that a banking career was something inherited in the family and at best open only to those with considerable financial backing.

The students on their part plied the speakers not with questions on how to sneak into non-existent jobs, but didn't Mr. Loree think that consolidation of railroads under government control would get the roads out of their difficulties? And how did Mr. Roosevelt square his assertion that government subsidy was essential to shipping with his later equally emphatic statement that government operation of the merchant marine was not to be desired? And what did Mr. Roosevelt think of the International Longshoremen's Association? (At this point Mr. Roosevelt hastily collected his papers and walked off the platform.) And, Mr. Barton, how can you advise students to enter the advertising business after its unethical attack upon the Tugwell Bill? And wouldn't government operation of the banking business make it sounder? And why doesn't General Motors, Mr. Mooney, recognize the union?

That no satisfactory answers were being given became evident when a petition suddenly appeared signed by hundreds of students requesting that Norman Thomas be placed on the program since he represented a point of view fundamentally different on the problem of vocations and unemployment. When the petitions were confiscated by the ushers, Justin Stewart of the

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# The First American Youth Congress

By HAROLD DRAPER

THE American Youth Congress had its inception in the aspirations of one Viola Ilma, 23, ambitious, energetic—with plenty of the “right” kind of backing and connections and a yearning to make a career, if not a racket, out of “representing” the Youth of America. After a period of editing a magazine “Modern Youth,” she went on a subsidized tour of Germany, Italy, France and other countries, and came back with certain enthusiasms which she embodied in a little book. “And Now, Youth!” It is important to understand the leading ideas of this book, in order to understand the split at the Congress:

(1) Her conception of a youth movement:

“The timid rationalizing of worn-out statesmen only bores and annoys an impatient young person—youth is hungry for action! The appeal to youth must be an appeal to the imagination—to the romantic strength of clean, fresh minds, unhampered by inhibitions. . . .

“The leader is the head—who guides, and translates himself into emotion for the masses. That is the formula for power . . .

“Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler focus their political progress by making youth an important part. . . . They swept into power propelled by the vast energy of youth. . . . All that was necessary was organization.”

(2) Dazzled and stirred by Hitler's ability to line up the youth behind him, admiring Germany's “Rebirth of Spirit,” though regretting that “Unfortunately, Hitler's intellectual mistakes are all too evident,” her official attitude is neutral.

“I am concerned only in pointing out objectively, the fact that his methods are efficient to the highest degree. Those methods applied to a different and perhaps nobler cause would be just as efficacious.”

In this connection, her idea of Fascism is that “Fascism is peculiarly Italian—is possible only in Italy. Change of state in any other country is incorrectly labelled Fascism.”

(3) What is her “perhaps nobler cause”? She rejects “ruthless capitalism” and “the system” that has collapsed (mere words to her), and mentions three possible roads: “The first, the worn and rutted road of traditional capitalistic democracy, narrowing down steadily to an overgrown cow-path.” Second, Communism; Third, Fascism. But she herself declares for a fourth—National Democracy.

“A new viewpoint—it is at once the reaction against arid degeneration of post-war parliamentarianism, and a protest against the plutocratic pillaging of the era of ruthless individualism. . . . It is not so much a platform of sterile principles as a body of ardent action. It is national because it is founded on the belief that the rights, privileges and obligations of the individual are derived from the state.”

This is her “change of state” which is “incorrectly labelled Fascism.” This is what she thinks should be furthered with Hitler's “efficacious” methods.

(4) “With this plan in mind, is there any doubt that Roosevelt is the leader to whom youth should turn? . . . Roosevelt is a young man's president.” “Only in youth is there vitality enough to sway a new deal. The new deal is Roosevelt.”

Her concrete measures for youth are features of the New Deal which have their counterparts in fascist economy—C.C.C. camps, transient camps, subsistence homesteads, apprenticeships.

With this intellectual equipment and a few associates, she formed her Central Bureau for Young America, “a clearing house for information about the Youth of America.” Her story is that she was financed by \$100 contributions from twenty wealthy people on a sucker list she made up, but this by no means tells the whole story. She later also revealed some of her contributors: Anne Morgan, Mrs. August Belmont, John Pell, broker, and Arthur Garfield Hays.

