

NEWS - BULLETIN

League for Industrial Democracy

Vol. I. No. 3

70 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY

FEB. - MCH., 1923

WANTED---5000 MEMBERS

In this age of specialization societies in need of publicity, funds or members turn as naturally to specialists in those fields as taxpayers turn to lawyers when they fill in their income tax blanks. We should like to get an expert to run a "membership drive," but that is beyond our present means, so we shall make a virtue of necessity and boast that we like to be different. In other words, instead of an expert's story you will get a plain, heart-to-heart talk on why the directors of the L. I. D. want to have five thousand members by January 1st. Certainly the desire is modest when one thinks of the size of the country and the number of those who must be interested in what the L. I. D. stands for. Out of one hundred and ten millions of us—all natural born joiners—there must be five thousand to join this society.

No educational program like ours which must be pushed for a long series of years is on a sure foundation without widely diffused popular support. An organization which preaches democracy and which is democratic ought to be democratically financed. We are proud of the democratic basis of our support, but it could be made much better. Five thousand dues-paying members—in the course of another year it ought to grow to ten—would take much of the load of money raising off the backs of the officers.

This aspect of the question occurs naturally to an anxious director, but it is by no means the most important reason for a larger membership. For many lonesome liberals and tired radicals the mere act of joining a society with a program like ours will be a confession of faith which will stiffen the backbone and a form of association which will impart new energy. That is true not only because of the psychological effect—in these days one cannot talk about anything without discussing psychology—of the act of joining, but also because through news bulletins and pamphlets and letters the society itself keeps in touch with individuals. Each individual who joins may in turn be a center of influence in his community for the distribution of literature and of ideas.

What we seek, however, is more than a membership of detached individuals. We want individuals in communities who will organize themselves into groups for discussion, like the New York Cameraderie, and for action when action is possible. Here for instance is a case in point: Through two of our friends, Roger Baldwin and Phil Ziegler, editor of the *Railway Clerk*, we have heard the interesting story of a strike in Newport, Kentucky. For eighteen months steel workers in that city have been out. In spite of injunctions and contempt cases the morale of the strikers is unbroken, and by finding odd jobs they have reduced the demand for relief to a sum which is pretty well taken care of. What is especially significant is that the men are running their own strike with a local committee in charge, and that they are striking as an industrial union against the refusal of the company to recognize certain workers as union men.

Now a strike like that is significant to a whole community.

It is a manifestation of a spirit in the labor movement which ought to be understood. Men and women not themselves in the labor movement can often make the workers' task somewhat easier and break down some of the inevitable bitterness by cooperating with the strikers. How can such cooperation be effective? That depends upon the strength, ingenuity, convictions and connections of local groups. Often such groups can get publicity and set forth labor's side of the story by letters to the newspapers and public meetings. Often groups can bring personal pressure to bear on employers in the direction of a just settlement. Sometimes they can help with the relief problem. L. I. D. groups in the country ought to be dealing with situations like this, as well as discussing more fundamental questions of social organization. They cannot work effectively unless they exist. If they exist they can prove for themselves the power of intelligent, energetic but unobtrusive friendship with the labor movement in promoting a better social order and diminishing the danger of violence.

Every year socially minded young people go out from our colleges. They do not find work in immediate contact with the labor movement. They have their living to make. Little by little they settle down to the social standards of our suburbs and country clubs. They become not forces in but obstacles to those movements which might prevent waste and make war less likely. Organization by the L. I. D. on a nation-wide scale of groups in various cities and towns ought to make it possible to hold some of these young people true to the hope that once stirred within them.

The expert, whom we did not get, would doubtless tell us that this appeal sounds like a sermon. He would be right. We apologize to him and you, and sum up the matter by saying that we want members to make this organization more democratic in its financing and influence, to aid in the circulation of pamphlets, to form active groups for discussion and action. We know no better way to get members than to appeal for your help. Already we have had a generous response to our request for names. We want more names, we want suggestions. We ask you to be recruiting agents, not primarily for the sake of an organization, but for the sake of the idea the organization stands for.

OUR PAMPHLET SERIES

Stuart Chase's "Challenge of Waste" has gone into a second printing. It has had the favorable reception it deserves for it is quite unique in American economic literature. Nowhere else in such compact form and so strikingly presented can one learn the facts about the waste inherent in our present economic order.

Pamphlet No. 3 of this particular series is now on the press. "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement," by George Soule, differs in its appeal from "The Challenge of

Waste," but is no less important. It is bound to be widely discussed, for it itself is a discussion of a topic on which there is difference of opinion. What is an intellectual? Some would say, "Why is an intellectual?" Under what conditions can an intellectual serve labor? Ought the young college man to get a job in mine or factory? Can the man in an ordinary business or profession be of any service to the labor movement?

These are some of the questions that Mr. Soule deals with in trenchant fashion. His manuscript was submitted to many trade union leaders and "intellectuals" in touch with the labor movement. Some of their criticisms on the pamphlet are set forth in footnotes, after a fashion made popular by H. G. Wells. An introduction by Doctor Laidler gives the historical background of the situation, and the appendix contains further comments and suggestions as to concrete opportunities for service, under such headings as "The Lawyer and Labor," "Teachers and Labor," "Engineers and Labor," etc. It is a pamphlet of real significance for the young man and woman looking forward to the problem of life work, and its interest is not confined to that group.

