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PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

An index to inexpensive pamphlets on social,
economic, political, and international affairs

COMPILATION REVISED FEBRUARY 1937



BULLETIN 1937, No. 3

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR - - *Harold L. Ickes, Secretary*

OFFICE OF EDUCATION - - - - - *J. W. Studebaker, Commissioner*

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PUBLIC FORUM DEMONSTRATIONS

COMMUNITY-WIDE adult civic education demonstrations sponsored by the Office of Education, financed by Federal emergency funds and managed by local agencies of public education are in operation in 19 rural and urban centers during at least a part of the first 6 months of 1937. The following list gives the places where these projects are organized and the names of the superintendents of schools in administrative responsibility:

Atlanta Public Forum:

Willis A. Sutton, City Superintendent of Schools.
Atlanta, Ga.

Chattanooga-Hamilton County Public Forum

Arthur L. Rankin, County Superintendent of Schools.
Court House, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Colorado Springs Public Forum

(Pueblo, Otero, El Paso, and Las Animas Counties.)
Hobart M. Corning, City Superintendent of Schools.
406 N. Weber Street, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Connecticut Public Forum:

(Townships of Stamford, Norwalk, Greenwich, Darien, and New Canaan.)
Leon Staples, City Superintendent of Schools.
Stamford, Conn.

Dayton Public Forum:

Claude V. Courter, City Superintendent of Schools.
Dayton, Ohio.

Delaware County Public Forum:

Carl G. Leech, County Superintendent of Schools.
Media, Pa.

Little Rock Public Forum

(Pulaski County.)
R. C. Hall, City Superintendent of Schools.
800 Louisiana Street, Little Rock, Ark.

Manchester Public Forum

Louis P. Benezet, City Superintendent of Schools.
Room 12, Franklin Street School, Manchester, N. H.

Milwaukee Public Forum:

Milton C. Potter, City Superintendent of Schools.
Milwaukee, Wis.

Minneapolis Public Forum

Carroll R. Reed, City Superintendent of Schools.
305 City Hall, Minneapolis, Minn.

Monongalia County Public Forum

(Monongalia, Preston, and Taylor Counties.)
Floyd B. Cox, Monongalia County Superintendent of Schools.
Brown Annex, Morgantown, W. Va.

North Carolina Public Forum:

(Counties of Lenoir, Greene, Pitt, Wake, Wilson, Johnson, and Wayne.)

Ray Armstrong, City Superintendent of Schools.

Goldsboro, N. C.

Orange County Public Forum

F. A. Henderson, City Superintendent of Schools.

Room 118, Willard School, Santa Ana, Calif.

Portland Public Forum

Charles A. Rice, City Superintendent of Schools.

631 N. E. Clackamas Street, Portland, Oreg.

Schenectady Public Forum

W. H. Pillsbury, City Superintendent of Schools.

Room 110, Riverside School, Schenectady, N. Y.

Seattle Public Forum:

Worth McClure, City Superintendent of Schools.

Seattle, Wash.

Texas Public Forum:

(McLennan and Falls Counties.)

R. H. Brister, City Superintendent of Schools.

Waco, Tex.

Weber County Public Forum:

W. Karl Hopkins, City Superintendent of Schools.

Ogden, Utah.

Wichita Public Forum

L. W. Mayberry, City Superintendent of Schools.

Wichita, Kans.

FOREWORD

LAST May the Office of Education organized a list of pamphlet material under the title "Public Affairs Pamphlets." While this tabulation was prepared primarily to meet the needs of the 10 public forum demonstrations then organizing programs of public discussion, it was widely used by libraries, forums of all kinds, social science teachers and professors, and adult education groups in all parts of the Nation. In fact, it was necessary to double the first printing order to meet the demand. Since the presentation of the first index to pamphlet materials, a new division has been added to the Office of Education. This division will be devoted to library service. It is our hope that this useful activity may be carried on from year to year as a function of the library division. This publication, like its predecessor, was compiled under the direction of the Assistant Administrator of the Public Forum Project by Miss Phyllis D. Mills, a member of the staff.

