

# NEWS - BULLETIN

*League for Industrial Democracy*

Vol. I. No. 4

70 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY

MAY, 1923

## COMING--OUR BEST CONFERENCE

A month or two ago in cold and dreary weather we told you of the joys of Camp Tamiment in June. They are easily visualized as spring comes on. In beautiful outdoor setting the L. I. D. plans a summer conference with features of unusual interest.

This year the program is devoted to "Next Steps—where do we go from here?" The tentative program follows:

Wednesday evening, June 20, at 8 o'clock: "Next Steps In Civil Liberties and Academic Freedom."

Is Fascism spreading in America and abroad? Is the "Goose Step" a true picture of the American educational system? What is the extent of freedom of speech and action in the mine and steel and other industrial districts? What is the economic basis of suppression and of the liberation of speech and of action? What should be the limitation, if any, of free speech?

Speakers: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Organizer for the Workers' Defense Union; Powers Hapgood, Harvard, '20, member of the United Mine Workers of America and others. Albert DeSilver, Associate Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Chairman.

Thursday morning, June 21, 10 to 12.30: "Next Steps In the American Youth Movement."

Is there an American Youth Movement? How does it express itself in the American College? What is its direction?

Symposium conducted by students and others.

Thursday evening, June 21, at 8 o'clock: "Next Steps In Co-operation."

What is the social significance of labor and co-operative banking? Is producers' or consumers' co-operation the more fundamental from the standpoint of industrial democracy?

Speakers: Cedric Long, Executive Secretary of the Co-operative League of America; Albert F. Coyle, acting editor, Locomotive Engineers' Journal (probably) and others.

Friday morning, June 22, 10 to 12.30: "Next Steps In Labor Education."

Is there room for propaganda in workers' education? If so, what kind of propaganda? What should be the goal of workers' education? Enlightenment? Improvement of labor conditions? A new social organization? What is the value of independent labor educational agencies not connected with the trade union movement? What dangers in labor education should be avoided?

Speakers: Fannia Cohn, Vice-president, Workers' Education Bureau and Educational Secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Horace Kallen, New School for Social Research; Susan Kingsbury, Research Department, Bryn Mawr College; Paul Blanshard, Educational Director, Rochester Branch, Amalgamated Clothing Workers (probably). Harry W. L. Dana, Chairman.

Friday evening, June 22, 8 o'clock: "Next Steps Against War."

What will be the outcome of the Ruhr invasion? What are the dangers of the Chester concession? What are the prime causes of modern warfare? What immediate steps should be advocated to prevent new wars? Should war be outlawed? What should be the nature of the world organization—political and international—to prevent future wars?

Speakers: Paul Jones, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Norman Thomas and others.

Saturday morning, June 23, 10 to 12.30: "Next Steps In Public Ownership."

Should American liberals and radicals concentrate their efforts on the nationalization of one or more basic industries? On mines and railroads? How should power of administration be distributed among the workers, the technicians, the consumers? How should incentive be stimulated? What program of international control should be worked out? Is it good strategy for trade unions at the present time to agitate for national ownership of fundamental industries?

Speakers: Dr. Louis Levine, author, journalist, recently returned from Russia and Central Europe; Carl D. Thompson, Secretary of the Public Ownership League of America (probably), and others. Harry W. Laidler, Chairman.

Saturday evening, June 23, 8 o'clock: "Next Steps In Workers' Control."

Has any American experiment in workers' control initiated by employers proved fundamentally democratic? Is industrial unionism a pre-requisite to industrial democracy in this country? What are the next steps in amalgamation?

Speakers: Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; William P. Hapgood, of the Columbia Conserve Company; William Pickens of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James H. Maurer, President of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor (if in this country); Max D. Danish, editor "Justice," organ of International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Sunday morning, June 24, 10 to 12.30: "Next Steps In Labor Politics."

Should labor in this country proceed immediately to the organization of an independent labor party or should it make a concerted effort to utilize the machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties? Should an American labor party include communist, socialist and trade union groups? On what common program can farmers and industrial workers unite? Wherein do their interests differ? What type of common political organization can be worked out in view of these likenesses and differences?

Speakers: Morris Hillquit, who will have just returned from the Hamburg International Socialist Conference; Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League; Robert Morss Lovett and others.

Sunday afternoon, June 24, 2.30 to 4: "Next Steps In Literature and Drama."

The mornings and evenings at the Conference, as may be seen, are given over to discussion, the afternoons to recreation—walking, swimming, rowing, canoeing, tennis, etc.

Expenses: The fare from New York to Camp Tamiment is \$7.37, including transportation of bags and small trunks (\$5.37 round trip to Stroudsburg, \$1 round trip to Bushkill, and bus fare). The trip takes about three and a half hours from New York.

The Camp is giving to guests of the Conference a special flat rate of \$3.50 per day for room and board. Cabins accommodate two, three, four and six guests. Rowboats, canoes, etc., are obtained free of charge.

Tickets of admission are 50 cents per day in addition to board and lodging rates.

Those desiring to attend the Conference are urged to send applications with a deposit of \$3 at the earliest opportunity to the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

*There will be an opportunity for a few college students to earn their expenses as waiters. Applications should be sent promptly to Harry W. Laidler, Chairman of the Conference Committee, 70, 5th Avenue, New York City.*

## CIVILIZATION IN NON-UNION COAL FIELDS

A peculiar situation exists with regard to the inquiry into the coal industry now under way by the Federal Coal Commission. The official body has decided not to make investigation with its own investigators as to conditions of life in particular coal mining territories, although it has announced that it will receive affidavits on such conditions.