The Central Bureau issued a call for a First American Youth Congress, at N. Y. U., on August 15, 16, 17, and sent invitations to a number of organizations. The writer was present when she was quizzed by representatives of the Young People's Socialist League about her arrangements for the Congress. She had gotten most of the organizations' names from the corporation rolls. No unions or other non-political working class organizations had been invited; but a *Department of Labor official* was going to take care of that for her! Representatives of the C.C.C. boys and transients would be designated by the government. There would be a large body of “unaffiliated” delegates, hand-picked by the Central Bureau. Asked about left-wing speakers at the Congress opening, she expressed surprise that Tugwell was not considered an adequate representative. All organizations, from a school club to a national body with thousands of members, got one delegate—unless the C. B. willed otherwise.

Representation, speakers, agenda, rules of procedure and the chairman of the Congress (Ilma) were determined in advance by the Central Bureau (Ilma). And what rules! No voting to be done by the Congress as a whole; all resolutions and decisions were to be adopted by an Executive Board whose composition was



predetermined. It was made up of four categories—two appointed by the Central Bureau; the third, twenty unaffiliated delegates (all of whom had been selected by the Bureau); the fourth, one delegate from each national organization. The Resolutions Committee was appointed by the chairman (Ilma). Before you could gain the floor, you had to hand in a slip stating what you were going to say and then the chairman might recognize you—if she wanted to, etc., etc.

The dictatorial character of these proceedings produced a reaction. Prof. Zorebaugh, in charge of arrangements on behalf of N.Y.U., broke with Ilma and got in touch with several national organizations who were in the Congress to see what could be done about it. A working united front of twelve organizations, ranging from the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and National Student Federation to the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communists, was built up on the issue, and a steering committee of five was elected to carry on the fight: it consisted of representatives of the Y.M.C.A., N.S.F.A., Student L.I.D., Young People's Socialist League and Young Communist League.

In busy weeks preceding the Congress, the steering committee did two things: after protests to the Central Bureau had produced no result, it developed a plan of action for securing democratic procedure at the Congress, and drew up and mimeographed a set of resolutions to be offered as an alternative to Ilma's reactionary program.

On the eve of the Congress, the lines were drawn. Wednesday morning, after the stuffed shirts had spoken their piece, the battle started. With Ilma in the chair, Waldo McNutt, delegate of the Rocky Mt. Y.M.C.A. (also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Student L.I.D.) fired the first shot with a denunciation of the Congress set-up and a motion calling for the election of a chairman from the floor. After this had been passed, and after nominations had been made, Ilma, from the chair, moved adjournment, seconded it and declared it carried, all in one breath.

The details of the battle need not be rehearsed in full. Wednesday evening, at the first meeting of the Executive Board, it was found a majority of the delegates were behind our demands. Ilma and twenty of her supporters walked out and organized a rump Congress of their own. The overwhelming majority stayed with us, elected McNutt chairman, reorganized for the first time as a Congress run democratically by the delegates, and proceeded with the discussion and adoption of resolutions and the election of a continuation committee.

Ilma's "congress" did likewise, adopting resolutions against the federal abolition of child labor, and decent unemployment insurance, for national defense, and transient and C.C.C. camps, thus clearly demonstrating the reactionary nature of her group. Even the newspapers turned against her towards the end. It was a clear victory for the progressive bloc, which consisted of the broadest grouping of organizations, from right to left.

Our resolutions denounced the emergency camps and military budgets of the Roosevelt program, demanded unemployment and social insurance and abolition of child labor; called for academic freedom and the abolition of R.O.T.C., a halt to educational retrenchment, and for a struggle against militarism and fascism.

Important as the background of the Congress is, the continuation committee's task is now to prepare for the future. It is going ahead with far-reaching plans for the holding of regional youth congresses in centers all over the country, beginning with New York and large eastern cities. A national conference in Washington at the time the U. S. Congress opens will be held to present our demands for social insurance and against the emergency camp program. Plans are being made to link it up with the National Conference on Students in Politics, held last year in Washington.

What is the significance of this movement? Is it just another flash-in-the-pan conference? Has it capacity to broaden, develop and engage in significant activity?

The meaning of the Congress was not so much in itself as in its conflict with Ilma's group. It *must* grow, it *must* develop in order to combat the reaction that its opponent represents. The lines are drawn.

This does not mean the battle has been won. The interpretation, therefore, which the Communist press has given it ("American Youth Rejects Fascism") is false and dangerous. American youth did not "reject Fascism" at the Congress for the issue on which Ilma was defeated was democratic control of the Congress, not her program (which, too, is not "fascism," though it has most pronounced fascist tendencies). To congratulate oneself on victory before battle is joined is dangerous.

