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League for Industrial Democracy

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OUR ANNUAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

Students and Alumni Discuss American Colleges and American Labor at Successful Gathering in New York

SOME sixty students from twenty-five Eastern and Western colleges and some hundreds of college alumni attended various sessions of the Intercollegiate Department of the League for Industrial Democracy held in New York City on December 28th and 29th. Keen interest was shown throughout in the conference's analysis of student problems here and abroad and the constructive features of the American labor movement.

The Opening Reception

A winter's storm proved no serious interference to the reception to M. Longuet which opened the conference on Thursday night. For this reception Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram generously gave her house. Under these pleasant circumstances some eighty-five students and other members of the L. I. D. greeted M. Longuet and two European students, Joachim Friedrich of Germany, and Piet Roest of Holland. The presence of these students we owe to the National Student Forum under whose auspices they are in this country. Dr. Laidler presided, and brief speeches of welcome were made by Mrs. Florence Kelley, Harry W. L. Dana and Philip Voltz of the University of Wisconsin.

Messrs. Friedrich and Roest followed with interesting descriptions of the youth movement in Europe. That movement takes manifold forms in most of the continental countries. It acknowledges various creeds or sources of inspiration: Christian, socialist, communist, individualist. But in all its forms it is characterized by a desire on the part of young men and women to strive to attain their ideals in their own personal lives and to extend these ideals by living contacts and by the daily practice of brotherhood.

Jean Longuet spoke in appreciation of the spirit of his European comrades, but warned against the dangers of two great individualism and of the "anti-intellectualism" that Joachim Friedrich had seemed to commend. "The first impulse among well-meaning young men and women is usually sentimental in origin. They are revolted by the fundamental injustice of modern capitalist society. To this fine feeling must be added a knowledge of facts and a scientific method."

M. Longuet illustrated his point by stories of his own experience as secretary of the Collectivist Student Group in Paris. "In France," he said, "eighty or ninety per cent of the young men who as students sympathize with the labor movement are ten years later indifferent or hostile to it. The Collectivist Club, however, can boast that sixty to seventy per cent of its old members are still in sympathy with the socialist and labor movement, many of them being militant members of the party, propagandists, journalists, or members of municipal bodies or of the Chamber of Deputies."

The Collectivist Club carries on a work of education both among its own membership and outside.

M. Longuet concluded by speaking of the great importance of workers' education, a field in which more is done in England and Germany than in France.

The addresses were followed by an informal reception. Miss Mary Porter, chairman, and other members of the New York Cameraderie served on the hospitality committee.

The League's College Activities

The Friday morning session at the home of Louise Adams Floyd, 114 East 31st Street, was devoted to reports from the college field and a discussion of college problems.

Norman Thomas, Director of the League, briefly reviewed its work during the past few months, particularly in the colleges, though pointing out that the League was more than a college organization.

"The League has this year arranged a successful series of debates on the 'Open Shop' between Paul Blanshard, Educational Director of the Rochester Branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Noel Sargent, Manager of the Open Shop Department of the National Association of Manufacturers. The debates were held at Northwestern, Chicago University and the Universities of Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, and aroused considerable interest. The League also assisted in arranging addresses for Robert Morss Lovett, John Haynes Holmes, Scott Nearing, Harry W. Laidler, and others before groups at Chicago, Cornell, Columbia, Wisconsin, etc. It held several successful monthly student conferences in New York at the Civic Club, addressed by Harriot Stanton Blatch, Stuart Chase, George Soule, Cedric Long. It has been able to advise the National Student Forum on lectures, and gave its assistance in arranging the tour of K. M. Lindsay of Oxford, who is speaking in our colleges on workers' education.

"I myself have spoken this year at Columbia, the College of the City of New York, Yale, Wesleyan, Berkeley Divinity School, Dartmouth, Clark University, Harvard, Tufts, Simmons, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Boston Trade Union College, Bates and Mt. Holyoke, and am arranging other meetings, including an extensive Western tour for the second semester.

"These meetings are held under various local auspices. Our representatives have spoken before liberal clubs, student forums, politics clubs, economics clubs, college classes and Christian associations. We have actual chapters of the society in Columbia, New York School for Social Work, Cornell, Vassar, Wisconsin, California and Kansas City Junior College.

"The New York Chapter of the League, the New York Cameraderie, under the able presidency of Louise Adams Floyd, has continued its weekly meetings. Among the fall speakers have been Morris Hillquit, Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, Mary Austin, David J. Saposs, John Rothschild, Norman Thomas and Roger Baldwin.

"There are at least three advantages of affiliation of the college groups with the L. I. D.:

"(1) It places the resources of the national office more completely at the disposal of local groups in the matter of speakers, pamphlet literature and the like.

"(2) It gives a definite object to the thoughtful student. Without being dogmatic or doctrinaire, we believe that we can present evidence which will justify thoughtful men and women in accepting our object as their object. There is no more tremendous task than that which we challenge students to share: The education of men for a new social order based on production for use rather than for profit. In the success of that process is bound up our hope of peace, prosperity and a nobler culture for the race. Yet we ask no students to accept our statement on this matter without examination of the evidence. We do not even require of our college chapters or affiliated groups that they declare their acceptance of our simple creed. We ask them to examine the evidence for it, and then as individuals to make up their minds as to the truth.

"(3) It brings collegians in touch with college graduates in those centers in which they may go. What the Fabian Society and the Guild Socialist League have done in England, what Clarté is doing on the Continent—this, making due allowance for American conditions and American needs, the L. I. D. seeks to accomplish in the United States. In this task it seeks not merely to serve existing college groups, but to add the strength of these groups to its national movement."