Now, the coal problem is in part a problem of human relations. Decent people ought to know under what conditions coal is mined; what necessitates the extensive employment of coal and iron police; why certain counties in West Virginia should be closed to those whose opinions and actions are not approved by the sheriff; why in prosperous America men and women live in refugee camps on barren hillsides; why the strike in Somerset County still continues.

The open shop idea has been held up to the American people as an ideal of freedom. How comes it therefore that it must be forced upon the miners by the tactics commonly employed in non-union territories? What does this ideal of "freedom" mean in terms of the prevailing civilization in non-union areas? Such are some of the questions that arise in the minds of careful observers of the coal situation.

Other questions are of a somewhat different order. In general, the miners won the last strike, but some of the most important coal and coke producing areas remained unorganized. Where the government or consumers are dealing with organized miners it is possible to have some plan in industry and some co-operation. Is it equally possible to have plans and co-operation where there is no organization of the workers whatsoever? Where the union is recognized there is the beginning of government in industry and of democratic order instead of autocracy. But can victories for the organized miners be secure so long as important areas are not unionized?

These questions are important for consumers as well as for miners. In planning to obviate strife and waste it is necessary to know whether we are to count on an indefinite continuance of the struggle to organize unorganized men. For these reasons it has seemed most appropriate that there should be some honest, unofficial investigation into civilization in non-union territories, in order to present facts to the official commission which is pledged to receive them if not to gather them.

Hence the L. I. D. and the American Civil Liberties Union are jointly organizing an independent commission for the purpose of making such inquiry into civil liberties and economic conditions in non-union coal camps. They hope to put a competent investigator into the field (the position has been offered to Winthrop D. Lane, formerly editor of the Survey). They have already obtained the services on the commission of Rev. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council, Miss Kate Holliday Cleghorn of the New York School for Social Work, and Professor Herbert Adolphus Miller, Oberlin. Two others are to be added to this commission. When it has been created it will be entirely independent of both the L. I. D. and the Civil Liberties

Union. Those organizations will underwrite its expenses and try to give publicity to its findings.

We are sure that this enterprise will commend itself to our readers. We ask that they manifest their approval by helping us meeting the expense which we have assumed. At least \$750 should be raised as soon as possible to cover the L. I. D.'s share of expenses.

## TO OUR READERS

At the time that the L. I. D. has undertaken to underwrite half the expenses of the unofficial coal commission it still has to raise about \$2,000 in order to finish the fiscal year which ends October 1st. If this \$2,000 is not raised or pledged the L. I. D. will also lose some \$1,000 in conditional gifts and its work will be so curtailed as greatly to cripple its effectiveness, if not to end its life. We do not want to make this Bulletin one long wail for money. We believe that if we state our case to our friends they will not need any beggar's eloquence to make them do their best.

The L. I. D. has started a simple and inexpensive fortnightly editorial news service; that is, comment and interpretation of topics of the time, chiefly for labor papers. Mr. Thomas is in charge and there is an Advisory Committee composed of James H. Maurer, President Penn. Federation of Labor; Frederic C. Howe, former Secretary, Conference for Progressive Political Action; Albert F. Coyle, Acting Editor B. of L. E. Journal, and Phil. E. Ziegler editor *The Railway Clerk*. The plan is frankly experimental but it has been welcomed by several papers. At present the service is furnished free. If it grows it is our hope to make it something of a forum of opinion of labor editors. Any member of the L. I. D. desiring to see this service may receive it by sending a quarter to the office—that is unless the number who send quarters should be so great as to necessitate printing rather than mimeographing the service.

The thanks of the Membership Committee of the L. I. D. are due to the members who sent in the lists of their friends who might be interested in the work of the society. We were much gratified by the response to this request for names. About nine hundred names were received from about one hundred of our members. All these were circularized. The immediate result of this circularization was less than we hoped, but fully justified the effort. Since January we have received one hundred and nine new members.

162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S. W. 1.

April 27, 1923.

Dear Comrade Laidler:

At the Annual Conference of this Federation held over Easter, I received a unanimous instruction to convey to the League, through you, those annual fraternal greetings which have for so many years now been sent by the University Socialist Federation to the I. S. S.

We feel sure that the League, risen Phoenix-like from the ashes of the glorious old I. S. S., will take a great part in training the finer spirits of the young "intellectuals" in the States to play their part in the great struggle of the working masses for the overthrow of Capitalism and the carrying out of the transition to Socialism.

With renewed good wishes to the League and to yourself, believe me,

Ever yours fraternally,

G. ATKEN HUTT,

Secretary U. S. F.

## LIBERALISM IN THE MIDDLE WEST

Harry W. Laidler brought back some interesting impressions of his trip in the Middle West. He spent over six weeks visiting and addressing college and community audiences.