The following facts should be noted:

1. There is no attempt to evaluate the contents of the pamphlets listed. A brief statement of the nature of the contents is given as an elaboration or clarification of the title.
2. All publishers of pamphlet material have been invited to list their titles and information about their publications. Every effort was made to collect a complete list of pamphlet publishers. Some publishers may not be included because they failed to reply to the questionnaire sent to them.
3. In order to be listed in this publication, the pamphlets should be—
 - a. Inexpensive—costing not more than 50 cents.
 - b. Ten or more pages in length.
 - c. Dealing with some aspect of public affairs.
 - d. On hand in sufficient quantity to meet a reasonable demand—a supply of at least 500 at the time of listing.
4. Some pamphlets listed may be out of print or the supply may be exhausted within a short time. It is hoped that the publishers will see fit to reprint to meet demands while the material is current.
5. New pamphlets are being published daily. Additions to this index will be made from time to time in mimeographed form. *Those desiring to receive these additions as they appear should write to the Office of Education to have their names placed on the list.*
6. *The Office of Education does not stock these pamphlets. Orders should not be sent to the Office of Education.*
7. *The listing of pamphlets does not imply that they are recommended by the Office of Education. This publication attempts to list pamphlets representing all points of view on public questions.*

J. W. STUDEBAKER,
Commissioner of Education.

PLANNED USE OF PAMPHLETS

EARLY American democracy used two important tools. One was the Town Meeting where free men gathered to discuss public affairs. The other was the inexpensive pamphlet by which ideas and proposals could be circulated among the people. Those who insisted on the first ten amendments to the Constitution remembered the attempts of their former rulers to suppress the pamphleteers and the Town Meetings. The term "free press" did not refer to newspapers alone. Indeed, the right to print ideas and to circulate them in the form of pamphlets was at least as important to the founding fathers as the freedom of newspaper editors to express their opinions.

Since those early days, we have devised machines which can be operated in one place to type material in hundreds of places. We have created moving pictures which can bring us news, information, and ideas from every part of the world. We are now using the ether waves to carry ideas from a central point into millions of homes. But have we therefore outgrown the two important tools with which our forefathers fashioned a new democracy? Is the meeting of citizens for the discussion of public questions outmoded by the motion pictures, the radio, and the modern newspaper? Is the pamphlet no longer useful or practical as a means of informing the people of various proposals for social improvement and remedies for social ills?

A distinguishing feature of these modern means of communication is the fact that they centralize the distribution of ideas. There are only a limited number of radio frequencies. It costs a great amount to secure the equipment to broadcast. There are only 12 or 15 effective hours in the day. That means selection. Turned the other way it means censorship. It means that some centralized authority in charge of the means of communication must of necessity make choices from the unlimited variety of ideas and subjects and somehow determine the program. If the authority must choose some things, it must likewise reject others.

Another distinguishing feature of these modern means of communication is the fact that they do not lend themselves readily to the procedures of study. The motion picture is capable of giving a vivid impression but in a moment the picture is gone (of course, it can be run over again). The modern newspaper is prepared with

the expectation that it will be hurriedly read and cast aside, usually on the very day it is printed. The radio is very much like the motion pictures with this important difference that it must depend upon sound alone to convey impressions and ideas. It is interesting to note that the rapid detailing of news on the radio does not satisfy the average person. He wants to read about it in his newspaper. Usually he wants to read more about it in a weekly or monthly magazine. And then he should have it in pamphlet or book form to which he can refer time and again.

In other words, the printed word does not lose its importance when other mechanisms for expressing ideas are created. These other mechanisms may give more vivid impressions, but they do not lend themselves as readily to reflective thinking. Study is a process of organized pondering. The book or the magazine article or the pamphlet enables people to ponder or study. These institutions of communication are complementary to each other. Some means of expression are more accessible to the people due to the low cost of production.