The Need for Research

Harry W. Laidler, co-Director of the L. I. D., emphasized the research and pamphleteering side of the League's work. He said in part:

"The League is strongly of the opinion that some group in America ought to be continuously at work on the concrete problems of social ownership. The League is planning to explore some of these problems—the problems of democratic control of industry, of industrial incentives, of methods which insure selection of those best fitted to serve under a system of production for use. It is planning to investigate what actual social experiments in the world today are pointing in the direction of industrial democracy, and to discover what features of these experiments should be preserved, what elements should be discarded.

"The L. I. D. is likewise devoting itself to the building up of a scientific, yet popular pamphlet literature. We have this year published "Irrepressible America," by Dr. Scott Nearing; "Challenge of Waste," by Stuart Chase, and "Recent Developments in Socialism," by Harry W. Laidler, and will soon issue pamphlets on "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement," by George Soule, and other literature.

"Among the members of the Advisory Research Council who have expressed their willingness to assist in the League's research and pamphleteering work are: Katharine Anthony, Stuart Chase, Albert De Silver, Arthur Gleason, Bruno Lasker, Wesley C. Mitchell, William F. Ogburn, George Soule, N. I. Stone, Harry F. Ward and Arthur Warner."

The Yale Liberal Club Picks Its Members

Following the Directors' reports, a number of the college students who were present at the morning session told of conditions at their respective colleges. F. O. Matheissen reported for the Yale Liberal Club in part as follows:

"In one sense the Liberal Club, which now includes thirty-five members, is exclusive: it admits only those to membership who show a keen interest in its work. It excludes those who are indifferent. A student meets us on the campus. He wants to be admitted to the Club. We ask him whether he reads the newspapers, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Freeman*; whether he cares about the problems that the Club is discussing. If he answers 'Yes,' he is admitted. If the answer is 'No,' he is refused.

"The Club conducts public lectures every two weeks. At Norman Thomas' lecture on 'Wanted—A New Incentive,' two hundred students kept the speaker busy answering questions following his lecture until he had to leave to catch a train. We hold occasional dinners to which members of the Liberal Club may ask their friends. These are addressed by members of the faculty.

"The student request to have Scott Nearing speak on the campus led to a lengthy debate regarding the censorship of college lecturers. The request was denied, and the Dean suggested that a faculty committee be appointed to censure

future speakers. This the Club was unwilling to agree to after it found that the student body would not be represented on the committee. The administration then proposed that the Club submit a list of speakers to the college office at the beginning of each college year. The members, however, showed the impracticability of this plan, and it was dropped. The chief need at Yale is to dissipate the ignorance of many of the students regarding the social movements of the day.

"The L. I. D. can be of chief service at Yale in providing speakers and literature for the students who are beginning to realize the importance of fundamental social problems."

At Berkeley Divinity School

Clark Kennedy, representing Berkeley Divinity School, declared that some phase of the social problem is taken up practically every Wednesday evening at supper. Most of the faculty members are decidedly liberal in their point of view. The students will especially welcome the research side of the League's work.

Freedom of Discussion at Dartmouth

An encouraging social ferment at Dartmouth was described by R. A. Gibson, a delegate from the Dartmouth Round Table. The three main student organizations formed there for the discussion of social questions are the Open Forum, the Round Table and a Fellowship of Reconciliation group. The Round Table recently entertained Kenneth Lindsay of Oxford and Mir Mahmood of India. A proposal is now on foot to divide this group into two branches—a conservative and a radical branch. The Fellowship group scheduled A. J. Muste and Norman Thomas during the fall, who spoke on "Tolstoi and Pacifism" and the "New Imperialism." Arrangements are being made to hear Scott Nearing in late February. President Hopkins has shown a fine spirit of liberality in his attitude toward the speakers whom the group desires, his one requirement being that an opportunity be given to hear all sides.

The English Style Debate at Swarthmore

A feature of the recent activities of the Swarthmore group, affiliated with the National Student Forum, according to Marjorie Onderdonk, has been the development of the English style debate, with one speaker on the affirmative and one on the negative, followed by general discussion. Miss Onderdonk urged that college groups should not confine their activities to a small unit, but should try to reach the entire college body. Frank Stevens, the Single Taxer, K. M. Lindsay and others spoke in Swarthmore during the fall term.

Wisconsin Regains Progressive Spirit

One of the most encouraging reports of the morning was given by Philip Voltz of the Social Science Club of the University of Wisconsin. The college contains a number of student groups formed to study public questions—the Social Science Club, the College League of Women Voters, the Federated Press Club, and the Friends of Soviet Russia. There are also the Unity Club, which meets every week in the local Unitarian Church, the Women's Progressive League, the Campus Religious Council and similar groups. Mr. Voltz continued:

"The majority of the Board of Regents of the University, appointed under the old state regime, are still conservative, but new regents are gradually being appointed by Governor Blaine, the progressive governor. When the college administration refused to permit Kate Richard O'Hare to speak at the university last year, the students obtained permission from the Governor to have her lecture in the assembly hall of the Capitol. Upton Sinclair spoke to a crowded gymnasium last year after the building had first been refused. Six or seven hundred attended the debate between Paul Blanshard and Noel Sargent on 'The Open Shop' this fall, the large majority in the audience favoring Blanshard's presentation of the closed shop side of the argument. A small,

muck-raking magazine is now being discussed by one of the college groups. A big help to the Middle Western groups would be a number of sectional conferences held in or near Chicago for the purpose of acquainting the students in the various colleges with each other and of advising them in developing effective lines of college activity."