I believe, he reports, that the dangerous hysteria following the war is gradually disappearing, and that both college and city groups are increasingly receptive to the challenge of industrial democracy. Of the Middle Western colleges visited, the administrations at Oberlin, Grinnell and Kansas State Agricultural College have been foremost during the last few years in encouraging freedom of discussion in their respective colleges and have paid little attention to the current hysteria. The president of Oberlin some time ago, on hearing of the circulation of a petition for amnesty for political prisoners among some of the students, declared that this question was of such vital importance that it should be made a college affair, and initiated and sent to President Harding a petition for amnesty endorsed by the entire college body. Western Reserve, Hamline and the Universities of Chicago have almost fully recovered from the repressive psychology of war and post-war days and have adopted an encouragingly liberal policy toward student groups.

The growth of socialist and labor groups in state legislatures is beginning to have its effect upon university life. This is particularly true at the University of Wisconsin. Last year Kate Richards O'Hare was refused a hearing at the University, and the progressive legislature invited her to speak before a crowded audience in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol. This year when Messrs. Sinclair, Brooks and others published the "Scorpion," an unofficial student publication extremely critical of the college administration, the administration at first forbade its publication, but, following protests against this action on the part of progressive legislators, ceased any official opposition. By an odd turn of fortune the present Lieutenant-Governor Cummings, of Wisconsin, was some years ago forced to resign from the Extension Department of the University because of his uacifism and radicalism. Following his resignation he entered politics and was elected by a large vote as lieutenant-governor. He is now one of the strongest supporters of the Social Science Club, presides at many of their meetings, and has been one of the chief advocates of legislation to make military training voluntary, not compulsory as at present, at the University.

The Social Science Club has been doing excellent work at this institution under the leadership of Messrs. Bennett, Shier, Brooks, Sinclair, Sigman, Voltz, Misses Preston, Scheiffelin and others. While the minority of the student body show a live interest in social problems, the majority, coming from small villages and farms, and desiring to do the conventional thing in college, unfortunately still maintain an attitude of comparative indifference even here to the broader industrial and international questions of the day.

At the University of Minnesota also the growth of the Farmer Labor movement in the state is counteracting the reactionary influence of Pierce Butler and his associates. My talk before the Liberal Discussion group at Minnesota was the first lecture this season held by this group on an economic subject. Strangely enough the controversy regarding the truth or falsity of the doctrine of evolution still rages at the university and in the state and this question was thrashed out in a number of exciting meetings of the club.

The most exciting thing about a college trip is the change found in universities in the space of a few years. When I visited the University of Missouri, during the Spring of 1918, I spoke on "War and Socialism," and no objection seemed to be raised. Thorstein Veblen and Herbert Davenport were

then at the University and were making the college a center for original and vital thinking. Within the last few years, however, both of these professors have left; the president of the university who, a year or so ago had Oswald Garrison Villard give the commencement oration, has gone, and the chief concern of the administration and of the majority of the faculty seems to be so to conform their activities to the prejudices of the state legislators as to ensure the largest possible appropriation from the state legislature. Throughout the Spring of this year the university has been showing every imaginable courtesy to the solons at the state capitol.

About a week before the appropriation was to be voted upon the newly formed Liberal Club asked that Kate O'Hare be allowed to speak under its auspices on prison conditions. The request was granted. A hall was obtained and the meeting advertised. The next evening the local chapter of the American Legion met. It discussed the news. It decided that something must be done to save the student body from being contaminated by a former prisoner, particularly by a former woman prisoner, and more especially by a political prisoner convicted during the hysterical days of the war. A delegation was sent to the acting president. The acting president professed ignorance of the record of the speaker. He agreed that a talk by her would be hurtful to college morality, and besides might seriously affect the state appropriation. The advertising signs were torn down. The students were told that they could not arrange a meeting anywhere in town. The following Wednesday the legislature passed the largest appropriation which had thus far been received by the university and the country was saved. Recently the spirit of the town was indicated by another tragic lynching of a Negro charged with assault. It is to be hoped that there will soon be a reawakening of an active spirit of inquiry and of tolerance in this community, for the lack of which no amount of appropriation can compensate.

The administration of an adjoining state college refused the students' request that a prospective lecturer be permitted to speak at the Student Assembly on the ground that the students should not be exposed to a contributor to the *Nation*! The action of the administration and of the dominant student groups at the University of Michigan in forcing the resignation of the young intellectual group connected with the Sunday Supplement of the Michigan Daily is indicative of the reactionary spirit at this University. The Liberal Club here, started during the Blanshard-Sargent debate organized by the L. I. D., is doing valuable work in developing a more inquiring mind.

In several colleges where the college administration is decidedly conservative, and where the student is somewhat indifferent to the larger social issues, the economics and sociology faculty are doing all that they can to stimulate serious discussion. A marked change has come over the younger members of the faculty, particularly during the last few years, in regard to their attitude toward the whole system of private property. The considerable majority are looking forward to a pretty thorough reorganization of society within the next generation, and welcome an opportunity to have L. I. D. speakers present before their classes arguments for fundamental social changes in the world to-day. An increasing number are getting into vital touch with the labor movement through the workers' educational movement, labor research, etc. Students also are inquiring increasingly regarding opportunities for concrete service in the movement.

Outside of the colleges there is a growing demand for talks on questions of social ownership in the women's organizations

of the Middle West, in a few of the city clubs, and in church forums, particularly in such cities as Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Denver. In Denver the Community Church of Denver under the able direction of George Lackland is exerting a profound influence in behalf of the labor movement. The Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s in some sections of the West are doing an important work in presenting the social challenge.

On the whole the trip emphasizes anew the value of such organizations as the L. I. D. in throwing light on the fundamental problems of labor and socialism before both college and non-college groups.