Two other pamphlets of the series are in preparation, and will appear within the next few weeks. Doctor Laidler's "The World Trend Toward Public Ownership" is a most interesting collection of facts on this subject which will prove surprising not only to the average American, but even to those who had considered themselves well informed on economic affairs.

Parallel to the "Challenge of Waste" is the "Challenge of War," by Norman Thomas, which is now in preparation. Directors of the League have found in speaking to various groups that, while the waste of the present system was generally admitted, there was a tendency to claim that such waste might be considerably diminished under our present economic system and that it would be at least equally great under any other. But no one has been willing to challenge the statement that the roots of war are deeply planted in our economic system. In an economically independent world can we leave social and industrial relations to the mercy of the profit motive and the principle of competitive nationalism? The answer is, not without war. The reasons for it are set forth in the pamphlet.

Doctor Laidler's brief pamphlet, "Recent Developments in Socialism," has met a favorable reception. The demand for it might be larger. Will not our friends put in orders for these pamphlets?

We are showing that we can create a valuable bit of pamphlet literature. We have yet to show that it can be widely and effectively circulated. Will you not help us by suggestions? Will you not order copies for distribution to your friends? Pamphlets sell at ten cents a copy, fifteen for one dollar. One copy is sent free to members.

CONCRETE OPPORTUNITIES

To those who want concrete opportunities for immediate and forward looking service we call attention to the following appeal from Carl D. Thompson, secretary Public Ownership League of America, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

The Public Ownership League of America needs a thousand men and women for public service. Workers, writers, organizers, engineers, utility specialists, attorneys, campaign managers are needed—men and women who love the cause of humanity more than the dollar, and the general welfare more than their own personal gain. The cities of America, the states and the nation need and cry out for men who will train and qualify themselves, discipline and equip themselves for specific tasks in the public service.

Everywhere our cities are struggling with their utility problems—their street car service, water works, gas plants, electric light and power plants. The Public Ownership League is organizing and marshalling the forces that help in these struggles. It supplies the facts and information which it has laboriously collected through years of patient research work; it furnishes speakers, writers or campaign managers; it supplies engineers to build the plant, or valuation experts to see that the city is not defrauded in a purchase price; and, where needed, it supplies attorneys to help the city fight its legal battles. In short the League endeavors to help a city or community at every step of the way in the specific task of securing the public ownership and efficient operation of the public utilities.

Scarcely a day passes that the League does not help some city somewhere in securing the public ownership of one or the other of its public utilities. Over 750 cities have installed municipal electric light and power plants since the League began its work and at least 50 of these have been directly assisted by the League, while scores of others have been helped indirectly. And the field grows daily. What the League has been doing heretofore in helping the individual city here and there it must now do on a much larger scale. For a new phase of the public utility problem has arisen—that of the private monopoly in the hydro electric and super-power field.

The private corporations are swiftly seizing upon every possible resource of water power and coal for the production of electric current, capturing and consolidating both private and municipal plants and tying them into vast interconnected super-power systems. Thus they will shortly be in complete control of the hydro electric and super-power field in America, and controlling the power they will control every phase of modern civilization. For electricity is the power of the future. For the home, for industry, transportation, mining and for agriculture—electricity from now on is the one absolute essential. He who controls the power controls all. Hence the commanding need for public ownership in this larger field.

What is said about super-power gains added emphasis for New Yorkers by reason of Governor Smith's request for funds to make the preliminary plans for State development of water power. This power, according to his scheme, will be sold to municipalities and by them retailed. The mayors of the State have endorsed this program. It will need careful working out both on its technical and social sides. There is a chance for real service, professional and volunteer. To all such appeals for expert service we should like to add a word of hope and warning. Of hope, that men will go into the service of public ownership inspired by ideals not only of efficiency and the service of the common good, but of industrial democracy among the workers. Of warning, lest the engineers and other experts fail to establish those vital relations with the workers and with the consumers which are our best safeguards against bureaucracy and corruption.

SUMMER CONFERENCE

All magazine Christmas stories are written in July or August. That is what it is to have an imagination. Now on this raw, blustering March day we have tried to think up an adequate description of Camp Tamiment in June. Our ideas blow away. All we know is that there will come a day when we will no longer worry whether there is coal or not in the cellar, when we will put away our heavy coats and get out our bathing suits, which, by the way, are much lighter to carry around. When that day comes there is no nicer place to be than at Camp Tamiment up in the Pennsylvania Hills.

Those who attended the last conference of the L. I. D. need not be told how man and nature combined to make the Rand School camp on Lake Tamiment a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

This year the conference will be held from June 21-24. The subject will be "Next Steps." Full announcement of

the program and conference fee will be made later. This preliminary notice is made to invite as many of our friends as possible to start the summer right by taking part of their vacation in June at Camp Tamiment. No summer resort can offer more in the way of outdoors or natural beauty. Besides that, there is good fellowship and mental stimulus at the conference. We want a group who are in earnest enough to

discuss fundamental things and young enough to have a good time while they are doing it.

For the benefit of those who have never been to Camp Tamiment, let us say that it can be reached by bus from the Bushkill Falls station of the Pennsylvania Railroad. It is 12 miles from the famous Delaware Water Gap. The Rand School rates for board are \$3.50 per day.