Rachelle Goldberg and Eleanor Mishnun of Cornell felt that the Cornell Socialist Club had, unfortunately, become, during the last year or so, a mere debating society, attracting radical students, but rather ineffective in reaching the outsider.

In Cornell the mass of students, they declared, are more conservative than the faculty. The university is suffering from an excessive amount of "flapperism," and one who takes a serious interest in social problems is too often contemptuously dubbed a "high-brow." On the other hand, it must be said that the Student Forum, the Ethics Club and the Cosmopolitan Club are giving considerable attention to social problems.

Several of the delegates urged that the more sympathetic Cornell professors be asked to assist in inducing "key" men among the students to become officers of the club.

The Goucher Students Take Charge

Clara Miller reported for Goucher College. The Liberal Club there has some eighty members. During the fall Carl Van Doren, Professor William P. Montague, Rabbi Wise, and Kenneth Lindsay addressed the group. Last season Scott Nearing and Norman Angell were among the speakers before the student body. The students this fall have reorganized and taken complete charge of the club, which last season was largely under faculty control. The chief need is that of developing fruitful discussion following set addresses and for a scientific pamphlet literature. The group has of late been giving considerable attention to the youth movement abroad.

The Gains from a Club House at Harvard

The advantage of a club house in promoting interest in social problems was emphasized by Mr. Norman E. Himes of Harvard University. The Harvard Students' Liberal Club, he declared, had entertained in its new club house during the past season over eighty speakers, on political and economic problems, as well as on problems of art, of literature, of drama.

"Student groups can accomplish much more by opening their platform to all kinds of speakers from conservatives to extreme radicals than by becoming out-and-out propaganda organizations. We in Harvard have never had any difficulty in getting speakers for the Liberal Club, and there has been no attempt to censure speakers. Perhaps this has been because most of the talks have been off of the campus in our Club House.

"Our Club provides a guest room for out-of-town lecturers and maintains a library of books on economic problems. Our main task is that of overcoming the apathy of the student body."

Columbia Restricts Outside Speakers

Just the reverse of the Harvard policy of uncensored speech is the temporary policy adopted in Columbia, according to reports from Messrs. Ostrinsky and Teeple. About two years ago Columbia decided to permit no one except graduates of Columbia to address a new student organization unless that organization was sponsored by one of the Columbia departments. Although the Socialist Club had been in existence almost continuously since 1906, the administration took advantage of a temporary lapse in this group to classify it as a new organization. As a result, the Socialist Club has been limited in its choice to a comparatively few speakers. Last season it held a number of private luncheons, at which some prominent men and women were the guests, but it was handicapped by its inability to make its announcements pub-

lic. This year it arranged lectures by Professor Seligman on "Has Marxism Failed?" and by Harry W. Laidler on the "European Socialist Movement." A number of club members are now engaged in developing an "Open Forum," under the auspices of one of the departments, keeping intact, however, the present Socialist Club.

From a Labor College

The last student to report was Goldie Shase of Brookwood Labor College. Miss Shase told of this unique experiment in labor education, emphasized its broad method of approaching the social problem and dwelt upon the need for trained leadership in the labor movement.

City Groups Report

Short reports were likewise given by representatives of various city groups. Professor Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania told of the work of the Young Democracy of Philadelphia. He said in part:

"In order to bring the message of industrial democracy before the people of Philadelphia, the Young Democracy has conducted weekly Sunday forums for the last few years, with many hundreds in attendance. This year it has scheduled men and women of the type of John Haynes Holmes, Norman Thomas, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Florence Kelley, W. E. B. DuBois, A. J. Muste, Harry Dana, Father Ryan and Nathaniel Schmidt. The city authorities have been doing what they could to discourage this work. Last year the Forum was able to pay expenses, for the most part, out of collections. This year, however, the authorities unearthed an old Blue Law which they interpreted as forbidding the holding of Sunday meetings where collections were taken, and the members have had to resort to other methods of paying for the meetings. The authorities have failed, however, to apply this law to other agencies."

Edwin Evans told of the birth this fall of the Washington, D. C., chapter of the L. I. D., and of the meeting addressed by Norman Thomas. He urged the students, aware of the social tragedies brought about by our present order, to dedicate themselves, as Lincoln dedicated himself, to a government of, by and for the people.

At the conclusion of the morning session, the delegates unanimously passed a resolution demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

Miss Mishnun of Cornell, Miss Miller of Goucher, Norman E. Himes of Harvard, F. O. Matheissen of Yale and R. A. Gibson of Dartmouth were appointed a committee of five to consider the best methods of selecting the Advisory Students' Council for the coming year. The Committee, after their luncheon conference, recommended that the League be authorized to communicate with such college groups as may be represented at the conference and others which may be selected relative to the nomination of students for this Council. Following the appointment of this committee, the morning session adjourned.

SESSION ON THE AMERICAN COLLEGE

When the afternoon session of the League opened, every inch of space in the home of Mrs. Floyd was occupied with college students and members and friends of the League who had come to discuss the problem: "What is the Matter With the American College?"

From one point of view, maintained Dr. Scott Nearing of the Rand School of Social Science and formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, nothing is the matter with the universities. They were organized to uphold the present order, and they are performing the task set out for them. From the educational standpoint, however, they are most inadequate.

"The same men who direct the banks and manufacturing establishments of the country direct the colleges as members

of their boards of trustees. These men are putting the same standard of intelligence into their work of college management that they are putting into any other phase of their business management. Their object is threefold.

- "1. They expect the college to increase the productive efficiency of their students.
- "2. They expect the colleges to teach the importance of maintaining the established order (law and order).
- "3. They expect the college to protect young men and women from the possibility of becoming contaminated with new ideas—that is, to perpetuate ignorance.