The college groups addressed were as follows: Western Reserve, twice before college chapel; Oberlin, before the Liberal Club, two sociology classes and an L. I. D. organization meeting; University of Michigan, Liberal Club; University of Illinois, an undergraduate and graduate class in socialism; University of Wisconsin, Social Science Club and labor problems class; University of Minnesota, Liberal Discussion Club; Hamline, economics classes and college chapel; Grinnell, faculty club, college chapel, two economics classes; Colorado College, economics, English and sociology classes; Kansas State Agricultural College, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., class in journalism; University of Kansas, Sociology Club and five or six combined economic classes; University of Missouri, Liberal Club; Washington University, economics class and Student Forum.

Among the city groups addressed were: Toledo City Club, Chicago League for Women's Voters, Public Ownership League, Federated Press League, Minneapolis Saturday Lunch Club and Woman's League for Peace and Freedom, Davenport Free Press Forum, Denver Fellowship of Reconciliation and Fellowship of the Christian Social Order, St. Louis Forum and Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. and Social Workers' Club. Dr. Laidler spoke also before several church forums in Cleveland, St. Paul, Ann Arbor and Denver.

### NEWS FROM THE COLLEGES

The Social Science Club at the University of Wisconsin held a great meeting in the university gymnasium at which Eugene V. Debs was principal speaker. Our correspondent writes: "Over three thousand people heard the lecture and many could not get into the building. The President of the University took a week before deciding that we could use the gymnasium. Someone tried to break up the meeting by pulling out the electric light fuse, but the meeting went on just the same. However, the place was in darkness for forty minutes. Lieutenant-Governor Cummings and about sixty members of the Legislature sat upon the stage while Debs gave his lecture."

The Socialist Society of Columbia is to be congratulated in its active work for the organization of an inclusive student forum on the campus. Eleven Columbia student organizations are behind this enterprise, and an application has been made to President Butler for a ruling permitting it freedom in the choice of speakers. Besides this, the Socialist Society (which is affiliated with the L. I. D.) has held its own meetings "on and off the campus" with Professor John Dewey, Algernon Lee, Harry F. Ward and William Z. Foster as recent speakers. Mr. Kornblit has been re-elected president for the ensuing year.

A group of students from the University of Indiana applied in late April for a League charter. While the interest in social problems is not great at the university, applicants feel that the situation is anything but hopeless. Among the sign-

ers are Lloyd M. Cosgrove, Charles Carothers, Paul Selmaitter, Lawrence Erwin and S. Harada.

Following the visit of Mr. Thomas during last January, there was formed at Cornell University a Chaos Club. (We would forestall those critics of the L. I. D. who will tell us that chaos is the natural result of our activities by reminding them that the world was made out of chaos, and that some mental chaos may precede the making of a better world! As a more valid defense we would record the fact that there is also a small group at Cornell definitely affiliated with the L. I. D. with principles somewhat more definite than chaos.) This Chaos Club has furnished a meeting ground for discussion of all sorts of college and other problems, and has served a useful place in the university life.

Members of the Yale Liberal Club took part in the fight for free speech at Waterbury, Conn. This fight was necessitated by the refusal of the authorities to permit Carlo Tresca to speak at meetings organized in opposition to the Fascist movement among the Italian residents in Waterbury. Yale students as well as some Yale graduates were among the forces of liberals that rallied to the defense of free speech.

A unique feature of the work of the Swarthmore Polity Club during the winter was the Princeton-Swarthmore debate on the Volstead Act, held under the auspices of the club. The debate was conducted more or less on English lines. The vote was 58 to 11 in favor of the Volstead Act. More recently the Polity Club has arranged a Student-Industrial Conference, reported in the New Student for May 5, 1923.

The Vassar College Socialist Club reports that its best meetings were held under the joint auspices of itself and the Political Association. The latter organization has filled a very useful place in college life by holding meetings with such speakers as Oswald Garrison Villard, Paxton Hibben, Judge Florence Allen, Rose Schneiderman and others.

The most interesting proof of independent thinking in colleges to-day is the growth of a literature of protest against college idols which is typified by such papers as the Yale *Saturday Evening Post* and the Wisconsin *Scorpion*. Even more regular college papers often give evidence of an encouraging degree of liberalism of thought. The Clark University *Monthly* is an uncommonly able magazine. Its quality is more noticeable because the general morale of the university under its present administration is so low. It is to be feared that with the graduation of the present senior class the *Monthly* can hardly keep its present high standard. A recent editorial in the Dartmouth college daily on William Z. Foster and the Harvard *Lampoon's* declaration against racial discrimination are other proofs that might be cited as to the spirit of liberalism and independent thinking in the colleges.

An important feature of the college year has been the tour of the foreign students under the auspices of the National Student Forum. To representatives of the L. I. D. it seems that the chief value of this tour has been in reminding American students that they are citizens of the world and that the republic of ideas exceeds the boundaries of the United States. We have seen little evidence that a significant youth movement in the American colleges will grow out of this visit, or indeed that there will be any very definite results in thinking or in organization. Nevertheless, what has been done has been well worth while and it may prove much greater than is now apparent.

Another foreign visitor who has aroused thought and won friends in American colleges has been Mr. Kenneth Lindsay of Oxford, whose visit to American colleges was under the general auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau.