There is, of course, a certain democracy of the market. Those features which receive a popular response are given greater play while those which seem to interest the people less are curtailed. But there is always the possibility that the range of selection may be limited by agreement among the few in strategic positions. There is always the possibility that the power of selection which requires the exercise of censorship may be used to withhold information and ideas which are important to the very process of free choice, the heart of democracy. The freedom of the people to assemble in meetings for the purpose of open discussion, and the freedom of the individual and small associations to publish pamphlets and magazines operate as safeguards against the possible collusion of the centralized agencies of communication to deprive the people of access to information and ideas important to their welfare. The public meeting and the pamphlet are still important tools in a democracy because they can be wielded by the people themselves.

For a few dollars an individual or a group may express a point of view in printed form in a pamphlet. For a nominal sum of 5 to 25 cents people of small means may read such a pamphlet, or for nothing, if borrowed from the public library. It can be passed around and discussed. One does not have to depend upon the selective power of a publisher who must calculate the possibilities of the market for a book, or a radio manager who must consider the limitations of the clock, or the motion picture company which must think of the box office, or the editor of a great newspaper who must think in terms of space, in order to get at least some consideration of his ideas. He may publish a pamphlet. If it offers important consider-

ations for the public welfare, it ought to be circulated among thousands of people just as the writings of Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Pasteur, Voltaire, and Horace Mann reached the attention of the masses.

It is, of course, true that pamphlets will be published by organized agencies whose managers will have to exercise "editorial judgment" in selecting manuscripts. The publishers of pamphlets must also study the market. But the investment involved in introducing a pamphlet is so small that the individual or group wanting to express an idea may turn publisher for the purpose. Every printing press is a potential dispatcher of pamphlet material. The original venture is not dependent upon complicated and costly machinery or upon large subscription lists. Access to the means of producing pamphlets is easy.

The problem in a modern democracy is to organize the market so that various ideas in printed form may have a practical chance in the struggle for public attention. If that market is organized so that people in all kinds of groups are constantly seeking the best pamphlet material, freedom of expression will take on a new significance in our democracy.

This index to pamphlet material attempts to make a contribution to the solution of this problem of organizing the market for inexpensive pamphlet material. It offers a comprehensive bibliography of the current pamphlet material available.

The distribution of the first tabulation resulted in clarifying two aspects of this problem. First, it was obvious that representatives of forums, adult education groups, libraries, women's clubs, and civic organizations interested in public affairs wanted not only to see the titles and certain facts about them, but they wanted to see the pamphlets themselves before ordering in quantity for their groups. Second, it was noted that there should be some clearing house through which representatives of all interested groups and even individuals might secure pamphlets of all kinds published by different agencies. In other words, a careful tabulation of pamphlet material on public affairs was not enough. Librarians and adult education leaders eager to see a more effective use of popular pamphlets made many suggestions for the solution of these two problems.

As a result, plans have been formulated to deal with these two problems experimentally.

Three agencies have collaborated in evolving these plans—the Public Forum Project of the Office of Education, the American Library Association, and the Public Affairs Committee. All three are nonpartisan, noncommercial, and concerned with the vital problem of adult education.

PAMPHLET DISPLAY PLAN

AFTER having created a practical and usable index of current pamphlet material, the next important step is to enable people, particularly the program or literature chairman of discussion groups and forums, to inspect the available material. The logical place for a pamphlet display in any community is the public library. Therefore, the plan was based on the cooperation of the library. In brief outline the plan is as follows:

1. The Public Forum Project and the American Library Association will seek the cooperation of a centrally located library in each of the 15 forum demonstration centers.¹ These libraries will receive one copy of each pamphlet listed in the index.
2. The American Library Association will seek the cooperation of 15 centrally located libraries in as many other communities where forum demonstrations are not operated. And these libraries will also receive one copy of each pamphlet listed in this index.
3. All libraries will be advised of the general plan and encouraged to participate by creating pamphlet displays as comprehensive as possible within their own resources.
4. The 30 libraries cooperating in the special demonstration centers both in the places where community-wide forum projects are operated and elsewhere would agree to—
 - (a) Display the pamphlets in a room where they may be inspected and studied by all who are interested.
 - (b) Make available assistance to people seeking information or help in using the display.
 - (c) Inform through letters, newspaper announcements, and other means of publicity all potential buyers of pamphlet materials for groups in the community interested in public affairs.
 - (d) Make a monthly report on the activities and their results in accordance with a reporting form suitable for tabulation.