"In all three of these directions the American colleges are functioning admirably. Well might it be said of them: 'Ye do the work of your master, Big Business, whose servants ye are!'"

Professor Lovett Advocates Curricula Changes

Robert Morss Lovett, President of the League, admitted much of Dr. Nearing's indictment of the American college, mentioned some of the historical reasons for its present situation and pointed to possible ways whereby students might help to reconstruct the college curriculum.

Professor Lovett said:

"The college curriculum in the past was entirely dominated by a spirit of scholasticism. It was aristocratic in that it sought the preservation of a culture which was special to the learned professions and had no appeal to the ordinary man. In the changes which have been made in the college curriculum under the influence of democracy, we recognize two tendencies, one to render the approach to the subject matter easy and rapid by the use of lectures, handbooks, surveys; a second to replace the humanistic studies of the college curriculum by practical or breadwinning studies. The vast increase in technical school and business colleges in the last few years is a striking evidence of this. In other words, the most serious effort of our colleges is at present put forth in teaching their pupils to master the technique of the present world. Along with this goes the liberal arts curriculum as a venerable tradition which has lost its power to humanize, in a high sense, its followers.

"In the effort to reintegrate the college course two suggestions have been made that are coming to be of general acceptance. One, that the special study of the technique of the present world should be supplemented by a broad survey. The other, that there should be a prescribed course in intellectual processes and the use of the mind. The latter course should set up an ideal of thoroughness and exactness as opposed to the loose methods followed in so-called cultural courses. And it should further suggest the application of the scientific method to the institutions of the present world. The scientific method may be said to rest upon two impulses—One, to doubt. Two, to find out. The spirit of scepticism and the spirit of experiment are both above all necessary to intellectual leadership in the present day, such leadership as college men and women should be prepared to give. Experiment indeed is the only possible social attitude in a democracy which is by its very nature an experiment."

Clark on College Autocracy

The essential autocracy of college administration was emphasized by Evans Clark of the Labor Bureau, Inc., formerly a member of the Princeton faculty.

Mr. Clark declared that colleges were often regarded as democratic because their students called each other by their first names. The criterion of democracy, however, is found in the government of the college, not the good fellowship of the students. Judged from this point of view, the average college is an autocracy. Its citizens—the students and faculty—have no voice in its administration. Its governing board—the trustees—are selected by themselves, and, a minority, by its ex-citizens, the alumni.

"The second question is, 'Who are these trustees? What portion of the community do they represent?' A few years ago I investigated this question, sending questionnaires to a

large number of colleges. Seventeen private and twenty-two public colleges and universities gave complete data, as follows:

Occupations	Private Colleges Per Cent	State Universities Per Cent
Bankers	10.9	14.6
Business men	27.6	21.1
Representatives of Public Utilities	3.7	3.0
Lawyers	24.0	29.7
Professional men, doctors, engineers, etc.	11.1	13.1
Judges	3.3	3.0
Teachers	5.8	4.0
Farmers6	4.0
Workers	0.0	0.0
Faculty	0.0	0.0
Students	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	13.0	7.5

"Thus about two-thirds of the trustees were seen to represent business interests, while labor and the citizens of the college had a zero representation.

"The evolution in college politics has thus been an evolution backward. The medieval university was controlled democratically by the students and faculty. University control has become increasingly more undemocratic, while the control of government has progressed toward democracy.

"A few beginnings in democratic control may be seen here and there. Tendencies away from autocracy, however, are few and far between."

Professor Lovett declared that in many colleges a distinct step forward would be made when professors were able to present their grievances directly to the board of trustees. At present they must petition the college president and depend upon him to bring their petitions before the Board.

Dana Against Race Discrimination

The problem of race discrimination at American colleges was ably discussed by Dr. H. W. L. Dana of the New School for Social Research. He criticized Harvard for the tendency there in evidence toward limiting the number of Jews and declared that there seemed to be a conspiracy of silence at his alma mater regarding the discussion of this problem. He said:

"The Jew is objected to because he gives too much attention to scholarship, and, if not discriminated against, would win out against the Gentile. The scholarship of the Jew should serve as a challenge to the non-Jew, who should be ashamed to accept any unfair advantage in competition for admission to Harvard.

"It is claimed that Harvard men possess a certain social suavity and that the proportion of Jews should be limited because they do not possess such social qualities. But, if Harvard stands for service, why should she not consider it a double duty to give to the Jew these advantages which it is alleged this group of students especially need?"

Following Dr. Dana's address, those present passed a resolution against the adoption of a policy of exclusion. Harriot Stanton Blatch and others voiced their protest also against exclusion of Negroes and of women from many of the colleges of the country.

Report from the National Student Forum

The afternoon's program was concluded with a brilliant summary of the findings of the students gathered at the conference of the National Student Forum at Hartsdale Country House by Grace Benjamin at Rockford College. The students at this conference, declared Miss Benjamin, concluded, after an analysis of the economic basis of our education, that their education was made possible largely through the efforts of labor, who created the profits for the well-to-do, from which contributions were given to our universities. To the extent that students had received from society and particularly from labor, to that extent should they give their very best to the advance of the social well-being. It is also their duty

in their personal life to live according to their highest ideals, and by so living to spread their ideals of service among their fellow collegians.

In the discussion, several of the speakers took exception to the sweeping generalizations of some of the speakers. Miss McMasters of Smith College declared that the difficulty in many colleges lay not so much in the faculty as in the student body. The teachers in many institutions were constantly striving to stimulate interest in the social problems of the day and found it no easy task to arouse students from their apathy. Miss Benjamin admitted that this was the case in her own college, but felt that the situation was reversed in a number of other institutions. Mr. Thomas spoke of the very hospitable reception he had received in most of the New England colleges during his fall trip.

