

NEWS - BULLETIN

League for Industrial Democracy

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OUR INTERCOLLEGIATE CONFERENCE

Most Successful of Our Student Gatherings

SOCIAL THINKING IN OUR COLLEGES

EVERY available seat in Miss Stokes' Studio, 90 Grove Street, was occupied at the stimulating opening session of the Intercollegiate Conference of the L. I. D. on the morning of Tuesday, December 29. At every session from Tuesday morning until Wednesday evening, in fact, the accommodations provided by the generosity of Miss Stokes, Miss Sanford and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas were taxed to capacity by the keenly alert undergraduate delegates and guests of the League from some twenty-eight colleges in the East and West.

Bryn Mawr Opens Conference

The first session, presided over by Katherine Tompkins of Bryn Mawr, and recorded by Robert Halpern of Columbia, was devoted to reports of delegates and officers of the League regarding the interest in social problems in our colleges. Mr. Laidler gave a brief review of the League's work during 1925.

Miss Tompkins began the reports of student delegates by a description of activities in BRYN MAWR. The Liberal Club membership had jumped to 180, and included a considerable portion of the undergraduate body. The interests of the club had been widened to bring in art, music and drama, as well as economics. Among the recent speakers had been A. J. Muste of Brookwood and Paul Blanshard. The faculty had co-operated with the club in its activities.

Divinity School Active

Joseph F. Fletcher of BERKELEY DIVINITY gave an account of the recent addresses before the student body in Middletown. These addresses included a talk on "War" by Oswald Garrison Villard; on "The Capital Levy" by F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, a member of the British Parliament; an address on "China and Russia" by Paul Blanshard and one on "Labor Conditions in Lancaster, Pa.," by Clifford Twombly. Several students went to Willimantic, Conn., to observe the strike there. "At tea, at meals, in rooms, in town, anywhere, the Berkeley family," declared by Mr. Fletcher in a written report, "are discussing, arguing, all the topics important to L. I. D. interests. The regular L. I. D. members have helped a lot in keeping the industrial problem alive. The attitude of the faculty is splendid—sympathetic and willing to help."

Brookwood Labor College Reports

Charles Maute of BROOKWOOD described the interesting experiment of the students in dramatics at this labor college.

The two plays staged this fall had been remarkably successful and had resulted in invitations for the presentation of the plays from several cities. Brookwood, he declared, was organized to educate workers for intelligent leadership in the labor movement. The government of the college resided in a committee composed both of students and faculty members. Alumni were also represented. The discussion method was used extensively in classes. The students frequently told the faculty "where to get off."

Successful Year at Columbia

The most complete and encouraging report of the morning was given by Hillman M. Bishop, President of the COLUMBIA Social Problems Club.

In the beginning of the year, Mr. Bishop declared, the club decided on a series of meetings following rather closely Dr. Laidler's "Roads to Freedom." The lectures given in that series were as follows:

February 11th—Dr. Laidler on "Is a New Social Order Necessary?"

February 19th—A discussion meeting on "The Fundamentals of Socialism."

February 27—A discussion meeting on "Bolshevism."

March 5th—Prof. E. R. A. Seligman on "Socialism in Practice."

March 12th—Dr. M. J. Olgin on "Soviet Russia, 1925."

March 18th—A discussion meeting on "Is Non-Resistance Practical?" led by Mr. Hachtel, Secretary of the F. Y. P.

March 26th—Roger Baldwin on "Intolerance in the Colleges."

April 2nd—A discussion meeting on "Is Religion an Aid to Social Progress?"

April 16th—A debate on "Socialism vs. Syndicalism."

April 22nd—Norman Thomas on "The Third Party in the Future."

"By the end of the year," reported Mr. Bishop, "we had increased our dues paying membership from 18 to 48. The night after the final exams we had an informal banquet. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Baldwin spoke on 'The Student's Contribution to Social Progress.' This was a most successful affair and proved a fitting ending to a good session."

"This year we started our program October 2nd with a debate on 'Free Speech,' between Arthur Garfield Hays, representing the Civil Liberties Union and Joseph T. Cashman of the National Security League. This was a great success and we had a packed house of about 400."

"Our second meeting on October 29th was a political Symposium on the New York City mayoralty campaign. Mr. Finnegan, the Republican candidate for Comptroller,

and Norman Thomas, who was Socialist Candidate for Mayor, spoke. The meeting was to have been what Mr. Thomas called a three-ringed circus, but Judge McKee, the Democratic Candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen, was detained downtown. The attendance was between 150 and 200. Mr. Thomas's speech made a very favorable impression on both students and faculty.