## ITALIAN INTELLECTUALS UNDER FASCISM

FACTS AND DOCUMENTS

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# LITERATURE OF REVOLT

## The World's Iron, Our Blood, and Their Profits

By JOHN DOS PASSOS

**MERCHANTS OF DEATH.** By Englebrecht and Hanighen, Dodd Mead and Co.

**IRON, BLOOD AND PROFITS.** By George Seldes, Harpers.

**ARMS AND THE MAN,** an article from the *March Fortune*, reprinted by them in a pamphlet.

Since whoever reads these words, man or woman, young or old, stands an excellent chance of meeting his end in the next war, either by poison gas, shell fragment or machine gun bullet, any description of the preparation of the machinery of slaughter ought to be of pretty direct and personal interest to everybody. *Merchants of Death* and *Iron, Blood and Profits* cover about the same ground. Both books contain a mass of valuable material that so far as I know has not been published before in English. Neither book is the careful analytic study of the armaments business that we so much need but both are worth reading. The *Fortune* pamphlet is a fine summary of the main points of the European situation, but neglects entirely the American end. I wish I knew some way of putting one of these books in every college classroom and every voting booth in the country. If every American who could read and write could get a tenth of these facts into his head, the work of the war-makers would be made considerably more difficult. They are particularly to be recommended to the readers of Hearst papers.

The armament trade is not the whole story of the forces that are making for war but it is the spearhead of the profits system. In it the growing powers of nationalism and monopolistic business reach their climax in a logical absurdity. The picture of nations allowing their citizens to sell munitions to the enemy with which to blow their own armies to hell is a great cosmic joke. It is a joke that greatly prolonged the last war and in the next is likely to cost many millions of men their lives. The point of the joke is getting clearer every day. The point is that nationalism, even in its latest mad-house frenzies under Mussolini and Hitler, is still, like advertising, an arm of big business. Nations as we know them today, were the invention of business and it is natural that business should still consider itself slightly above patriotism and that the strongest international should still be the international of profits. Randolph Bourne pointed out that war was the health of the state, a study of the armament business indicates that in war the health of the state is somewhat neglected in favor of the health of the profit system.

This does not mean that the Schneiders and the Krupps and the DuPonts have ever met in a room to conspire to bring new wars on the human race, or have agreed on any explicit system for squeezing the

maximum of profits out of an existing war. The point is that they don't need to. The great businesses, like the feudal lords of the middle ages, exist in a continual state of war among themselves, but being similar organisms they naturally behave in a similar way towards the societies on which they prey (or as a business man would put it, from which they exact profits in return for valuable services). The men running the armament business may very well be genial and patriotic gentlemen, very kind to their chauffeurs and butlers, who wouldn't hurt a fly themselves, but the organic logic of business makes it necessary for them to do everything possible to foment wars to live up the trade; this makes them more dangerous to society than all the firebugs and homicidal maniacs in the world. It is largely due to their propaganda that the greatest patriot, today, is popularly conceived to be the man most willing to see his fellow citizens maimed and strangled in war. If it were not so prevalent, this attitude would seem crazy to the bloodthirstiest moron in a hospital for the criminal insane.

The story in outline is this: in Europe the most powerful coherent force in politics, finance and the press is the net of overlapping groups of steel and iron trusts in France and Germany. Four years of the bloodiest war in history were not enough to break up the unity of the ironmasters. It is thoroughly proved that businessmen of all the belligerent countries kept up a trade with the enemy in chemicals, nickel, copper and foodstuff up to very nearly the end of the last war. After the peace the Krupps had the effrontery to sue the Armstrong-Vickers company for their royalty on the German grenade cap the British firm had been using on its products all through the war. By common consent the mines and smelters in the Pas de Calais, on the French side, and the Bassin de la Briey on the German side of the lines were not shelled or bombarded, though neither belligerent had scruples about shelling and bombing civilian populations. After all what's a man worth? The pittance he can produce by his work. You can't buy and sell a cathedral. A mine or a smelter is worth real money. That's all ancient history. The danger to Western civilization at present is the subsidizing of reactionary and militarymad politicians and demagogues by the steel and armament interests. Thyssen and Hugenberg and some French interests subsidized Hitler in Germany, and the Comité des Forges (the public relations end of the French Steel combination) is spending a great deal of money to start a similar movement in France. In England the armament firms are not quite so completely in the saddle, but armament



and shipbuilding interests form the very core of the governing class. The leaders of these firms, whose whole lives have been geared to nothing but the acquisition of money and power at any cost, can't help wanting war and working for it. If they were not the most ruthless and predatory members of their class they wouldn't have gotten themselves into the positions of power they now occupy. Any list of yearly dividends will give you the difference in their profits in war years and peace years. The armament makers hope for war just the way the farmers want spring rains. They'd just as soon have it in China as in their own back yard, but war they've got to have. The chances seem very good that they will have their wish.