The Conference, in adjourning, expressed its appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Floyd for the use of their home during the Friday sessions.

THE ANNUAL DINNER

About two hundred members and friends of the L. I. D. dined together at the Aldine Club at the final session of the conference on Friday evening. The general subject of the evening was "Labor's Comeback, Here and Abroad." Mr. Thomas presided and introduced Jean Longuet, who had generously consented to speak briefly before departing for another meeting.

Longuet on the True France

M. Longuet gave evidence that the France of Poincare, Tardieu, Clemenceau and the National Bloc was not the true France of the workers. The French Chamber, elected for a fixed term by an unfair electoral system at a time when chauvinism ran high, is misrepresentative of the country. The government has been so perturbed by the turn in popular feeling as to abolish by-elections to fill vacancies in the Chamber. In the Senate, which by the manner of its election has always been a stronghold of reaction, the liberals have made a breach. In a recent election a Senator was chosen who publicly advocated a policy of conciliation which his enemies stigmatized as pro-German. Local elections, district and municipal, have usually been carried for progressive and radical candidates.

M. Longuet hoped for a reunion of socialist forces in Europe and referred optimistically to labor's great peace conference at The Hague which had recently closed.

"How to Run Coal"

The next speaker was C. J. Golden, President of District No. 9, and member of the Nationalization Research Committee of the United Mine Workers. Mr. Golden, as he told his hearers in a modest disclaimer of eloquence, began work in the mines when he was nine years old. He is today president of a strongly organized district in the anthracite region which supports one daily paper, encourages cooperatives, and has recently approved a plan for insuring its own members.

Mr. Golden held the closest attention of his hearers by his description of conditions in the coal industry. He said in part:

"For five and a half months the coal operators tried to starve out 600 miners and their families by demanding the reduction of miners' wages, which would have reduced the price of coal 70 cents a ton to the consumer and reduced the miner's income from \$300 to \$600 a year. There are still 70,000 miners out on strike—40,000 in the bituminous region of Pennsylvania, where the operators have refused to sign the Cleveland agreement and have evicted miners for joining the United Mine Workers. These evicted mine workers live

in shacks and tents, many of their children without shoes and hundreds without even stockings. A crash in the bituminous coal industry is foreseen by operators as well as workers. The normal demand is 500 million tons annually, while the mines now open can produce 900 million tons.

"The anthracite situation is little better. In spite of the Supreme Court, the railroads control the anthracite fields. Since they will not settle with the striking shopmen, they have not cars enough to move coal as fast as it can be mined. In New York there are 50,000 tons of steam-size coal in cars on the tracks. Some of this was mined fifty years ago and lay on the dumps as waste. It costs 25 cents a ton, and \$8.00 a ton is asked for it. Mine operators will not mine domestic-size anthracite while they can sell these substitutes at enormous profits. One ton of anthracite coal can be mined and loaded on the cars for \$3.50. What becomes of the difference between that and the retail price of \$15.00 a ton has never been explained.

"Such are the reasons which make it necessary alike from the standpoint of the consumers and the workers to propose a plan for public ownership, public control and democratic management of the coal industry."

Mr. Golden urged a careful reading of the plan which in pamphlet form was placed before each of the diners. He also said the Committee which had drawn it would appreciate constructive suggestions and criticisms.

The plan itself, on which a Committee consisting of John Brophy, Chairman, William Mitch and C. J. Golden has spent months of work, provides for government purchase of the mines at a cost which it estimates at about four and a half billion dollars. The control of mining, the regulation of prices, the decision as to what new mines to open, will be in the hands of the public and will be exercised through a cabinet officer and a permanent Federal Commission. The actual administration of the mines will be conducted by national and district mining councils and committees representative of the miners, administrative and technical heads and consumers. Machinery for collective bargaining on wages is to be kept and strengthened. The report emphasizes the importance of the miners' union and a strong labor party if the plan is to be successful. This outline sketch of the plan is admirably filled in by the written pamphlet. So impressed were the diners by Mr. Golden's speech and by the plan that they spontaneously instructed the chairman of the meeting to telegraph the United States Coal Commission, urging full and sympathetic consideration of it. Such a telegram was sent the following days to the Coal Commission, and copies of it to the President and to prominent members of Congress.

Labor's Achievements

The next speaker, Frederic C. Howe, was introduced as Secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. He spoke optimistically of the results of that conference's work and said that he was even more hopeful because of other more fundamental signs of labor's recognition that in the cooperative development of its own resources there would be social salvation. Mr. Howe called attention to the development of the cooperative movement in many forms, to the growth of the labor press and labor education, and especially to encouraging beginnings of labor banks, of which there are now some thirteen in the country. The Bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland has been especially successful. It is semi-cooperative in principle, in that dividends are restricted to 10 per cent on stock, and any sums in excess of that amount which might be used for dividends are distributed among its Saving Fund depositors.

About the L. I. D.

The Chairman then spoke of the work of the L. I. D. and the hope of its officers that it would grow into a strong national organization, dedicated to education for a new social

order based on two principles: (1) The necessity of production for use in place of production for profit, if waste is to be avoided and wars are to be prevented. (2) The necessity of thinking and organizing in terms of mankind rather than of particularistic states, each a law unto itself. This explanation of the purpose of the society was by way of introduction to the task of raising funds. The Chairman said that \$1,500 had been pledged by friends of the society on the special plea that it might be announced at the dinner. Further pledges and gifts made at the dinner raised this total to \$2,075. This sum added to amounts previously pledged leaves a balance of approximately \$5,500 to be raised.