MORE ABOUT COAL

An Unfortunate Controversy---and the L. I. D.'s Part In It

The course of any constructive movement, like that of true love, never did run smooth. We were not, therefore, surprised that obstacles arose to the consideration of the plan of the Miners Committee on Nationalization of Coal, and that, too, within the camp of its supposed friends. We were surprised, however, to find the League for Industrial Democracy an unwitting factor in the controversy. Briefly this is the story:

The miners' plan made public by C. J. Golden at our annual dinner of December 29, 1922, and reported in the last bulletin, was generally well received. It was, moreover, understood that this plan was not final. For about a month the discussion of it in the press and elsewhere proceeded along helpful lines. Then came a bomb. Ellis Searles, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, and reputed mouthpiece for President John L. Lewis, issued a statement to the press, ostensibly calling attention to the fact that the plan had not been officially adopted by the miners. Instead of confining himself to a harmless statement of this sort, he took occasion to rebuke the committee of his own organization for premature publicity, and to make a gratuitous attack on members of the Bureau of Industrial Research who had cooperated with the committee at its request. In other words, Mr. Searles's method of attacking the report was by abuse of his opponents, a method which unfortunately had just been employed by Marshall Olds, propagandist for the Steel Trust, in trying to discredit the same men for their part in the Inter-Church Movement report. (Oddly enough Mr. Searles more recently has been glad to get his name on a report to the Coal Commission on the anthracite monopoly, prepared by Mr. Golden and his fellow presidents of anthracite districts with the assistance of experts from the same group which he denounced as Greenwich Village radicals!)

C. J. Golden, having gotten wind of Mr. Searles's statement, issued for release in the same papers his own counter attack on Mr. Searles, and his resignation which had been brought about by President Lewis's refusal to permit proper discussion of the miners' plan. Some days later Mr. Brophy, Chairman of the Committee, also resigned for similar reasons and made public an admirable statement.

The directors of the L. I. D., feeling that our position needed clarification, authorized an open letter to President Lewis. In this letter we explained that we had acted in entire good faith in asking first Mr. Brophy and afterwards Mr. Golden to speak at our dinner; that we had made public the miners' plan which had already been circulated among the miners themselves at Mr. Golden's request; that he in turn had acted on the basis of the specific instructions to the Committee at the time of his appointment, which ran as follows:

"The duties of your committee will be to carry out the instructions of the international convention with reference to this subject matter and to familiarize yourself

with the various phases of the problem as they may be encountered with a view of formulating a detailed practical policy to bring about the nationalization of the coal mines and to aid in the dissemination of information among *our members* and *the public* and the crystallization of sentiment for the attainment of such end." (Italics ours.)

Mr. Thomas's letter to President Lewis continues:

"Such action raises the question whether you, the acknowledged head of the Mine Workers, the masterful leader in a successful fight, really stand for nationalization as a living issue or only 'in principle'—as the diplomats would say. To favor nationalization but to forbid public discussion of concrete plans reminds me of the old nursery rhyme:

Mother, may I go out to swim?
Yes, my darling daughter,
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
But don't go near the water.

"The public has a right to ask you to clarify your position. The League would be honored to offer you the platform it offered Mr. Golden in order that you may set the public right on an issue which cannot wait for discussion until the Miners' Convention in 1924. You may prefer less 'radical' auspices under which to speak, but whatever platform you choose, can you be content to let Mr. Searles's statement stand as your last word?

"I deeply regret that the L. I. D. has been involved in any way in an internal labor controversy. I hope for its solution. I shall give publicity to this letter in order to explain our position. It is written in admiration of your powers of leadership and in hope for what you may yet accomplish for a practicable and democratic form of nationalization."

To this letter there has been no official reply. The mine workers' papers, like the Illinois Miner and the Penn Central News, have vigorously taken up the fight for nationalization. While it is not the province of an organization like the L. I. D. to interfere in a labor dispute, nor to set itself up in judgment over the motives of those engaged in it, it is emphatically the privilege or rather the duty of an organization whose object is "education for production for use rather than for profit" to discuss the proper basis of nationalization. Consumers, too, have an interest in this subject, scarcely less than the miners themselves. We have not come through this winter without suffering. We have narrowly escaped disaster, all because the coal industry is so organized as to promote neither efficiency nor peace within its own ranks.

We are on the verge of what has been called "A Superpower Era," that is an era in which light, heat, and energy will be furnished by the proper coordination of water power and coal. The engineers are ready for that system. Is it to be delayed indefinitely because it does not conform to the interests of profit-seekers? Is it to be gained only under private monopoly such as that which now holds the anthracite industry in its grip? These are questions that are enormous

and far-reaching in importance. They are to be answered not by generalities, but by a careful plan. One approach to such a plan requires the nationalization of coal, and the miners have suggested such a method. It is for critics of the plan not merely to point out possible faults, but to suggest constructive improvements. We hope that individuals and members of the L. I. D. groups will not be discouraged in this task by the unfortunate divisions within the miners' organization. Those divisions themselves call attention to the necessity of greater unity within the labor movement, a philosophy to meet the needs of the time, and an effective organization both economic and political.

WHAT THE CITY CHAPTERS ARE DOING

The New York Cameraderie announces for Saturday afternoons in March the following speakers: March 3rd, Prince Hopkins on "An Intimate View of Europe" and Elsie Bond on "The Russian Medical Emergency"; March 10th, Elinor Wylie in a reading of her poems; March 17th, Jessie Wallace Hughan on "International Government"; March 24th, Frederic C. Howe on "Can Europe Be Re-established?"; March 31st, a reading of *Massemensch*, the play by Toller, the Bavarian Communist.