The situation in America is harder to make out clearly, partly because we are nearer to it and partly because it is more difficult and dangerous to get the facts. Even the American businessman is willing to see the beam in the European business man's eye.

However, Mr. Shearer, the man who boasts he broke up the Geneva disarmament conference, was kind enough to shed a little light on the subject when he sued the shipbuilding interests that had sent him to Geneva at \$25,000 a year for \$250,000 more that he felt he was entitled to as a result of his great success. There is no question that the steel and shipbuilding interests are working tooth and nail against disarmament. War orders are the real gravy in the business of the great monopolies. Of all the current rackets patriotism pays the best. You can hardly turn on the radio without hearing some Navy League speaker denouncing pacifists. With the warmakers occupying all the avenues that direct people's minds and destinies it is surprising that we are still at peace at this moment. Possibly it's only the fear of the extreme effective deadliness of the methods industrial science, the overpowerful slave of capitalism, has perfected that keeps the gentlemen in the director's office from forcing the world once more into that supreme heaven of capitalist wellbeing, when profits are in the hundred percents and every protesting voice can be muzzled and labor kept in line by the firing squad, war.

As things are now it is not only the makers of machine guns and shells who are in the armament business. Any chemical or dye plant is a potential poison gas factory. The whole metallurgical industry, the cotton goods industry, the growers of cotton and foodstuffs stand to make more money in war than in peace time. Add to that the fact that industrial peace furnishes such a miserably unsatisfactory livelihood, if any livelihood at all, that many thousands of young men would be ready to go to war at the drop of a hat for the excitement and a dollar a day and the slum and the uniform. The logic of the profit system's need for war is so convincing that it seems a miracle that we have any peace at all.

Against this huge agglomeration of thrones, principalities and powers, what are the forces? You have the inertia of the naked and helpless individual who wants to make his living, satisfy his needs, raise his family, be well thought of by his neighbors, and the social instinct

that has been slowly woven out of centuries of struggles and revolts and sacrifices, a frail web of compulsions and inhibitions that makes for common action in the face of common needs. That's what people mean when they speak of order and civilization. It's frail enough, but its organic existence is proved by the extraordinary hysterical and lunatic manifestations that follow the destruction of the feeling of human solidarity. Anybody who remembers the state of mind of noncombatants in the last war will admit that their mental condition was such that in peace time they would have been shut up in asylums as homicidal maniacs. Humanly speaking, it's almost a relief to think that in the next war there won't be any non combatants.

Of course the nationalists will tell you that the feelings of solidarity and self-sacrifice induced in a nation at war are the finest flower of the social instinct. The trouble with their argument is that industrial war, like industrial peace, is a business of profit. Nationalism, under the profit system is the supreme imposition on human credulity. The doughboy in khaki and the machine operative in overalls are both grinding out their blood and their muscle for the power the glory and the dividends of the gentlemen in the director's office. I don't say that war would be impossible in a socialized state where everybody would get what profit there was, but it would be much less likely for the reason that war, while it is the apotheosis of money profits, is admittedly the destruction of real wealth. A socialized society would be interested in building up and conserving its wealth, instead of burning it up for the benefit of the gentlemen in the directors' office. This for the moment is beside the point. The immediate question facing every man and woman in the organized world is how they shall save their lives and their children's lives from the exploitation, in war and peace, of the gentlemen in the director's office.

To fight an enemy you've got to know him. As the great monopolies that control oil, steel, aluminum, textiles, have to struggle harder and harder for their profits, they will have to impose scarcity and war and to destroy the last vestiges of the forms of commercial democracy. While there is any liberty of publication left the facts about the making of wars should be spread far and wide. These books are a valuable beginning. Somebody ought to follow them up by a serious analytic study of the whole business. But knowing the facts is only half the battle. You must know how to act on them. If a man finds himself locked up in a room with an angry gorilla it doesn't help him very much to know the animal's scientific name. Still he's better off than if he were under the illusion that the gorilla was a benevolent old gentleman in a Palm Beach suit.

## Hillquit's Service

LOOSE LEAVES FROM A BUSY LIFE. By Morris Hillquit. The Macmillan Company. 1934.