The multiplicity of college organizations raises the real question for the L. I. D. as to how it shall attempt to keep in vital touch with colleges. It has been the growing conviction of officers of the L. I. D., a conviction confirmed by members of our student council, that it is a mistake to multiply organizations for their own sake. There is, on the other hand, clear need of the message of the L. I. D., and in particular of that closer relationship between students and workers which the L. I. D. hopes to establish. It seems to us in many cases that the solution of the problem may be the affiliation of a liberal club or other student organization with more than one national organization. The local group might then be a sort of funnel through which ideas and suggestions could be contributed from various national agencies. Within the larger group a smaller number of students might be found prepared more definitely to consider the problems to which the L. I. D. is devoted. There is a tendency in some universities to rate the L. I. D. as a "propaganda organization." We are pleased rather than otherwise to admit that we have some definite ideas. It is well to have an open mind, but not a mind that is a thoroughfare for every particular notion to sweep through without stopping. We do not, however, expect students to accept the principle of production for use rather than profit in order to become members of the L. I. D. We ask them merely to consider this principle, its meaning in practical terms, and its significance for human life.

### STILL SEEING THINGS

Columbia, Missouri, which recently came into tragic prominence as the scene of a lynching, is the seat of the University of Missouri. The University of Missouri has a liberal club (mentioned in Dr. Laidler's report) before which he spoke. This liberal club has no formal affiliations with the L. I. D. It seems that Colonel J. F. Williams, university publisher, was filled with horror by the existence of a liberal club. Before a convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, he denounced the club which, he said, was fostered by the "Collegiate Communistic Society of America," which, in turn, is financed by the Soviet Government of Russia! The chief proof he had that Trotsky was about to capture Columbia, Mo., through the liberal club was the fact that Kate Richard O'Hare had spoken before it. The liberal club entered into a prompt and frank denial that it was connected with the "Collegiate Communistic Society" or that such a society existed, and demanded a retraction. Its case was so good that reporters in search of sensation gave up. According to our correspondent, Colonel Williams has not yet apologized, but neither has he led any more charges of the Veterans of Foreign Wars against the Liberal Club of Columbia, Mo.

The best part of the story is that it called forth an editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, from which we quote certain significant sentences:

Colonel Williams, it seems, wants education placed under the control of the State militia, or, at the worst, under the supervision of the American Legion. A State university should be a place where thought and discussion are encouraged, rather than a barracks where they are ruthlessly put down. No sensible person believes that education will be served, or the welfare of the country promoted, by converting every student body into a battalion of goose-steppers.

The affrighted Colonel purports to believe that the

Liberal Club is hand in glove with the Communist Internationale. What preposterous nonsense! What profound bosh! The club members are threatening a suit to make Colonel Williams prove his charges, which are denied. Well determined action of that sort might prove an effective cure against the fever which sees, in every manifestation of mental activity, a plot to overthrow the Government, burn down the capitol, put the Senate to the sword and deliver us all into the hands of Trotsky. We have been plagued enough by people who are subject to hallucinations of green snakes, pink elephants, blue laws and red guards.

Our correspondent rather sadly comments that Missouri stands, he believes, "twenty-second in education, first in mules, and countenances lynchings." He ought not to lose hope when he considers that no State has produced a better editorial than that from which we have quoted.

### CITY CHAPTERS

The L. I. D. is proud to announce that at a recent membership meeting of the Philadelphia Young Democracy at which Mr. Thomas spoke, that organization voted unanimously to affiliate with the L. I. D. It will, of course, keep its own name and its own line of work. Among other things it conducted a very successful forum in Philadelphia this year. The terms of affiliation will be worked out by the new Executive Committee of the Young Democracy with the L. I. D. Similar arrangements can be made with other local groups. So many of our problems are national rather than local that it is highly desirable that a way be found by which such excellent organizations as the Philadelphia Young Democracy can keep their local character and independence and yet be affiliated with a nation-wide organization.

On Friday, May 11, Mr. Thomas led a discussion with members of the Washington, D. C., Chapter of the L. I. D. on methods of work likely to prove most effective under conditions in Washington.

The New York Cameraderie ended its regular Saturday meetings with the month of April. The season was unusually successful both in attendance and in variety and interest of subjects discussed. Its success was largely due to the energy and ability of its chairman, Louise Adams Floyd. Toward the end of the year she felt obliged because of pressure of work to resign. The executive committee of the Cameraderie accepted the resignation in hope that it might prove only a leave of absence. The Committee then chose Solon DeLeon as chairman and co-operated with him in carrying the season to a successful conclusion. The Cameraderie in connection with other New York groups organized a meeting for Mr. J. J. Mallon of the British Labor Party and Warden of Toynbee Hall, on May 9.

### SPEAKING HERE AND THERE

Mr. Thomas spent the first week of April in and around Pittsburgh. He spoke at two public meetings, one under the auspices of the Socialist Party on the Ruhr Crisis and one at a community forum on Social Ownership. He spoke at lunch meetings at the Hungry Club and the Rotary Club, and at dinner meetings of the Economics Club and of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Beside these, he spoke at the assembly of the Margaret Morrison College, at an economics class at the University of Pittsburgh and the assembly of a large business college. Such a series lacked nothing in variety. One concrete result of the trip was the determination of a group of students at the University of Pittsburgh to form a liberal club.