The subjects of the year which have attracted the largest audiences have been those dealing with some social aspect of art, drama or poetry. It would seem as if the high hopes for the world which radicals shared a few years ago and their subsequent disappointment caused us to turn for refreshment to the artistic expression of the world struggle. National crises are all-absorbing and, immersed in them, we forget that beauty is an essential factor in the life of liberated mankind. But when revolutions have come and gone we discover that the artist too has had his cataclysms and that he has evolved new internationales for our solace and for the eventual enrichment of a socialized society.

The Open Forum Discussion on What Shall I Do In the Next War—where five-minute speeches from the floor occupied the entire time—proved a popular innovation. Mrs. Henry Villard, Edward Richards, Amy Woods, Mary Kelsey and many others spoke.

The February program was as follows: Lewis Mumford on "Utopias," Mary Austin on "Changing Social Concepts," Katherine Dreier on "The Revolution In Art," Harry W. L. Dana on "Six Plays In Search of a Critic." L. A. F.

The Washington Chapter has turned in dues for fourteen members. It reports a good attendance and much interest at its meetings. It has been active in distributing pamphlets and other literature of the society. Inquirers wishing to get in touch with it are requested to write to Cora R. Hutchison, secretary, 3316 Mt. Pleasant Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Chicago Chapter of the L. I. D. was organized Sunday night, March 4th, at the home of Mrs. Natalie S. Schretter. Dr. Laidler was the principal speaker. Mrs. Schretter was elected secretary and a committee was appointed on program. Other offices will be filled later.

The Philadelphia Young Democracy, which is not affiliated with the L. I. D., but with which our relations are especially cordial, reports a very successful series of forum meetings. A wide range of topics were covered by such speakers as John Haynes Holmes, Scott Nearing, Adelaide Stedman, Florence Kelley, Norman Thomas, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Nathaniel Schmidt, Jesse H. Holmes, Taraknath Das, W. E. DuBois, Dr. John A. Ryan, A. J. Muste, Matthew K. Sniffen, Dr. H. W. L. Dana, Henry T. Hodgkin and S. K. Radcliffe.

SPEAKING HERE AND THERE

Since the report in the last bulletin Mr. Thomas has spoken before the Cornell Student Forum, Ithaca, N. Y.; Hunter College, New York City; student assembly, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst; student assembly, Ethical Culture High School, New York City. He has also debated free speech before the Philadelphia City Club and spoken on the question, "Is Radicalism Undermining the United States Constitution?" before National Republican Club of New York. His fellow speakers on that occasion were Roger Baldwin, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, Clayton R. Lusk and Archibald Stevenson. He addressed a "town and gown dinner" at the Wagner Inn, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., on Lincoln's Birthday, and on the same day spoke at the Lincoln's Birthday "Quiet Day for Social Workers" at Union Theological Seminary, New York. He has also carried the message of the League to various forums and educational classes under such diverse auspices as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Y. M. C. A., Jewish Community Center and a Bronx synagogue.

The Blanshard-Sargent debate on the Open Shop, to the success of which in many universities we have previously referred, was held for the last time this season at Cornell University. Our correspondents tell us that Mr. Blanshard, arguing for the unions in opposition to Mr. Sargent's plea for the open shop, had much the better of the debate.

The League arranged for Nellie Seeds Nearing to speak before the Open Forum of St. Pauls Church, Meriden, Conn., on the subject "Why I Am A Socialist." Our correspondent writes: "After hearing Mrs. Nearing's talk on Socialism, one old gentleman said, 'Why, that is what I call the Golden Rule, not what I thought the Socialists stood for.'"

THE WESTERN TRIP

To his deep regret, Mr. Thomas's plans for an extensive western trip were thwarted by illness in his family. He was able to spend a few days in Chicago, where he spoke at the Chicago Women's Club luncheon, a dinner of the Liberal Club of Northwestern University, a dinner of the Farmer Labor Party, an informal luncheon of the Public Ownership League of America, and an afternoon meeting of the Liberal Club of the University of Chicago. Dr. Laidler met Mr. Thomas in Chicago and in co-operation with him advanced the work of the League by personal interviews and otherwise. On Sunday night, March 4th, at the home of Mrs. Natalie S. Schretter, Dr. Laidler assisted in organizing a Chicago city chapter of the League.

It is one of the advantages of the double directorate of the society that where one director fails another director can carry on. Dr. Laidler is filling Mr. Thomas's western dates up to Pittsburgh, where Mr. Thomas hopes to resume the schedule, while Mr. Thomas is trying as best he may to push forward the preparation of pamphlets and carry on the office work of the society.

Dr. Laidler has already spoken at the Toledo City Club, Oberlin, where he formed a chapter of the L. I. D.; University of Michigan and Western Reserve University. His engagements include speaking dates before student and faculty groups of the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, Grinnell College, Kansas State Agricultural College, Kansas City Junior College, University of Minnesota, Washington University, University of Illinois, and if dates can be adjusted at the University of Indiana. He is speaking before civic and labor groups or forums at Minneapolis, St. Paul, Davenport, Ia., Golden, Colo., Denver, St. Louis and Cincinnati. A report on the trip will be given in the next News Bulletin.