Morris Hillquit made two contributions to American socialism. In the first place, he was responsible above all others for the transformation of a few sectarian,



foreign groups into an effective political party, sensitive to American problems and traditions. Secondly, he was the expositor of socialism to thousands of workmen; to many of them his words brought the first clear idea of the meaning of socialism. Socialist theory had been transplanted to American soil by German political exiles; the latter, however, had failed lamentably to establish contact with the native-born workers. It fell to Hillquit, himself a German in spirit, to pursue with some success the task of "Americanizing" the socialist movement. He criticized those practices which operated to isolate the Socialist Labor Party from the working class, and took a leading part in the Indianapolis conventions from which the Socialist Party emerged. To disprove the charge that socialism was an imported, alien doctrine, he wrote the history of the early American socialist experiments.

A revolutionary political party needs greatly the sort of man who can expound its theory in everyday language, and win his listeners' confidence by an evident common sense and a capacity for keeping his feet squarely on the ground. Hillquit's character and abilities fitted him preeminently for this job. He estimates that in his lifetime he delivered some 2,000 speeches, and each time he reasoned with his audience like an implacable logician, with deliberation and earnestness. Debates loomed larger in Hillquit's work as a propagandist than they do nowadays. He argued with all comers worth the while, with Samuel Gompers on the methods of trade unionism and socialism, with Father Ryan on the economics of a socialist society, and with Jacob Schurman on individualism within a socialist world. Like Lassalle, Hillquit utilized his professional equipment for the spread of socialist ideas. He defended the great radicals of his day in a series of *causes célèbres*. He pleaded for freedom of the press before the court which condemned Johann Most; at the trial of the eight garment union leaders, accused of murder, he delivered an impressive defense of unionism. With the advent of war, he fought the Espionage Laws in behalf of the indicted editors of the *Masses*.

Apart from these activities, American socialism owes Hillquit a great debt for his courageous stand against our participation in the World War. August, 1914, brought the harrowing "realization of the failure of the Socialist International in the supreme hour of the crisis, the shattering of cherished illusions about the temper and power of the Socialist movement, and the desertion of so many of its trusted leaders." American efforts to re-unite the International were of no avail. A day after the United States declared war, an emergency convention of the party met in St. Louis. Hillquit took the principal part in drafting the now celebrated St. Louis resolution: "We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime of our capitalist class against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." A few months later, Hillquit fought an hectic campaign for the mayoralty of New York. He predicted that democracy would gain nothing by the war, and asked for a socialist vote as a vote for peace. The unprecedented vote which he polled in

the midst of the war hysteria was a tribute to the leadership which had given expression to the anti-war sentiment of the working classes.

The latter portions of Hillquit's book tell the sad story of the "break-up of American socialism." Hillquit attributes this largely to changes in the racial composition of the party, with its growing section of foreign language federations, indifferent to the material differences of the American situation from their Russian example. Before August, 1919, seven of these federations and three state organizations had been suspended by the official party administration. Soon after the communist parties were born, and the socialist movement badly damaged. Hillquit was at this time stricken with tuberculosis, confined to Saranac, and consequently inactive in party affairs. It was unfortunate that the party leadership failed to take an attitude more considerate of the unity of the working class; nor does Hillquit appear to have brought any pressure to bear in this direction. Reformist trends were soon to set in, weakening the fiber of the party. Whatever his errors may have been, Hillquit advocated consistently the path of working-class socialism.

Though Hillquit's book lacks the introspective depth essential to great autobiography, it abounds in romantic detail and interesting information. Hillquit, as a young shirt worker, got his socialism from the discussions which raged on the roofs of the Cherry Street tenements. He then studied English, and later helped to organize the Jewish workers into their needle trades unions. The story is a colorful chapter in the history of an East Side which is almost no more. Hillquit's limitations derived from his background; he had the lawyer's excessive respect for legal forms, and his close connection with the immigrant Jewish sections of New York prevented him from ever becoming a popular national leader. But it was worth while, says Hillquit, at the end of his life.

"If forty years ago, I could have foreseen all phases of the tortuous course of the socialist movement in the country and in the world, I would have done exactly as I did."

L. S. F.

## THE HIGH POINT PROJECT

(Continued from page 10)

others. It showed that through carelessness of politically appointed officials quantities of food sent into High Point for its starving citizens had been thrown away. The survey was completed just as another cut brought relief down below the standards described, and the workers on relief projects were striking in protest. The survey reinforced their claims. A relief administrator was removed. Perhaps conditions will become better.

The L.I.D. group before it left High Point found that as students and college graduates there was a very definite function they could perform in a working class organization. It may be that they also learned a new humility and an admiration for the workers who are fighting for their own and their children's lives.



## Choose a Career —

(Continued from page 14)

Student League for Industrial Democracy, whose adherents in the conference gave the Bamberger public relations department several warm moments, arose and called the petition to the attention of the chairman. The latter denied the request, although it had been applauded vigorously, stating there was no available place on the program. In private the chairman confided that after all Mr. Thomas was not really a success at any constructive business.