Morris Hillquit Sums Up

From the necessary but uninteresting task of raising money, Mr. Hillquit brought the attention of his hearers back to the main question of the evening. With his usual brilliance, he summed up the situation at home and abroad. He doubted whether the attempt to judge progress by measuring the apparent changes in labor's strength from year to year would give history's judgment on our epoch. We speak of labor's defeat one year and of labor's come-back the next, but the great fact of our times is that in the war and its immediate aftermath, the old capitalist system revealed its bankruptcy and hastened its own dissolution. It has been unable to make peace or restore prosperity to Europe. It has been unable even to control the amazing fluctuations in currency which reduce its own system of production and distribution to chaos. Under these circumstances, labor is developing its own strength and understanding. In that task it may have difficulties. Nevertheless, the general European situation shows an increase of strength and of purpose in the labor movement, and the future historian will regard the present decade as significant chiefly in labor's advent to power in the governments of Europe.

Though America has not suffered as has Europe, it is part of the same general system and the same general conclusions hold good for it. The speaker said he differed somewhat from Mr. Howe, in that he was less optimistic as to what the Conference for Progressive Political Action had accomplished and more optimistic as to what it might accomplish. It lacked still the vision, plan and program which a triumphant movement of farmers and workers must possess. It is possible that this particular movement may fail. But it is certain that if not this particular movement, at least one like it is bound in the near future to establish itself and to increase from strength to strength. Organizations like the L. I. D. have their place. But the makers of a new social order are to be found in the ranks of the organized producers, and it is to the increase of their capacity to use intelligently their economic and political power, that we must look for the re-making of the world.

The following students, among others, were present at one or more of the conference sessions:

Adelphi, Marlon Elizabeth Norman; Barnard, Kate Papert; Berkeley, Clark C. Kennedy; Brookwood, Bessie Friedman, Ruth Gordon, William Ross, Goldie Shase; Bryn Mawr, Elizabeth H. Briggs, Priscilla Fansler, Augusta Howell; Columbia, E. M. Lyon, David Ostrowsky, Y. C. Shao; Cornell, Rashelle Goldberg, Eleanor Mishnunn, Florence Mishnunn, Dorothy Narefsky; Dartmouth, Roland A. Gibson; Goucher, Carolyn Goldstein, Clara Miller; Harvard, Norman E. Himes; New York University, Irving Lipsey; Oberlin, Margaret Dann, Laird Landis; Radcliffe, Janet Goldwater; Rockford, Grace E. Benjamin; Swarthmore, Robert E. Graham, Lydia T. Hicks, Marjorie Onderdonk; Syracuse, Helen Bailey; Trinity College, Samuel S. Fishzohn, Charles W. Hallberg; Union Theological, J. L. Graham; Vassar, Eleanor Beer, Inez C. Pollak; Wellesley, Margaret E. Hoogs, Yoshi Kasuya, Matsuyo Takizawa; University of Wisconsin, Philip W. Voltz; Yale, Francis O. Mattheissen, Simon N. Whitney; Maryland Institute, Miss Elizabeth Smith; Miami University, Miss Murphy.

ABOUT COAL

The L. I. D. is proud that the miners' plan for nationalization was first made public at its annual dinner. The story is told in our report of our mid-winter conference. Here we wish to emphasize the fine constructive service performed by the Miners Committee and the chance for the public to cooperate with it. Representatives of the miners, John Brophy, William Mitch and C. J. Golden, have done an unusual piece of work in drawing up a plan for national ownership, public control and democratic management in the coal industry. They have also estimated its cost. They do not ask the public to debate general principles, but a concrete plan. We can imagine no more fruitful object for discussion in college and city groups affiliated with the L. I. D. than this same plan. Copies of it can be obtained in limited numbers from this office or by writing directly to the Chairman of the Committee, John Brophy, Clearfield, Pa. Not only groups, but individuals may profitably study the plan. The miners welcome criticisms and constructive suggestions with regard to it. Individuals and groups who favor the plan are urged to recommend it to the attention of their representatives in Congress and to the Coal Commission, whose Chairman is John Hayes Hammond. He may be addressed in care of the Interior Department, Washington, D. C.

What gives the miners' plan its pressing importance is, of course, the exploitation of the consumers on the one hand and the producers on the other hand under our present system. That system of private management has few defenders and fewer friends. It falls to the lot of directors of this society to discuss questions of socialization with many able advocates of the existing order. We have yet to find one with a good word to say for the management of the coal industry. But to condemn the present system is not enough. For thoughtful men it is not even enough to commend an improved system such as the miners suggest. We must consider its ultimate implications. For instance, will it be possible to nationalize coal and leave the railroads in private hands? This question is especially pertinent with regard to railroads because of their intimate relation with mining. But it also arises with other fundamental industries. Can we successfully socialize any basic industry if other basic industries are left to the dominance of the profit motive? Will not the atmosphere of an acquisitive society be almost fatal to any socialized industry which stands alone? We may begin with coal; we cannot stop there.