College Notes

Nearing at Dartmouth Free Speech and Columbia

In accordance with the plan approved by the mid-winter conference, a Students' Council of the L. I. D. has been formed composed of the following members:

Eleanor M. Phelps, Barnard College.
Robert Whitehead, Berkeley Divinity School.
Charles Reed, Brookwood Labor College.
Virginia B. Miller, Bryn Mawr College.
Catherine Lillie, University of Chicago.
George L. Teeple, Columbia University.
Benjamin Barkas, Cornell University.
Roland A. Gibson, Dartmouth College.
Clara Miller, Goucher College.
Norman E. Himes, Harvard University.
Alford Carleton, Oberlin College.
Margaret Byrd, Swarthmore College.
Carlos G. Fuller, Union Theological Seminary.
Katherine R. Wilson, Vassar College.
Ruth McJunkin, Wellesley College.
Harold B. Shier, University of Wisconsin.
G. B. Appel, Yale University.

The Oberlin Chapter of the L. I. D., formed during Dr. Laidler's visit to the college, is planning to undertake a study of labor journalism. The Oberlin Chapter has at present eleven members. Miss Kathryn Mahn of the Senior Class is chairman, and Alford Carleton, secretary-treasurer.

From Roland A. Gibson, our representative in Dartmouth, comes a most interesting account of activities there. The Dartmouth Round Table, with 35 members, and the Fellowship Discussion Group with over 75 members, are organizations most interested in the kind of activities the L. I. D. desires to promote. Under the auspices of these groups Scott Nearing delivered three lectures in Dartmouth and conducted one forum open to members of the Round Table. The largest meeting was a public address on the subject "The American Empire," attended by over 500 students. Mr. Gibson writes that the lights were turned off during this lecture! Unlike the classic case at Clark University last year, the job was accidentally done by Dr. Nearing himself while arranging his chart. Dr. Nearing's addresses, according to our correspondent, "stimulated a great deal of thinking, even among the faculty."

Extensive tours of representative foreign students brought to this country by the National Student Forum are arousing wide interest in American colleges. Kenneth Lindsay of Oxford, travelling under the auspices of the Workers Educational Bureau, is also stirring up thought and interest among American students.

Monthly Saturday luncheons for students in and about New York have been resumed the second semester. The speaker on March 10th at the Flying Fame Cafeteria was Robert Bruere and his subject "The Coal Situation."

Columbia University has organized an Open Forum which will hold its first meeting at the Flying Fame Cafeteria on March 13th with Scott Nearing as speaker. Only by organizing this forum and by meeting outside of the University has it been possible for the students to overcome restrictions placed by the University authorities on the Socialist Society—

restrictions which the secretary of the University himself admitted in an interview to be "ludicrous and discriminatory." Briefly, the situation is this: There was a chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society at Columbia before the war. It suspended its activities during the war, but was reorganized after the war in affiliation with the L. I. D., which is, of course, the successor to the I. S. S. The Columbia Chapter on reorganization was classified as "a new organization" and forbidden to have "outside speakers." It could, however, present for official approval present or former graduate students of Columbia or professors connected with the University. Under this ruling we are told that it has in the past obtained favorable action on one or two communist or near communist speakers who happened to hold Columbia degrees, but not favorable action on Scott Nearing, who is a Socialist. Mr. Thomas was permitted to speak before the Politics Club which is connected with one of the University departments, but not before the Socialist Society. The secretary of the University courteously explained that this was "in no way a criticism of Mr. Thomas." The ruling has been defended as temporary, but it has lasted now for at least two years and there is no sign of a permanent solution of the problem. That there is a real problem of student clubs in a university the size of Columbia is undoubtedly true, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the University authorities are not so much trying to deal with this problem as to hamper the efforts of students to discuss live subjects in their own organizations. The Columbia attitude stands in marked contrast to the general tolerance or even hospitality which the L. I. D. has found this year in American colleges. We do not demand university approval of the League's program. We are grateful for university appreciation of the importance of candid discussion of it.

An Appeal for Understanding

A Letter from Mexico

Americans have little chance and less desire to see themselves as others see them. We don't like to stop to hear unpleasant things or to understand difficult situations. Yet even busy Americans can hardly resist the appeal in a letter from Mexico addressed to Dr. Laidler. We urge our readers to pass on their copies of the News Bulletin to friends with this letter especially marked. We quote its significant paragraphs without alteration:

I am bothering you now because I know your spirit of justice and the attitude you always have had towards Mexico.

As you know, I am opening the work of the Y. W. C. A. here and trying to establish the W. I. L. P. F. The very first step for both is to create an atmosphere of understanding between the U. S. A. and us, because in the mind of every person here both are identified with the Anglo-Saxon women.

My position as General Secretary of the Y. W. C. A. placed me in a unique position. I am Mexican and I can understand the point of view of my people and have the possibility of touching many groups which until now have remained untouched; having the ideals of the best representatives of the United States at heart I am in a position of interpreting those to my people; finally being thoroughly committed to peace, I feel doubly the obligation of giving now, while I can, all possible efforts to the creation of a deep understanding of the best elements of the two countries. I have been able to co-operate with a group of young educators who are going to be of great influence in the development of my country; they are connected with the government and all are favorable to me and our work. With their help I have been trying to work through the National University the interchange of professors in co-operation with several institutions in the United States like the World's Peace Foundation, the Y. W. C. A. and others. I have had to overcome the distrust that is always present in the mind of the Latin-American people about everything that

to them appears to be tainted of the purpose of Americanization, and yet I had hoped to be able to bring for next summer perhaps Maude Royden, Julia Lathrop and John Dewey; but everything I do on that line is blocked and undermined by the action of the State Department at Washington, which lately has been creating an almost unbearable situation. I know you have so much to do that perhaps you have had no time to get acquainted with the situation between the United States and Mexico. In brief, it comes to this: The Legislature of the Mexican Congress has formulated laws regarding oils which, according to the State Department at Washington, are confiscatory; the Mexican Legislature claims that in case of public utility the Government has the right to dictate laws even if they injure the invested interests of the minority. This is the root of a series of incidents that have been very vexing and annoying, and the tenseness of the situation augments every day. For more than five years the misunderstanding between my country and the State Department at Washington has been an obstacle to the development of my country; the Mexicans feel that the State Department of the United States represents the interests of financiers that have invested their money under conditions that are now obnoxious to the normal growth of the country; the United States seems to feel that Mexico has tendencies that are too radical and that the larger international interests have to be considered. The Mexicans doubt that statement because the attitude of the United States Government towards all the weaker countries on this continent and towards the Peace Treaty does not seem founded upon the highest ideals and the interest of the great international majority.