The majority of the students who attended the conference came there in their best clothes, listened quietly and wrote down copious notes. They seemed to swallow everything that was being said either by the speakers or minority of dissenters and always agreed with the last point of view expressed. Any trade unionist or working farmer would have been more critical of the speeches than were these sleek, equable looking young men and women, and surer of where they stood.

A former C.W.A. employee, a college graduate, bitterly remarked to us at lunch time that it was "criminal to talk as these speakers were doing, of a world that had passed away in 1929. It's downright dishonest."

But the students provided their own commentary in a leaflet that was issued by the Student League for Industrial Democracy and which was signed by members of fourteen colleges from all over the nation who were attending the conference:

Fellow Students:

The speakers at this conference are dodging the issues. At the risk of dispelling the golden halo of lazy thinking in this conference by shoving the future under our noses, we owe it to ourselves to face the actualities of our cheerless prospect.

Conservative estimates place the number of unemployed college alumni above the two million mark. Over 100,000 teachers are unemployed. Unemployed engineers comprise the majority of the profession. Lack of employment is expressed less directly, but no less clearly, in the difficulty lawyers are having in making a living. Young doctors are prolonging their internships as long as possible, despite the absence of wages. Library schools are being urged to close down. The business "leaders" who spoke to us yesterday were agreed on one point—that there were very few jobs to be had in their line.

The student who graduates this year may just as well hang around the campus taking graduate courses since it will do him no good to hunt a job. Yet such conditions are not inevitable, nor are they to be accepted lying down. Illiteracy is still abroad in this land and so teachers are needed. Men still need physicians and lawyers but are too poor to call on them. Houses, roads, bridges, dams, schools, tunnels, libraries still can be built aplenty.

But none of these things will be done unless the persons most directly affected organize pressure groups. College grad-

uates have been the most pitiful group of workers in this crisis. Lawyers, engineers, doctors, teachers, highly-trained business men—unemployment has caught them all unorganized and with no technique for combatting the organized agencies of business and finance.

We should be frank with ourselves. The testimony of yesterday and of what we know ourselves, proves that there can be no jobs for us in a capitalist society. We must turn our eyes toward a new social order if we hope ever to do that creative work for which we are training ourselves.

## Intellectual Life Under Mussolini

(Continued from page 12)

means for removing the incumbents. The oath was designed to open up many posts, but few professors refused to take it. Hence other plots had to be hatched, such as the regulation requiring teachers to belong to the Party. The net result of all this pressure is that the chief qualification for teaching has become Fascist zeal.

There are still a few world-renowned figures on Italian faculties, some of whom have chosen to wear the Fascist emblem and share in the motions, if not the emotions, of Fascism. Another decade will find them dead, in exile, or silenced. The demoralization of university life will continue and increase. Students will become increasingly skeptical, and then hostile. They may belong to the prescribed organizations and repeat the prescribed formulae, but unless repeated purgings even more drastic than Hitler's takes place, the Italian student will again resume his historic role as an opponent of the existing régime.



Bill Chamberlain and Carl Campbell at the head of a picket line



# Agitate! Educate! Organize!

## The I.L.A. Strike

"STUDENTS OF U. S. C. DON'T SCAB!"

"... The strikers struggle is our struggle. In their victory or failure our future is involved. They are laying the foundation for resistance to future war, against fascist advances in America, and for a higher standard of living for all Americans who toil."

On May 12th, just as the Longshoreman's strike was getting under way, word reached the Student L.I.D.ers in Los Angeles that University of Southern California students were taking the places of strikers at the docks. Then came the word that the U. S. C. Student Employment Office had been directing students to enlist as "scabs." On Saturday night the serenity of that fraternity-conscious campus was jarred by the appearance of an appeal signed by the Student L.I.D. chapters of six Los Angeles colleges (Cal. Christian College, L. A. Jr. C, Pasadena Jr. C, Pomona, U.C.L.A. and Whittier) appealing to the students to support the strikers. The leaflet was not polite. It named on a list of those who were already scabbing the All-American campus hero, Homer Griffith. The next day three Los Angeles N. S. L. chapters lent their support to the campaign, and on Monday the U.S.C. employment office emphatically denied it would enlist strikebreakers. The "Daily Trojan," U.S.C. publication, warmly supported the strikers in a leading editorial, and condemned student participation as "scabs."