"On November 13th, Prof. Edward M. Earle spoke on 'Nationalism and Imperialism in the Arab World' before 200. Prof. Earle's talk dealt mostly with the present situation in Syria. On December 3d, Mrs. Margaret Sanger lectured on 'The Necessity of Birth Control.' Needless to say we had a very large attendance. In spite of its being a very rainy afternoon, we jammed about 600 into the hall and turned 200 more away.

"The week before Christmas, December 17th, we held one of the most interesting meetings we have ever had on 'Imperialism in the Orient.' The speakers were: Jerome T. Liew of China, Dr. F. I. Shatara of Arabia and Syria, Syud Hossain of India, and Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton, well known historian and lecturer. The meeting lasted two hours, and it was hard to break it up at 6 o'clock; the 15-minute speeches were all enthusiastically received and the forum period was lively. (Attendance about 400.)

"We have also had a few discussion meetings to fill in our program. One was on 'Parliamentarism vs. Revolution'; another, 'The Profit Motive.' Brent Allinson led one meeting on 'Roads to Peace.' At our five big meetings we had a total attendance of 1,700, an average attendance of about 350. A dues paying membership of 60 is affiliated with the L. I. D.

"The most important thing we have undertaken this year I have left till the end, namely, a series of discussions in the evening on 'Socialism.' Mr. Thomas wrote us an outline with certain suggested readings and also consented to lead the discussions. We have had so far four very interesting meetings and we are much indebted to Mr. Thomas for the time he has spent with us.

"In the future we are planning meetings on 'Student Freedom,' with Douglas Haskell, Editor of the New Student, and Felix Cohen of C. C. N. Y., leaders, and an annual dinner of the S. P. C. with Dr. Harry F. Ward as speaker, subject, 'Soviet Russia.'"

Dartmouth Round Table Holds Important Meetings

Edward P. Ripley of DARTMOUTH COLLEGE followed Mr. Bishop of Columbia. Mr. Ripley was of the opinion that the faculty members were more liberal than the students.

Mr. Ripley's report was supplemented by a written statement from William W. Stickney, the Dartmouth Student Representative, who, unfortunately, was unable to be present. This report showed that the Round Table enjoyed a most successful and profitable season. The meetings held during the fall were as follows:

- Oct. 16—Robert Morss Lovett on "Liberalism."
- Oct. 30—Paul Blanshard on "Around the World Steerage."
- Nov. 12—Madame Ponafidine on "Soviet Russia."
- Nov. 20—Prof. Harry E. Barnes on "Causes of the War."
- Dec. 11—Kirby Page on "World Peace."
- Dec. 14—John Haynes Holmes on "Locarno."

The attendance at these meetings averaged over 400.

Goucher Students Work in Department Stores

Delegate Jean Weiller of Goucher declared that a number of students there divide their days between studying and working in department stores in the city. In the evening they teach, devoting most of their energy to initiating foreigners into the difficulties of the English language. The Liberal Club had strong faculty backing. The three meetings held during the fall were:

- Nov. 4—Paul Meng on "Shanghai Affair."
- Nov. 20—Paul Blanshard on "Russia."

Dec. 14—Dorothy Adams on "U. S. Adherence to World Court."

The average attendance was about 60.

Haverford Objects to "Pink Sheet"

Edward H. Kingsbury of HAVERFORD was the next speaker. At Haverford there had been no faculty interference with student activities until last year, when a "Pink Sheet" had been published, in which certain alumni and policies of the college administration were attacked. The Dean stepped in and requested that no further publication be issued. Liberal students, realizing that the newspaper can probably control campus opinion, have, however, been averse to discontinuing publication.

Capitalist control and the lack of desire on the part of the radical students to organize were responsible for the lack of interest in economic problems at the M. I. I., according to Delegate Eskin.

Meadville Organizes

At MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, an L. I. D. Chapter, according to Alan Marples, had just been organized. The main emphasis in the school is on religion; secondarily, on social problems. Edwin Wilson was president of the Chapter, Alfred Hobart, secretary, and Raymond Bragg, treasurer.