There is still another kind of problem which cannot be ignored in any consideration of a plan for socialization by national action. Citizens of New York do not consider that Pennsylvania and other coal-producing states have a right to monopolize the coal within their borders. Yet had it not been for our federal union, Pennsylvania could have checked the industrial development of New York by making it difficult for New Yorkers to get coal. At the present time, nations which do not have basic materials, like coal, iron and oil, within their borders are either forced to seek them in other parts of the earth or are handicapped in industrial development. The drive of Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic continent is in part determined by Japan's need of coal and iron. She dares not depend for these essentials upon nations which are her rivals. In short, the problem of the peaceful development of humanity is bound up with our willingness to think of raw materials as ultimately the property of mankind, rather than of any class or nation. It becomes important to inquire whether a given scheme of nationalization is proposed in a spirit which will make it harder or easier to approach a social order wherein the natural resources of the earth are

justly administered by and for the inhabitants of the earth. The new social order to be secure must be more than nation-wide; it must be world-wide.

Meanwhile the miners' plan is a splendid basis for thought, discussion and action.

COMPETITIVE NATIONALISM

The folly of competitive nationalism and the madness of trying to secure peace and well-being by the exploitation of class or nation is once more revealed by French action on the Ruhr. We profoundly hope that America will use her influence for a revision at least of the economic section of the treaty of Versailles and a reconsideration of the question of debts and reparations.

We believe that the administration cannot fail to heed the demand for the withdrawal of our troops from the Rhine, and we devoutly hope that the Germans will develop their policy of passive, as opposed to violent, resistance. It is the business of every man of good will to make his influence felt for a policy of peace and justice.

THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

The L. I. D. was officially represented at the Cleveland convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action by Robert M. Lovett, Darwin J. Meserole and Norman Thomas. Miss Alice Gannett and Rev. David Williams were alternates.

The Conference was significant because of what one hopes from it rather than because of what it did. Cleveland saw a group of representatives of farmer and labor organizations come together on the basis of the political needs and desires of the producers. It saw them make real progress in organization. Despite the refusal of the Conference to declare for a third party, the logic of events and the normal development of the plan of organization which Morris Hillquit piloted to adoption, seem to indicate a third party organization within the next few years. It would have been foolish to alienate strong unions by premature insistence on a third party, but unless a third party is developed by the movement its activities will prove as ineffective as Mr. Gompers' ancient device of rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies.

The program of the Cleveland Conference left much to be desired. Its sins were those of omission rather than commission and they were made fewer by insistence from the floor that planks be included on civil liberties, the rights of or-

ganized labor, amnesty, the child labor amendment to the Constitution, and financial imperialism.

There was little evidence of any conception of what economic imperialism means to the peace and prosperity of the world. No mention was made of labor's World Peace Conference at The Hague. Of an inspiring philosophy of social reorganization there was little sign. But there were many signs that the times were ripe for such a philosophy and there was abundant evidence of the latent power and growing consciousness of it in the American Farmer and Labor movement.

The delegates from the L. I. D. came away with the conviction that societies like ours have an important place to fill in helping to work out and popularize a social philosophy which can be put into effect by economic and political action.

NORMAN THOMAS PLANS TRIP TO MIDDLE WEST

On February 9th Norman Thomas will begin the most extensive Middle Western trip taken by any lecturer for the League or for its predecessor, the I. S. S., since America's entrance into the war. According to present arrangements, Mr. Thomas will remain in the field almost continuously from the middle of February until the first week in April. Readers of the Bulletin desiring to arrange meetings for Mr. Thomas in or near the cities in which he is tentatively scheduled should communicate with the League immediately, giving as complete particulars as possible regarding the time and the nature of the meetings planned, the probable fee, etc. The trip at present writing promises to be eminently successful. The proposed itinerary is as follows:

Friday, Feb. 9, to Friday, Feb. 16—Rochester, Syracuse, and Buffalo, N. Y.

Saturday, Feb. 17, Monday, Feb. 19—Cleveland, O.

Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb. 20 and 21—Oberlin, O.

Thursday, Feb. 22—Toledo, O.

Friday, Feb. 23, to Sunday, Feb. 25—Detroit, Mich., and at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Monday, Feb. 26, to Sunday, March 4—Chicago, Ill.

Monday, March 5—Milwaukee, Wis.

Tuesday, March 6, to Wednesday, March 7—University of Wisconsin.

Thursday, Nov. 8, to Sunday, March 11—Minneapolis.

Tuesday, March 13—Iowa State University, Iowa City, Ia.

Wednesday, March 14—Des Moines, Ia.

Thursday, March 15—Iowa Agricultural College, Ames, Ia.

Friday, March 16—Omaha or Lincoln, Neb.

Saturday, March 17, to Sunday, March 18—Denver, Colo.

Monday, March 19—University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Wednesday, March 21—Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.

Thursday, March 22—University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

Friday, March 23, to Sunday, March 25—Kansas City, Kan.

Monday, March 26—University of Missouri Colombia, Mo.

Tuesday, March 27, to Thursday, March 29—St. Louis, Mo.

Friday, March 30—University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

Saturday, March 31, to Sunday, April 1—Indianapolis or Terre Haute, Ind.

Monday, April 2—Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

Tuesday, April 3—Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, O.

THE NEW YORK CAMERADERIE

The January meeting of the New York Cameraderie, the local Chapter of the L. I. D., promise to continue the high standard of the fall meetings. On Saturday afternoon, January 6, Walter Nelles, Walter F. White and Charles Sweeney discussed the Case of the Ku Klux Klan. On January 13, Pierre Loving will speak on "The Expressionist Drama."

A Supper Conference has been arranged at Allaire's

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

70 Fifth Avenue., New York City

Object: "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

Officers: Robert Morss Lovett, president; Charles P. Steinmetz, Florence Kelley, Evans Clark and Arthur Gleason, vice-presidents; Stuart Chase, treasurer; Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, directors.

I wish to join as an.....member of the L. I. D.

Active Member.....\$3.00
Contributing Member, \$5.00
Sustaining Member, \$25.00
Life Member.....\$100.00
Student Member.....\$1.00

Name.....