At the same time Jean Symes, stalwart of the Univ. of California L.I.D. at Berkeley, was working night and day as volunteer in the strike headquarters in San Francisco, and her colleagues, even though the University was closed, helped on the picket line and in relief distribution. At San Pedro, too, outside Los Angeles, the students from several L.I.D. chapters were picketing as they were needed.

## Everyone on the Job!

When the STUDENT OUTLOOK wired the L.I.D. student representatives in the five leading ports affected by the strike (New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Portland) every one replied promptly with an account of active participation already undertaken.

But all students did not respond so intelligently. In early August the press carried the account of the killing of James Conner, 22, a student at Oregon State College, in a gun-fight near Portland. The L.I.D. is

advised by its correspondent at Oregon State College as follows: "I regret to say he was working as a 'scab.' Several Oregon State College students were taken to Portland to help break the strike. The 'union' to which Conner belonged was a minority group subsidized and encouraged by the employers. The reactionaries are attempting to make an issue of the case, pleading 'interference with a man's right to work'—meaning to take jobs away from striking workers. It looks very much as if Conner was killed, accidentally, by one of his own 'union.' A non-union gang boss is under arrest for it."

In New York the Student L.I.D. Summer School at the time of the San Francisco general strike, organized a huge picket line around the establishment of one, Bergoff, whom the newspapers announced to be supplying scabs on the coast. After the unfavorable publicity, Mr. Bergoff laid low. Fred Kaufman formerly of Brooklyn College was jailed during the demonstration.

## Harriman Demonstration

Before the Blue Eagle took its flight from the Harriman Hosiery mill, located fifty miles from Knoxville, University of Tennessee students and teachers joined in one of the biggest demonstrations that has taken place in Tennessee. Some three hundred employees had struck because of discrimination against union employees. The demonstration, composed of strikers and scores of sympathizers forming a line over a mile in length, consisted of a parade around and through the town. The march ended in the public square where there were a number of speeches. Taking a part in such a demonstration was a new experience for the students and they returned to the University eager to take part in more like it.

HOWARD FRAZIER, *U. of Tenn.* '34

## Picketing the N.R.A.

When John Donovan, militant head of the union of N.R.A. employees, was fired by General Johnson, members of the Student L.I.D. marched for two weeks on the picket line around N.R.A. headquarters in Washington. "What About 7-A, General?" and "Take Away Johnson's Blue Eagle" were among the slogans used by the picketers.

The picketing helped enormously to arouse public interest in this flagrant violation by Johnson of the act he was sworn to administer, and to force the N.R.A. chief to submit the cause to arbitration. The



National Labor Relations Board, in its decision reinstating Donovan, paid tribute to the effectiveness of the picketing.

### Minneapolis

"In the strike most of the activity was carried on by the Social Problems Club which includes all good radicals on this campus. We raised over one hundred dollars for the strike fund, wrote stuff for the *Organizer*, daily strike bulletin, went on picket duty, and made ourselves generally useful. As for myself, I covered the

strike for the *Duluth Labor World*, organ of the Trades and Labor Assembly in Duluth, and in so doing got thrown into the local bastille for "refusing to move on when requested to do so by an officer." I'm out on \$200 bail now and my trial comes up the fifth of this month. I expect no trouble, though, as it is generally felt that most of the men—seventeen in number—who were arrested will be freed without bail. Now that the strike is over, they want to dispose of these cases as quickly as possible."

RICHARD M. SCAMMON, *U. of Minnesota*

## FROM THE SUMMER MAILBAG

### University of Idaho

Donahue writes: "I am particularly glad to hear that Monroe Sweetland will be stationed on the western coast. I hope this is for a longer period of time than Christmas. In the event that our chapter makes any surplus cash on the proposed lecture course I will be willing to make the motion that a contribution be made towards the expense of a western office or the national office. Sweetland can do considerable good in the colleges of the west. It is imperative that we develop the youth in our colleges before fascism gains their confidence."

### Iowa State

Fourteen new members to start the year.

### U. of Colorado

"With only three of us in Boulder this summer, a series of L.I.D. meetings and lectures will go on nevertheless."

### Denver University

Vincent Barth, stalwart of the Denver Chapter, writes after graduation "Whatever the soundness of our reasoning, the force of our program and the vital spirit of my fellows and yours will continue to run strong in my blood."

### Wyoming

Joseph Jacobucci, expelled editor of "The Branding Iron," writes from his exile in Green River, "President Crane and his henchmen were rather irritated by the radical movements which started at Laramie this year. . . . Crane brought up a long list of charges. . . . He said I had showed a tendency toward willfulness and had constantly refused his good advice, and had been in 'bad company,' i.e., Madolin, Bob White, Alan, etc." (*L.I.D.ers.—Ed.*). Pres. Crane will be remembered

for his N.B.C. hook-up appeal for the R.O.T.C. last April 14th.