Mr. Thomas also spent some time in Fayette County inves-

tigating conditions under which some six hundred persons, miners and their families, still live in tents and crude barracks on the barren hillsides. Making this inquiry was preliminary to a decision to set up an informal coal commission, reported elsewhere in this bulletin.

Wednesday, May 2, Mr. Thomas visited Smith College. He spoke in the morning and afternoon at college classes and in the evening participated in a most interesting discussion with a faculty group. On Sunday, April 22, he addressed the Yale Y. M. C. A., and on May 14, a class in labor problems at Brown University.

### WHO'S WHO ON OUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

As a result of the referendum mail ballot taken for members of the Executive Committee the following persons were elected to serve from April 1, 1923, to March 31, 1934:

Heber Blankenhorn	Henry R. Linville
Paul Blanshard	Cedric Long
Evans Clark	Robert Morss Lovett
Harry W. L. Dana	Broadus Mitchell
Max D. Danish	William C. Pickens
Albert DeSilver	Mary R. Sanford
Louise Adams Floyd	Vida D. Scudder
Lewis Gannett	Charles P. Steinmetz
Jessie Wallace Hughan	Helen Phelps Stokes
Paul Jones	Norman Thomas
Nicholas Kelley	Bertha Poole Weyl
Harry W. Laidler	Helen Sumner Woodbury

Savel Zimand

The new Executive Committee held its first meeting April 12 and began by electing the following officers:

President—Robert Morss Lovett.

Vice-presidents—Charles P. Steinmetz, Vida D. Scudder, James H. Maurer, Evans Clark.

Treasurer—Stuart Chase.

Directors—Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas.

Dr. Laidler was re-elected secretary of the Executive Committee and Mr. Thomas, chairman.

To most readers it may seem superfluous to give a brief biography of men and women who makes up the Executive Committee. Yet even Congressional biographies have their uses, and we assure you that our Executive Committee compares favorably with any Congress.

President Lovett is Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago, and an editor of *The New Republic*. That doesn't begin to tell the story of the extent and variety of his interest in causes that make for justice and a nobler civilization.

Vice-president Steinmetz is one of a small group of outstanding scientists in the United States. He has time to be interested not only in physical forces but in men. He confers honor upon the society by serving as vice-president.

Evans Clark is a Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., a position which together with his past experience as college instructor and research adviser to the Socialist Aldermen of New York City gives him both experience and contacts of great value to the League.

Vida D. Scudder is Professor of English Literature at Wellesley College; author of "Social Ideals in English Letters," "Socialism and Character," "Church and the Hour," etc. She has long been a friend of the society.

James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and the Workers Education Bureau, is a type of labor leader of which American labor may well be proud. We commend to our readers his autobiography now appearing in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Treasurer Stuart Chase is the Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and a trained accountant, formerly senior accountant of the Federal Trade Commission.

Heber Blankenhorn, principal author of the famous Interchurch Movement's report on the steel strike; former City Editor of the New York *Sun*, is industrial investigator on the staff of the Bureau of Industrial Research.

Paul Blanshard, Educational Director, Rochester Branch, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has had varied experience as a clergyman and as organizer for the Amalgamated Textile Workers.

Harry W. L. Dana is member of the faculty, Department of English Literature, New School for Social Research and Rand School of Social Science. He is a founder of the Boston Trade Union College.

Max D. Danish is Editor of *Justice*, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Albert DeSilver is a lawyer and associate director, American Civil Liberties Union.

Louise Adams Floyd is active in the New York Cameraderie; Secretary of New York Civic Club.

Lewis S. Gannett is Associate Editor of *The Nation*.

Jessie Wallace Hughan is teacher of English, New York High Schools; author of "American Socialism of the Present Day," and other books on social and international problems.

Paul Jones is Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Nicholas Kelley is a lawyer; former Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury.

Henry R. Linville is President New York Teachers' Union.

Cedric Long is Executive Secretary, Co-operative League of America, formerly an organizer of the Amalgamated Textile Workers.

Broadus Mitchell is Instructor of Economics Johns Hopkins University, leader in labor educational work, Baltimore.

William C. Pickens is Field Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; author "The Negro In the Light of the Great War," etc.

Mary R. Sanford is member of Executive Committee, Intercollegiate Socialist Society since 1908; active in National Consumers' League, etc.

Helen Phelps Stokes is an artist; Treasurer American Civil Liberties Union.

Bertha Poole Weyl has been one of the most interested and valuable members of the Executive Committee. Her friends could, if she would let them, tell a fuller tale of her many services to human well-being.

Helen Sumner Woodbury is co-author Adams and Sumner "Labor Problems"; author "History of Women In Industry," etc., former Assistant Chief of Children's Bureau, Department of Labor.

Savel Zimand is an industrial investigator, author of "Modern Social Movements," and widely known for his work in connection with the *Survey Graphic* dealing with Ireland, Coal and Russia.

### Two Important New Pamphlets

The Challenge of War—An economic interpretation by Norman Thomas.

The World Trend Toward Public Ownership—By Harry W. Laidler.

These pamphlets are in the same series as The Challenge of Waste by Stuart Chase, and The Intellectual and the Labor Movement by George Soule. They sell at 10 cents apiece, 15 for \$1.00. Special rates for larger orders.



# BOOKS

## "Hire" Learning Searchingly Caricatured

*The Goose Step*, by Upton Sinclair. (Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal.)