The American people knows almost nothing of what is going on, and the world filled as it is of anguish and suffering, has no time to devote to Mexico. In this month three very aggravating occurrences have happened: one Mexican was lynched in Texas, then one of the judges of the State of New York representing a private company which has a claim against the Mexican Government dictated an embargo on the funds of the Mexican Consulate in New York contrary to all the rules of international law, and finally the American Department of State took hold of a copy of the project proposed regarding the oil law which should have been announced to the public for the first time in the present session of the Chamber of Deputies, and without waiting for even President Obregon himself to see a copy of the proposed law, sent a note to the State Department here saying that the law did not guarantee the interests of the Americans, and that therefore it was not pleasing to the United States. Our President and the Legislature answered that the State Department has no right to express opinions about our laws before the Congress acts upon them; they sent a message to all the Latin-Amer-

ican countries asking them to protest against such action and there has been a reaction against the United States in every circle.

As you know, on other occasions it has been the Protestant Church and radicals which have taken very definite action against intervention on the part of the United States and that have served to approach the Mexican people to the American people more than any other thing. Yesterday I received bitterness for the United States. In every circle I went the Mexicans were sorely bruised by the crude action of the American authorities. I am afraid that the plan of the interchange of professors will be greatly hampered.

I feel very clearly that the work for peace has to be preventative; whatever we could do has to be done now; if we should have a break in the relations we couldn't do anything. I do not see for the present much danger of actual armed intervention, but we do not know what might come next. Besides the atmosphere becomes more and more clouded with animosity which is bound to explode.

What is most needed is knowledge of the situation and I feel that our friends there must help us to get it and spread it properly. The point of view of the State Department is legalistic with an Anglo-Saxon point of view; ours is primarily human with a Latin temperament, we can't get together by just standing each one on our position. Can we devise some way of discussing our problems so that people may judge fairly?

Can you bring some pressure against a policy which seems to us untactful not to say vexatory? Can you ask try to make people ask from Hughes very definitely why is Art. 27 confiscatory, which specific properties have been confiscated? Any more from you would help immensely. I know that the world is very full of anxiety and you are called from everywhere, but I repeat it: it is now that we can do something and the only thing we can do is to explain to the people the situation dispassionately.

Very truly yours,
ELENA LANDAZURI.

Dec. 1, 1922.

Our own influence with the State Department is not great, but the collective influence of our readers upon that department may be considerable. Those who believe in peace and good will among nations, as well as those who believe in the socialization of natural resources, are lying down on their jobs if they do not keep up steady pressure for the recognition of a Mexican government whose chief sin in the eyes of Mr. Hughes is some slight heresy in its devotion to the great god, Private Property.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RUHR

Poincare and the Profit Seekers

There is coal in the German Ruhr and iron in French Lorraine. The marriage of coal and iron makes steel and steel is king of the modern industrial order. The people of Europe need coal. They need iron. They need steel. Their industrial civilization depends upon them. But coal and iron and steel are owned and controlled by men who develop them not in accordance with human needs but with their own profits. The only group loyalty that they know is loyalty to the nation. Men's instincts for co-operation are confined within the arbitrary boundaries of competing nationalisms. That is the genesis of the Ruhr crisis. For a while the French and German industrialists negotiated. There was no French occupation of the Ruhr. A hitch came in negotiations. French industrialists and militarists thought that by occupation of the Ruhr they could become industrial overlords of Europe. The French army went in.

That is not quite all the story. The French economist, Francis Delaisi, says: "The Textile Committee, which is overproducing, wishes to reserve for itself the Rhine clientele

and obtain prolongation of the clause of the Versailles Treaty obliging Germany to permit free importation of Alsatian fabrics." French militarists and industrialists, according to Mr. P. B. Noyes, former American Commissioner in the Rhineland, saw in the occupation of the Ruhr a chance to proceed farther in the dismemberment of Germany for the greater glory of French arms and the greater profit of French business. Besides, the Ruhr and the Rhineland together form an admirable basis for the support of an army of occupation which may be recruited from French colonies and used not only against Germans but against French radicals.

Since the common people with all their faults shrink from the grand larceny which the ruling classes perpetrate in the name of profit and glory, it was necessary for M. Poincare and the National bloc to sell this grandiose scheme to the people of France and so far as possible to the world in the name of a reasonable desire for reparation and security. The scars of war and memories of the criminal designs of German impe-

rialists favored this camouflage which the course of events is, however, wearing thin.

Opposition to the French plan is already strong in Britain. It is to British interest that her old trade with Germany should be built up. But Britain dares do nothing too active lest the French aggressively support the Turks in Mosul. Ultimately the French plan is not to American interest, but many Americans whose conception of justice is vengeance regard nothing as wrong which hurts Germany. Later on they will wake up. Then it may be too late.