### Washington State College

"Official recognition on the campus is almost impossible, as the local unit of the R.O.T.C. is watching our group closely," says a letter from Harry Crumbaker enclosing six new memberships.

### Whitman College (Walla Walla, Wash.)

In 1933 the L.I.D. Chapter was denied official recognition. A letter from retiring President Penrose now says: "Whatever promotes vigorous discussion seems to me particularly valuable in an American college at the present time. I am not afraid of socialism, communism, or radicalism as a subject for discussion. Few enough students take an active interest in public affairs."

### Occidental College (Calif.)

Virginia McGregor writes: "We have the makings of a good group at Occidental, and it will help us greatly to have been in touch with what the L.I.D. has been doing this summer, and the plans for the coming year."

### Kalamazoo College (Mich.)

It is well that the writer of this familiar lament be nameless: "My gal . . . gets plenty sore at me for 'wasting my life' on a cause. But she still loves me, and love me, love my dog!"

### Pasadena Junior College

From troubled California comes this comment from the retiring Student Rep. at P.J.C.: "The Administration is mildly hostile to date. That is to be expected. . . . We may have to use 'illegal' methods (if they persist). The whole movement will increasingly go underground—but that doesn't bother me! The 'law' is with Fascism."



*Mercer University (Georgia)*

Writes Tom Johnson: "I had about become discouraged till last week when Bootle, Dean of the Law School, made a speech. He is a Republican, and made a speech advocating a return to 'rugged individualism.' After that the pot began to boil, and the socialistic students came to the top. Since that time I have had pleasing results, and I'm hoping soon to have more new members for the L.I.D."

*Nashville (Tennessee)*

Edith Woolsey and her colleagues were busy in May, judging by the letter with 14 new members from Vanderbilt, Fisk, and Scarritt.

*Bluffton College (Ohio)*

Bluffton is making plans for Anti-War Conference of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan students over Armistice Day. The activity at Bluffton reminds us that of all the religious groups who are supposed to oppose war, only the Mennonites have a war record to which they can point with pride today. Doris Keller is the Student Rep.

*Albion College (Mich.)*

James Daar, Student Rep., reports their chapter now has 16 new members, and one transfer from another college.

*Michigan State College*

Lee Gildart reports for the Spartan Chapter of the L.I.D. that they are polling the incoming freshmen upon the question of R.O.T.C. and militarism.

*Univ. of Illinois*

"Congratulations on your fine and prompt action in the Longshoreman's strike," writes retiring Student Rep. Harold Goldstein.

*Univ. of Chicago*

Under date of May 24th Ed Duerback wrote "The Socialist Club voted today to affiliate with the Student L.I.D. directly."

*Univ. of New Hampshire*

Harry Ward and Norman Thomas are on the Progressive Club lecture list for the fall, with Harold Rugg, John Strachey, and perhaps E. A. Filene in the offing.

*California, at Large*

N.E.C. member Al. Hamilton has been doing the rounds of the Methodist summer youth camps. On August 5th he writes: "Before this week is over I will have sold \$25 worth of L.I.D. materials at these camps, and will have lent books to over 300. There is no better way to get at the middle class youth than these camps,

where you have a whole week's steady work with them." Al is Chairman of the powerful Southern California Congress of Youth, and Katherine Cline, U.C.L.A. graduate, is Secretary.

*Williams College (Mass.)*

The L.I.D. group within the Williams Liberal Club sent in six new members late in June through John D. Lynn, the Student Rep.

*Yale Divinity School*

"We expect to have not less than twenty members to start the year with in September," writes V. H. Halloway from his home in Toledo, Ohio.

*St. Lawrence University (Canton, N. Y.)*

From an anxious member of the re-organized L.I.D. comes this query: "As a point of information I would like to know when one joins the Student L.I.D. does one's name reach government records so that they know in case of war just who the 'trouble makers' will be? Your answer will not change my decision, but for my own information I would like to know."

*University of Utah*

Prof. Earle Birney, step-father of the Sparks Club, has been the fortunate recipient of a European fellowship, which takes him to England and the Continent for a year.

The Chapter submitted nine new members in June. One of them, who had been working, enclosed a hard-earned five spot as a donation.

*Hollister Y.M.C.A. Conference*

"Shorty" Collins of the Univ. of Wisconsin sent in a bundle of 13 new members from this important Conference.

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