This is an amazing book. No one but Upton Sinclair could have written it. No one interested in higher education can afford not to read it. Of it the most paradoxical things may be said. It is prolix, given to repetition, without sense of proportion, an encyclopedia of college scandals. It is exceedingly readable, good humored, bound together by a definite theory of what is wrong with our colleges, and "constructive" (blessed word!) in its purpose. It is inaccurate yet true. It is merciless in its frankness, yet optimistic in its hopes and judgments. It is, in short, a pen and ink sketch in black and white (no grays) with almost all features suppressed save those which Mr. Sinclair wants to reveal to an indifferent world. It is not a portrait but a caricature. Whether the author intended to give us a caricature or a portrait is immaterial. His method and temperament determined the question in advance. But he has given us a searching caricature and it is an open question whether caricatures may not arouse dormant consciences which the most careful portraits would not stir.

Much will be made by critics of the inaccuracies of the book. They exist, as for example in so simple a matter as the author's account of the League for Industrial Democracy. Yet so far as I am aware they do not militate against the truth of his more important charges against particular institutions. Those who insist on regarding the book as a portrait may complain not so much of concrete inaccuracies as of false proportion, exaggeration and suppression of relevant facts. I as a Princeton graduate am sadly aware of Princeton's shortcomings in educational power and social vision. But if the book is to be taken as a perfect picture of my alma mater I should rise to protest that Princeton is not fairly represented as a country club given over to drinking and the buying of athletes.

Mr. Sinclair's thesis is that our educational institutions are controlled by the princes and potentates of our economic order; that their supreme object is to turn out men loyal to the philosophy of capitalism, and that in pursuance of that object they deal ruthlessly with heretics no matter how high those heretics stand in character, ability and devotion to truth. By implication the cure for this evil is of course a change in the economic order. Mr. Sinclair speaks enthusiastically of the amelioration that may be brought about by teachers' unions and workers' colleges.

If I had doubted the general truth of Mr. Sinclair's thesis I should be hard put to it to maintain my doubt in face of the evidence Mr. Sinclair amasses. But if I were wanting to present a portrait rather than a caricature I should insist that the control of education by capitalism is more subtle and less ruthless, more affected by other considerations and less direct than Mr. Sinclair's account would suggest. Higher education is affected by economic determinism, sometimes—as in the worst cases Mr. Sinclair describes—by the crassest form of economic self interest, more often by the inevitable urge of any social or economic order to perpetuate itself. Socialism will do the same. Education as a social process is a device by which one generation imparts to the next its accumulated wisdom. It is a short cut to painfully acquired stores of human experience. It embodies the mistakes and prejudices of mankind, but it is also a monument to its idealism. As long as a generation accepts the gospel of capitalism it will teach it and it will not always be consciously selfish

in the process. It may even allow large liberty of criticism as it comes to see the value of doubt, the inquiring mind and the scientific method in the search for truth.

In Europe veneration for an ancient tradition of education—European universities survived the change from feudalism to capitalism and may survive another—and the strength of new forces of revolt give professors a freedom denied in the newer, more naive, more militantly bourgeois civilization of America. America ought to do better. It is doubtful whether the educator as a prophet (especially the educator in social sciences) will ever find any organization a comfortable home. But that is no reason for tolerating the abuses Mr. Sinclair has revealed. It is not even a reason for believing that loyalty to truth will always be as difficult as it is in the "University of Heaven"—or of Judge Gary. One step forward will be the circulation of just such books as *The Goose Step*. It is a caricature, but it is an honest caricature which reveals the thing depicted in such fashion that one cannot forget. N. T.

## IS OUR CIVILIZATION SOUND?

*The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*, by Beatrice & Sidney Webb (Harcourt, Brace & Co.).

The reviewer who is inspired by the great desire to get a book read is faced by quite a problem. Will he accomplish his purpose best by extensive quotation or will such quotation make the reader think the book is unnecessary? In the case of the book on review, I shall not attempt quotation of significant passages for that would mean quoting the book. I shall only quote the Webbs' own statement of their thesis:

It is the thesis of this book that though it [capitalism] never fulfilled the condition completely, and in many places violated it with every circumstance of outrage, yet there was a moment, roughly placeable at the middle of the nineteenth century, when it could claim that, in a hundred years, it had produced, on balance, a surprising advance in material civilization for greatly increased populations. But we must add that from that moment to the present it has been receding from defeat to defeat, beaten ever more and more hopelessly by the social problems created by the very civilization it has built up and the very fecundity it has encouraged. In short, that it began to decay before it reached maturity, and that history will regard capitalism, not as an epoch but as an episode, and in the main a tragic episode, or Dark Age, between two epochs. And, seeing that no individual owner recognizes himself as a dictator, let it be at once added that, as will presently be explained, the dictatorship is a class dictatorship, and each separate capitalist is as helpless in the face of the institution of ownership for private profit as are the wage-earners themselves. His control of the forces of competitive capitalism is, at bottom, no greater than a sailor's control of the wind. But as the institution makes each owner a member of a privileged class, and could be superseded by more advantageous arrangements if the class would give up its privileges, it is not altogether unfair to hold each and every member of the class responsible for the results of these privileges.