There are probably several hundred leaders of groups, classes, clubs, associations, and forums in each community who are potentially interested in popular pamphlet materials on some phases of public affairs. This plan enables these leaders to inspect a comprehensive list of pamphlets in their own community. Each of these leaders could not afford to purchase single copies of all titles just to see which ones would be useful to his group and their program. Most of them would have no way of knowing what pamphlet material is available. The index to pamphlet material gives that information. But the pamphlets are so numerous that the individual finds himself in a quandary to choose the 10 or 15 titles which will be most useful.

Furthermore, the careful manager of an educational program for adults wants to provide as great a variety of material as possible.

¹ For the list of Public Forum Demonstrations see pp. 1 and 2.

He wants to make available literature which present different points of view. The display enables him to study the contents as a preparation for purchasing for his group.

Not only is the display expected to serve the needs of all kinds of groups interested in public affairs, but it is also possible that it will stimulate a new interest in the use of pamphlet material in civic education. A survey, recently completed by the Office of Education,² shows that few public forums are actually making use of pamphlet material as an auxiliary to public discussion. Correspondence demonstrates a growing interest in this aspect of adult civic education. The display in itself, if well publicized, would undoubtedly stimulate the use of pamphlets and the sale of them at forum meetings.

The very fact that the pamphlet is priced to suit the limited resources of the masses for literature prevents the publishers from making it known by the usual and expensive means of publicity. The pamphlet display brings this type of literature to the attention of those who are eager for supplementary materials in civic education. It offers an effective way of making the available material known in the local community. If the consumers desire to improve the quality of low-priced pamphlet material and keep open this important line of communication, they must have some practical means of distribution. That means seems to be through groups already organized to give some consideration to public affairs. The public library can serve at the vital point of providing a display room. The library can also become a pamphlet distributor by lending and, in some cases, selling pamphlets to individuals who may not secure them through a group-purchasing plan.

CLEARING-HOUSE PLAN

THE second problem involved in a practical organization of the market was brought vividly to our attention by the many letters received from persons using the first tabulation of pamphlet material. Under the mistaken impression that the pamphlets listed in the publication could be ordered from the Office of Education many people sent in long lists of pamphlets and checks to cover the cost in accordance with the prices listed. It was necessary, of course, to return these lists and checks to the senders and advise them that they must send their orders directly to the publishers. In many cases this meant addressing an order to 10 or more different publishers located in different parts of the country. It meant making out a

² For further details see forthcoming publication "Choosing Our Way: A Study of America's Forums", Office of Education.

check to each publisher. We discovered that most of the buyers who had hoped to receive supplies of pamphlets for their groups by addressing one order and one check to the Office of Education did not take the trouble to divide these orders into the requisite number of parts to get them filled directly by the various publishers. This experience emphasized the importance of a central clearing house to which buyers for discussion groups, adult classes, clubs, organizations, schools, and libraries could apply with single orders for wide selection of pamphlet materials.

This problem has two aspects. First, there are the buyers who will purchase a quantity supply of each title desired for sale or distribution to their group. Second, there are buyers who are seeking to purchase dozens of single copies for lending to the members of their groups.

The clearing-house plan described here attempts to attack the first aspect of this problem in the beginning. It may be found practical later on for the clearing house to carry in stock a small supply of most of the titles and thus to be in a position to fill orders for five or more single copies.

The Public Affairs Committee, a nonpartisan and noncommercial organization primarily interested in the development of pamphlet distribution, has undertaken this clearing-house service experimentally by organizing a *pamphlet distribution service*. At first this service will act merely as a clearing house between the consumer and the publisher. It will receive quantity orders from the consumer and redirect them to the proper publishers. No stock of pamphlets will be kept on hand at present.