One of the interesting sidelights on the situation is that the one class in Germany which might conceivably pay more in reparations, namely, the great industrialists, is partly protected in its power by French ambitions. The German socialists are afraid to nationalize mines for fear lest the French confiscate those mines or any profits they might derive from them with a ruthlessness that they do not show in dealing with private property!

Could there be a more perfect illustration of the danger to peace so long as men's social relations and the control of vital necessities is left to the operation of the profit motive as between individuals and ruthless competitive nationalism as between states? Ultimately there can be no cure for the sickness of an acquisitive society—of which the Ruhr crisis and the Near East crisis are but symptoms—until there is international co-operation in the control of raw materials and production is for use and not for profit.

Meanwhile, as a little step towards international co-operation, the United States might invite the nations to an economic conference in which the whole matter of debts, reparations and military burdens under which the peoples groan shall be considered. Such a plan would not be acceptable to French chauvinists or industrialists. It might appeal to the French people and to the people of other countries as a way out. A willingness on the part of the United States to reduce or cancel continental debts which at all events it can hardly collect might ease the psychological tension between peoples and hasten the day of rational readjustments upon which the peace and prosperity of the world depend.

That day now seems far off. But there is this much encouragement: From whatever motives the Germans have adhered to the policy of passive resistance in the face of much provocation; they have by no means conquered French aggression thereby, but they have done what they could not have done by violence. They have shown how costly it is to mine coal with bayonets and they have denied to the spirit of militarism that violent resistance upon which it feeds. Perseverance in well doing may defeat the National bloc sooner than we think.

Much will depend upon the strength of European labor. Its international outlook in the matter is wholly commendable. It has heretofore proved weak before governments entirely controlled by chauvinists and industrialists. There are signs that it may gain in strength. The sympathies of thoughtful Americans ought to go out to the international labor movement of Europe as the most hopeful factor in the situation.

THE ELECTION

As we go to press members of the L. I. D. are voting for the members of the Executive Committee which is to take office April 1st. The official ballot contains the names of thirty-one men and women nominated by members of the society from whom twenty-five are to be chosen. The total number of nominations was larger, but several of our old and new friends declined service. We are happy to report that all of them declined for reasons not inconsistent with continued friendship for the society. Ballots must be in the office by March 30, 1923.

BOOKS

TO READ AND TO DISCUSS

The Next Step, by Scott Nearing. Nellie S. Nearing, Publisher, Ridgewood, N. J. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

Why there must be a next step Scott Nearing proves by a careful survey of our present situation. What principle should animate mankind in taking the next step he indicates by quoting Graham Wallas's saying: "Men cannot exist in their present numbers on the earth without world co-operation." But the step itself is nothing less than the economic administration of the whole world. It is not so much a step that Dr. Nearing describes as a landing place on the other side of a chasm which seven-league boots could scarcely cross in one bound.

Briefly his proposal is an organization of the major industries from local units to world parliaments on the basis of self-government. The relations between these industries, the adjustments of disputes, and the care of matters common to all dwellers within certain areas is to be left to inter-industrial councils or congresses for various geographic divisions from the local community up to the world. The different functions of these parliaments are pointed out, and even the time of their meeting is suggested. The whole scheme is based on the principle: "All power to the producers."

The very boldness of Dr. Nearing's plan commends it. We need to be lifted out of destructive criticism, cynicism, absorption in isolated reforms, into constructive thinking about the sort of social machinery that would best halt waste, enlarge freedom and abolish war. Many of us know neither where we are going nor where we should like to go; we only know we are on our way. Scott Nearing tells us plainly where he thinks we should be going. Those who do not like his goal owe it to us to tell us why. Particularly challenging this book ought to prove to those who are caught up in the enthusiasm of current economic reforms without regard to their implications. Nationalization of natural resources is a case in point. How about the countries without coal or oil? What will they do? Will nationalization make for international fair play or for an intensification of that sort of nationalism out of which war arises?

On the other hand the book raises plenty of questions in the mind of the thoughtful reader. They fall naturally under two heads: (1) whether Dr. Nearing's principle of all power to the producers and the plan based on it is philosophically sound, and (2) whether it is practicable. Under the first head a host of questions arise: Does man live to work, or work to live? If the latter, is not his interest as consumer greater or at least as great as his interest as producer? If guilds (the word is not Dr. Nearing's) of producers are in absolute control will not those guilds in the more immediately essential industries whose interruption even for a short time will prove disastrous have an unfair advantage over the others in fixing prices and otherwise? Will not guilds prove unduly conservative toward innovations? Certainly a self-governing parliament of ship builders in the days of wooden ships would never have voted to try to build vessels of iron. Why should I always vote as a producer? I am a resident, let us say, of Scranton, Pa., and a member of the presswriters' union. Relatively few of my craft live in the city; they are scattered all over it. In municipal affairs I am thinking in terms of my neighborhood. If the streets are bad in my district my natural associates in action are my neighbors, not my fellow craftsmen.

Under the second head arise other questions. Are there any signs that point to such an organization of society as

Dr. Nearing suggests? How can it get a start without conflicting with the strong emotions of nationalism and the power of the state? Dr. Nearing himself is doubtless aware of these and other questions. This book indicates some of them, though it does not answer them. They are raised here not because they are conclusive against the plan, but because the book furnishes such an excellent basis for constructive thinking that we urge it and the questions that arise out of it upon the attention of our readers and especially upon discussion groups in colleges and elsewhere.