Nowhere else in such short compass do I know of an equally convincing and well documented statement in support of this arraignment of capitalist civilization. It has been sharply criticised, notably by Graham Wallas, as less scientific than one has a right to expect from the Webbs, but the points which he makes, even if they were all sound, do not affect the principal features of the indictment the Webbs have drawn up. It is perhaps true that they have assigned to machinery a responsibility for evils to be found in the pre-machine era, but this is a relatively small matter as compared with the book as a whole. The best way to judge the book is this: Let the reader follow its argument carefully and then say for himself whether "the dictatorship of the capitalist system" can be absolved from any of the counts laid against it. If so, how? That is the test. N. T.

## A CONTRIBUTION TO SOUND THINKING

*The Control of Wages*, by Walton Hamilton and Stacy May.  
(The Workers' Bookshelf, Vol. III, Doran, N. Y.)

The Workers' Bookshelf is proving an unusually valuable contribution not only to the education of the American labor movement, but to the instruction of the public generally. The books that have appeared and the reputation of the authors at work on forthcoming volumes whet one's intellectual appetite.

None of the books written or projected deals with as difficult a subject as that which Prof. Hamilton and Mr. May have so courageously tackled. They are economic realists and proud of it. Not for them is there a wage fund set by any immutable economic law. Wages, within limits, are determined by the relative power of different economic groups. The limits are set by the general structure of our economic order. Or, to quote the authors' own statement:

In terms quite formal and far too solemn, the rate of wages paid in an industry or occupation is a combination of

- I. The laborer's real wage. The size of this depends upon
  1. The nominal rate of wages. This, in turn, rests upon
    - A. The position of the industry or occupation as regards
      - a. The prices of its products, the costs of its raw materials and the sizes of the incomes which go to the owners, to the management, and to others who have claims upon it.
      - b. The current state of "the industrial arts," with respect to labor, management, technique, industrial equipment, and the organization of the plant.
      - c. The current state of "the economic arts" which consists of a large number of conventions and arrangements. Typical of these are the guidance of industry by business, the organization of an industry as a number of competing concerns, the placing of "the wages bill" against separate establishments rather than against the industry as a whole, and the absence of any competent staff for the conscious development of a less wasteful organization for industry.
    - B. The ability of wage-earners to discover and to appropriate income in competition with other groups who would possess it.
  2. The purchasing power of the nominal wage over the goods and services which make up the laborer's budget.
- II. The "free income" of services which fall to the lot of the laborer as an employee in industry or as a member of "the political order."

As economic realists the authors are suspicious of panaceas. Thus:

It is quite proper for the leaders of organized labor to frown upon proposals for exchanging "capitalism," if that is what the prevailing system actually is, for "socialism," "communism" or some other ready-made and hand-me-down substitute. It is quite fitting for them to be wary of sentimental and emotional appeals for "reform by agitation." But it is quite as improper for them to become committed to a belief that the economic order that is, whatever it may be, or that any of the many arrangements which make it up, is a finality.

In line with this conviction Mr. Hamilton and Mr. May quite coolly point out how unreasonable it is that investors should expect an immortality for investment.

If scientific knowledge, discovery, and invention become "public property" after a term of years, there seems no reason why investments in the apparatus of production should not become the property of the community when those whose savings make them possible are fairly paid.

Their own suggestion is for the purchase of investments with annuities running for a period of years rather than with indeterminate securities. This is certainly not the whole gospel of socialism, but if it does not sound like Bolshevism to the National Civic Federation one reviewer will miss his guess.

The authors' realistic method puts them at a disadvantage which they would readily admit. "Men," as Dean Inge somewhere remarks, "live by abstractions." The power of the-

ories which can be reduced to formulas is very great. So is the power of definite principles. The realist to be effective must give his realism the clarity that the more abstract theorist (usually mistakenly) things he derives from his theory, and something of the emotional driving power.

I am inclined to question how well the authors have accomplished this difficult task. Their thought is clear. They have taken pains with their style. They have tried to introduce humor both by more or less apposite quotations from Mr. Dooley at the beginning of each chapter and by an occasional sentence of their own. But to me at least the style seems academic and, what is worse, academic after the manner of "high brows" trying very hard to hold the interest and attention of "low brows." Unless I am mistaken a good deal that passes in the authors' minds for a mildly humorous and somewhat ironic pleasantry will prove "caviar to the general." This, however, is a matter of taste in which the reviewer may be at fault rather than the authors. What is more clearly unfortunate is the lack of concrete illustration of the points made. Take, for example, the important reference to the unstandardized dollar as a factor in real wages. As the passage stands (p. 95) it is an abstract statement of fact; would it not carry more weight if it were somewhat elaborated and made more concrete by specific illustration?

This criticism (if it is valid) is important precisely because the book contains so much of great value to the workers and all other students of our economic system. It is a significant approach to a problem of direct concern to us all; it is not the final word on it as the authors themselves warn us; it is perhaps too dogmatic in its repudiation of all dogma; but fundamentally its method is sound and promises escape from the maze in which the wage question is usually lost.

NORMAN THOMAS.

## YOUTH AND THE WAR MAKERS

It is a pleasure to call attention to a conference under this title to be held at the Joseph T. Bowen County Club, Waukegan, Illinois, June 19th, 20th, 21st, 1923, under the auspices of the University of Chicago Liberal Club, Northwestern University Liberal League, and the Northwestern University Student Forum. The conference fee, payable on registration, is \$2.50. Rates at the club are \$2.25 a day. To register or secure further information address: Alice Hanson, 1923 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. Such a conference as this needs no emphasis from us. We hope it will be most successful.

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