Address.....

Restaurant, 17th Street and Third Avenue, on Friday evening, January 19, at 6:30 o'clock, on "Unionism in Steel." The speakers are John A. Fitch, on "The Steel Workers, Lost Leaders," David J. Saposs on "The Aftermath of the Steel Strike," Charles M. Walker on "The Steel Workers' Job," and Louis B. Budenz, Chairman. Tickets at \$1.25 should be obtained from the L. I. D., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

On January 19th at 8:15 P. M., Walter M. Liggett spoke on "The Non-Partisan League: Its Success and Failure," at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Boulton, 58 Quincy St., Brooklyn, under the League's auspices.

THE "OPEN SHOP" DEBATE

Enthusiastic reports have recently been received from the Paul Blanshard-Noel Sargent debate on "The Open Shop," held during December at Northwestern and the Universities of Indiana, Chicago, Michigan and Wisconsin.

"The Blanshard-Sargent debate was a great success," declared Professor Luck of the University of Indiana. "It was the largest audience I ever saw attend a debate here, and I heard only complimentary remarks afterwards. Both sides presented their points in a forceful manner, and I never saw a more attentive audience. Members of local unions turned out in fine style, and it was a great educational treat. An enlightened public sentiment is the best panacea for industrial ills, and you are doing a great service in engineering such open debates."

"The debate last night," wrote Evelyn Preston of the University of Wisconsin, "was a great success. The music hall was well filled and the audience sympathetic to Mr. Blanshard. Both speakers, I thought, presented their side well and spoke without personalities and without a spirit of meanness."

INTEREST GROWS IN PAMPHLET LITERATURE

Continued praise of the L. I. D. pamphlets comes to our attention. "Your 'Challenge of Waste' is admirable," writes one of the best known jurists in America in a letter to its author. "Some pages of it rank with the best in popular economic writing and the outcropping of knowledge, insight and humor gives promise of a rich future." The pamphlet was the subject of Dr. Crane's "Spectator" editorial recently syndicated in newspapers throughout the country.

"Recent Developments in Socialism," by Harry W. Laidler, published in December, has also come in for very considerable praise from a number of prominent publicists and from college students. "Excellent," writes one. "How could it be improved? It couldn't."

Scott Nearing's stimulating pamphlet on "Irrepressible America," published last spring, is continuing to be widely and favorably commented upon.

George Soule's manuscript on "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement" has been in our hands for several weeks past, and is being sent the rounds of labor leaders and students of labor for their comments. Several of these comments have already been incorporated in the text of the manuscript, and others will appear as footnotes or supplementary statements. Criticisms have already been received from Frank Anderson, Paul Blanshard, Robert Bruere, Lewis Gannett, Arthur Gleason, Frederic C. Howe, Bruno Lasker, Cedric Long, James H. Maurer, Leon Rouse, A. J. Muste, Fannia Cohn, H. W. L. Dana, Powers Hapgood, Heber Blankenhorn, Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas. The pam-

phlet will thus give in a way the composite thought of many of the important brain workers in vital touch with American labor. It will appear about February first.

Professor Harry F. Ward is putting the finishing touches on his monograph, "The Profit Motive in Industry." Norman Thomas is at work on "The Challenge of War—War and the Profit System," and other pamphlets are in the course of preparation.

WANTED — MORE MEMBERS!

Darius Green, according to the poem we used to recite with quaking knees in the old school house, was continually asking: "If birds can fly, why can't I?" Darius came to grief, but the Wright brothers didn't. Now, the question which keeps bothering us has nothing to do with flying and it doesn't rhyme. What we want to know is this: If any kind of organization, not forgetting the Ku Klux Klan, can grow apace in these United States, why should not the L.I.D.? That no similar organization has done so need be no more discouraging to us than was Darius Green's failure to Orville Wright.

We have no Keagles, we sell no nightgowns and hoods at \$10 per outfit, we have no absurd or discreditable secrets. But we do have a purpose and within our own ranks a fellowship. There ought to be at least as many Americans interested in making visible and practicable a human brotherhood as are interested in an invisible empire of White Protestant Gentiles. Our job is to find the lonesome men and women who think that no one cares at all about a social order based on production for use rather than profit and bring them into our fellowship. The tie that will bind us will be no secret oath or other flummery, but a common cause.

As a matter of practical organization there is no insuperable reason why the L.I.D. should not count its members over the country in thousands and be supported by their dues. The formation of a great nation-wide body of this sort will take time; it will require the cooperation of its members. The directors are eager to devote what attention they can take from a multitude of other tasks to a steady membership drive. Who will help? We will furnish literature; we will correspond with those whose names may be sent us. But the driving power must come from individuals and local groups. Let's hear your idea.

Membership in the League of Industrial Democracy is divided into regular and auxiliary membership. Those believing in the principle of production for use and not for profit, in the principle of social ownership and democratic control of industry are eligible for regular membership. Others are eligible for auxiliary membership. Regular members are divided into active members, paying \$3 a year; contributing members, \$5; sustaining members, \$25; life members, \$100; Student membership, \$1. Auxiliary members also pay from \$3 up.

All members receive the News-Bulletin, the pamphlets and other literature of the League and announcement of the various meetings and conferences.

The League contains college and city chapters and affiliated groups. College chapters of five or more pay 25 cents a year dues for each member. City chapters contribute to the general society one-half of their membership dues. Affiliated college and city groups pay an annual fee to the League. College chapters and affiliated League groups are not required to subscribe to the League basis, but merely to indicate an interest in the problems of industrial democracy.