For the present the service operates on the following basis:

1. The Pamphlet Distribution Service takes orders for pamphlets dealing with current social and economic questions. Individual pamphlets must cost 50 cents or less. Free material will be handled.
2. All orders must be for five or more copies of each pamphlet.
3. Orders for publications from the Government Printing Office and Government Departments must be accompanied by cash.
4. The Pamphlet Distribution Service will bill customers monthly for orders from other publishers. This applies to public organizations (local, State, or Federal agencies) and incorporated private agencies. All orders from unincorporated private agencies and from individuals must be accompanied by cash.
5. No orders on consignment will be accepted. All sales are final.
6. There is no charge for the service. Rates stated in this index by the publishers apply. Orders and inquiries should be addressed to Miss CAROLINE C. CURTIS, Pamphlet Distribution Service, Public Affairs Committee, 1091 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

This index is organized so that the user may order single copies directly from the publisher whose name and address are given above

the titles available. On page 85 is a sample order blank which may be used by the purchaser of pamphlets in quantities of five or more per title.

IMPROVING PAMPHLETS

THERE is a growing interest among leaders in adult education in the pamphlet as a practical form for reaching the mass of adult learners in the post-school educative process. It is recognized by all that there is much room for improvement of pamphlets both in content and format. The available pamphlets on public affairs may be roughly described in five categories.

1. *Arguing a point of view.*—Many organizations and groups publish pamphlets setting forth, explaining, supporting, arguing, presenting evidence and logic in behalf of a particular point of view on debatable issues.
2. *Conflict of views.*—A few groups, usually organized to promote education about public problems and not for particular proposed solutions, present pamphlets containing two or more points of view on debatable issues.
3. *Background material.*—Some publishers have approached public questions from the historical point of view, offering pamphlets prepared by students of the problems which attempt to set forth in a brief and organized way the background of issues, leaving it to other publications to argue the merits of proposed solutions.
4. *Popularizing research.*—Some attempts have been made to summarize important studies and vital research for people who cannot or will not take the time to review such material in thick and comprehensive books. The object here is to present the heart of a piece of research in simple form.
5. *Discussion outlines.*—Some problems of public concern are handled in pamphlet form to be used by leaders of discussion and study groups. The problem is outlined and various points of view about it are suggested. Questions for study and discussion as well as additional reading references are usually included in this type of pamphlet.

By listing these rather arbitrary categories, we do not imply that all pamphlets fall into one of them. Most pamphlets combine qualities of the various types suggested.

It is increasingly apparent to those in adult education that there is a need for reading materials written in the vernacular of the common people. Complex problems, in the field of civic education at least, must be described in terms that can be easily understood by the average citizen. Material which cannot be understood by people without a college education is obviously aimed at a small minority of perhaps 2 percent. If an understanding of the problems being discussed is essential to people as voters and citizens, the presentation should be suited to their needs and capacities.

It may be impractical to expect the scholar in the field of research to put his material in a form which can be read and understood by the average citizen. Some students who have mastered the vernacular of the social sciences are unable to translate their data and ideas into the vernacular of the people. That they should be able to share their findings with the masses of people who are in the last analysis the source of power in a democracy is generally agreed. The very purpose of research and analysis in the field of social problems is largely negated if the results are not made available to the people in whose hands rests the power to take action.

The pamphlet offers one important medium for making the results of study and research available to the citizens. It may be found necessary and practical to divide the functions of research and presentation. Pamphlets for adult education purposes may be produced more and more through a collaboration of the scholar of subjects and the experts in popular presentation. There are four important aspects of the pamphlet from the production point of view.

1. *Material.*—This is collected by the social scientist.
2. *Point of view.*—This may also be collected and interpreted by the social scientist, or it may be provided by the advocates themselves.
3. *Writing.*—This may be best provided by an expert in popular expression, a specialist in the vernacular of the people.
4. *Illustration.*—Charts, graphs, cartoons, picture material, and illustrations, as well as general format of the publication, should be supplied by experts in the field of visual aids.

The immediate difficulty in dividing these functions in the production of pamphlets is the cost. The only answer to the difficulty is an organized market which can be expected to respond to really well prepared pamphlets in terms of 50,000 to 100,000. So it may be properly emphasized that the organization of the market is an important step toward getting pamphlets produced to meet the need. Regardless of how much we may know about planning vital, inexpensive pamphlets by coordinating the various skills required to produce them, we shall not have many such pamphlets until there is a practical medium of distribution which can assure mass consumption at the minimum cost of circulation.