WE RECOMMEND —

The international situation makes particularly timely such a discussion of European affairs as is found in "Cross Currents In Europe Today," by Charles A. Beard; Marshall Jones Company. Here in short compass is an admirable discussion of diplomatic revelations as to causes of the war, its economic aftermath, and the present situation. Written before the Ruhr crisis was acute and without that crisis particularly in mind, it gives a better background for understanding it than many articles which deal with the Ruhr specifically.

The same thing is true of Francesco Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe"; Bobbs Merrill & Company. Professor Christian Gauss of Princeton has done good service in this new translation of the second Italian edition of a book which formerly appeared in English under the title "Peaceless Europe." Signor Nitti speaks with long experience as an economist and as a statesman. He tells us that when he was in the Italian ministry of commerce a year before the war, Pan Germans discussed with him their dream of a day when they might add the iron of French Lorraine to the coal of Germany. It is the same dream which inspires the French today. One could wish that our American Legion would read this treatment of the European situation by a former premier of Italy and add thereby to its honest sympathy with the French a better understanding of conditions.

Another important book, both in its economic and political aspects is Beatrice and Sidney Webb's "The Decay of Civilization," published in America by Harcourt, Brace & Company. We reserve this book for a fuller review in a later issue.

A LIST FOR STUDENTS

To Frank V. Anderson, Assistant Librarian, Bureau of Industrial Research of New York, we are indebted for the following list which may be especially welcomed by students of particular subjects in and out of college:

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON LABOR

- American Federation of Labor* — Non partisan successes. Wash. 1922. 8p.
- American Labor Year Book*—Vol. 4, 1921-1922. N. Y. Rand School of Social Science. 1922.
- Brailsford, H. N.* — After the peace; specially rev. for American ed. N. Y. Seltzer. 1922. 158 p.
- Bogardus, E. S.* — Introduction to sociology; 3d rev. ed. Los Angeles, Univ. of Southern California. pr. 1922. 454 p.
- Bogart, E. L.* — Economic History of the United States; rev. ed. N. Y. Longmans, Green. 1922. 593 p.
- Bruere, R. W.* — Coming of Coal. N. Y. Assn. Press. 1922. 123 p.
- Carpenter, Niles* — Guild Socialism; an historical and critical analysis. N. Y. Appleton. 1922. 350 p. Bibl. p. 336-341. See index under Miners and Nationalization.
- Commons, J. R.* — Tendencies in trade union development in the United States. (Int'l Labour Office. Int'l Labour rev. Geneva. v. 5, p. 855-87. June, 1922.) (An excellent condensed review of recent history.)

- Coffey, Diarmid* — Co-operative movement in Yugoslavia, Roumania and North Italy, during and after the world war. N. Y. Oxford Univ. pr. 1922. 99 p. (Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace. Division of Econ. and History. Preliminary economic studies of the war No. 21.)
- Conant, Luther, Jr.* — Critical analysis of industrial pension systems. N. Y. Macmillan Co. 1922. 262 p.
- Corbin, John* — Middle class and the future. N. Y. Scribner. 1922.
- DeMontgomery, B. G.* — British and continental labor policy. London. Kegan Paul. 1922.
- Foster, W. Z.* — Bankruptcy of the American labor movement. Chicago Trade Union Educational League. 1922. 62 p. (Labor Herald library No. 4.)
- Gibson, C. R.* — Romance of Coal. Phila., J. B. Lippincott Co. 1923. 310 p. A popular account of the geology of coal and the industry in Great Britain.
- Hulbert, L. S.* — Legal phases of co-operative associations. Wash. Govt. Print. Off. 1922. 74 p. (U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, bul. No. 1106.)
- Hungerford, Edward* — Our railroads tomorrow. N. Y. Century Co. 1922. 332 p.
- International Labour Office* — Unemployment inquiry; remedies for unemployment. Geneva. 1922. 141 p.
- International Labour Office* — Wage changes in various countries, 1914-1921. Geneva. 1922. 76 p. (Studies and rpts. Ser. D. Wages and hours No. 2.)
- Johnsen, J. E., comp.* — Selected articles on social insurance. N. Y. H. W. Wilson Co. 1922. 381 p.
- Laidler, H. W.* — Recent developments in socialism, with bibliographies and directory. N. Y. League for Industrial Democracy. 1922. 16 p.
- Lynch, Joseph* — Business methods and accountancy in trade unions. London. Labour Pub. Co. 1922. 183 p.
- Merchants Association of New York* — Industrial map of New York City, showing manufacturing industries, concentration, distribution, character. N. Y. 1922. Based on U. S. Bureau of Census 1919 census of manufactures.
- Merriam, C. E.* — American party system. N. Y. Macmillan Co. 1922.
- Merritt, W. G.* — Open shop and industrial liberty. N. Y. League for Industrial Rights. 1922. 41 p. (Industrial liberty series No. 1.)
- Mumford, Louis* — Story of Utopias. N. Y. Boni and Livright. 1922. 315 p.
- Ogburn, W. F.* — Social change. N. Y. B. W. Huebsch. 1922. 365 p.
- Perlman, Selig* — History of trade unionism in the United States. N. Y. Macmillan Co. 1922. 313 p.
- Russell, Bertrand* — Free thought and official propaganda. N. Y. B. W. Huebsch. 56 p.

(Additions to this list will be given in subsequent issues)

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.....