Such an organization of the market can be brought about most easily by the cooperation of all educational and civic leaders who see the need for such educational materials. Above all the essential requirement is quantity purchase for distribution to organized groups with regular meetings. The low-priced pamphlet cannot be distributed practically on the single order basis requiring a direct connection between the publisher and the ultimate consumer. Group purchasing is fundamental.

EVALUATION

THIS index does not attempt to evaluate the merits of pamphlets. It tries to describe and to catalog them. There is, of course, a need for evaluation. This can be done to some extent by the various organized agencies using them. Organizations like the American Political Science Association, League of Women Voters, the Federal Council of Churches, the Grange, American Legion, adult education councils, youth groups, workers education and parent education organizations, and scores of others may prepare their own recommendations and evaluations. Some of these groups do this now. But again, the maximum usefulness of such services depends upon an organization of the market so that representatives of these various groups may (a) see the pamphlets in some central place in their own communities and (b) have a practical and simple way of securing quantity supplies through a clearing house.

"The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." To be watchful and on the alert to apprehend any attempt to curtail fundamental civil liberties is but a small part of the content of this vigilance. There is a positive side to the admonition. If liberty is to be perpetuated in the remaining democracies, it is essential that the people be vigilant in protecting and developing the institutions which foster a well ordered freedom. The freedom of the people to determine the general policies of government cannot long exist unless the people nurture those institutions and activities which promote the enlightened use of liberty. It is not enough that the attempt to suppress free inquiry and free expression be frustrated. It is even more important that practical action be taken by the people to promote the widespread use of the right of free expression. The planned use of pamphlets in adult civic education offers an important means of protecting and perpetuating the freedoms which are basic to democracy.

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Administrator Public Forum Project.

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Explanations and charts of types of illness cost of hospital and doctor; who pays.⁴
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¹ Bibliography.

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507. CALIVER, AMBROSE. Fundamentals in Education of Negroes. 10 cents each. 90 pages. Issued 1935.
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554. Staff. Modern Tax Systems; New York and Wisconsin. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$10 per hundred.² 17 pages. Issued December 1935.

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555. Staff. Tax Limits Prove Unwise. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$10 per hundred.* 16 pages. Issued January 1936.
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556. Staff. New Deal Tax Policy; 25 cents each.* 28 pages. Issued January 1936.
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591. DIRECTOR, AARON. The Economics of Technocracy. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$18 per hundred.² 27 pages. Issued 1933.

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Proposals for liberal economic policy; definition of problems and features.

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609. STALEY, EUGENE. Foreign Investment and War. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10. 23 pages. Issued 1935.

Investment and diplomacy; international conflict; proposals.³

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611. University Round Table. Balancing the Budget. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$18 per hundred.³ 30 pages. Issued 1933.

Eleven members discuss the problems of the depression; types of expenditure.

612. University Round Table. Economic Meaning of the Townsend Plan. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$18 per hundred.³ 37 pages. Issued 1936.

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614. WIESE, MILDRED J.; BRYSON, LYMAN; and HALLENBECK, WILBUR C. Let's Talk It Over. 10 cents each; \$8 per hundred.³ 41 pages. Issued 1936.

Outline of American Primers; salient points pro and con for discussion each topic.

615. WRIGHT, QUINCY. The United States and Neutrality. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10. 29 pages. Issued 1935.

Probability of staying out of war; proposal.

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616. KAPLAN, A. D. H. What, If Not Capitalism? 5 cents each; \$3 per hundred. 38 pages. Issued April 1935.

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617. Commission of Inquiry. International Economic Relations. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$15 per hundred.³ 96 pages. Issued 1935.

Recommendations for economic policy; background research by members.³

618. MOULTON, H. G. Income Distribution Under Capitalism. 25 cents each; \$2 for 10; \$15 per hundred.³ 32 pages. Issued 1935.

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