Mt. Holyoke Has Strong Forum

Frances Rice of MT. HOLYOKE COLLEGE stated that the Liberal Club there had over 100 members. The club, Miss Rice declared, had found it more beneficial to organize smaller groups than large meetings. She also reported competition from other liberal groups. The addresses given this fall were:

- Oct.—Paul Blanshard on "Around the World Steerage."
- Nov.—S. S. Cornelius on "The Opium Problem."
- Dec.—Harry E. Barnes on "Conflict of Ideas in Modern Thought."
- Dec.—Roger Baldwin on "Freedom of Speech."

Mrs. Sanger an Issue at N. Y. U.

Grace Rosenberg of NEW YORK UNIVERSITY followed with a description of several successful fall meetings. The Liberal Club, she declared, had some difficulty in securing faculty permission for Margaret Sanger to speak on "Birth Control."

Recently, however, the Board of Trustees have given their approval to a Sanger meeting. Permission was granted on the express condition that a member of the faculty be present to make sure that Mrs. Sanger said nothing improper.

Smith Helps in Workers' Education

Some of the student members of the SMITH Liberal Club were teaching at the People's Institute in Northampton, according to Marian F. Nathan, the delegate from Smith. The Liberal Club was also connected with the Industrial Guild of Springfield. Among its speakers this year were Paul Blanshard, Kirby Page, Roger Baldwin, Sherwood Eddy, and Frank Tannenbaum. Another representative of the College, Anna M. Sharon, spoke of the stimulating course given at Smith by Prof. Harlow on "The Relation of Christianity to Social Problems."

Olga Rubinow of SWARTHMORE felt that the status of social thinking at her college was not very encouraging. Nevertheless, the forum held several meetings, including the following:

- Oct.—An Oxford Debate on "The U. S. and the World Court."

Nov.—Rennie Smith on "The Industrial Situation with Reference to Mining Industry in England."
 Paul Blanshard on "Riots in Shanghai."
 Dec.—Gettysburg and Swarthmore debate on "Nationalization of Coal Mines in U. S. A."

Faculty Interest at Vassar

According to Alice Hall of VASSAR, the Vassar Chapter of the L. I. D. held half a dozen well attended meetings this fall as follows:

Oct. 17.—Norman Thomas on "What is Industrial Democracy?" (attendance 200).
 Nov. 1.—Janet Murray and Helen Keples on "Experiences in Industrial and Social Work During Summer" (15).
 Nov. 5.—Paul Blanshard on "What I Saw in Soviet Russia" (70) and "Around the World Steerage" (700). (Before the Politics Club.)
 Nov. 22.—Miss Hutchinson on "The Trade Union in Industrial Reform" (40).
 Dec. 14.—Elizabeth Dougan and Adelaide Kelby on "Nationalization" (25).

"Nine members of the faculty," Miss Hall declared, "are members of our chapter. Some of them are active in attending meetings and assisting with discussion. In general the faculty are interested and ready to offer suggestions or give any help that is asked of them. There is absolutely no opposition in spirit or in deed to any of our activities. Perhaps this is one of our difficulties."

"Individual members volunteer or are requested to look up fact material and present it briefly. Then the topic is open for general discussion directed by those who have the material in hand. Some member of the economics department is asked to be present to answer special questions (unfortunately the discussions have to be quite elementary because the new membership is largely of underclassmen who have not had economics)."

A sympathetic interest in economic problems by the student Y. M. C. A. and an interest on the part of many faculty members were reported by Eleanor Moss of WELLESLEY.

Industrial and International Problems at Yale

Harold Hutcheson of the YALE LIBERAL CLUB also reported an active season. On October 15, Rennie Smith, a member of the British Parliament, spoke on the "British Labor Party." On October 27, Professor E. M. Borchard addressed a group on the "Locarno Treaties." Other speeches were as follows:

Nov. 6.—Paul Blanshard on "Stopping the Next War."
 Nov. 8.—W. W. Wood on "Industrial Democracy in B. & O. Machine Shops."
 Nov. 24.—Prof. Bainton on "War Guilt."
 Nov. 30.—Noel Sargent on "The Open Shop."

The attendance at these meetings varied from 25 to 75. A representative of the National Security League traveled all the way from New York to New Haven to ask Paul Blanshard embarrassing questions after his address on "Stopping the Next War." After hearing the questions and answers several Yale students joined the L. I. D. Chapter. Mr. Hutcheson declared that the Chapter is planning to develop more discussion between members themselves rather than mere attendance of lectures. A number of members of the faculty are interested in the Club, a few of them actively.

Wesleyan Examines Social Thinking of Students

Everett Clinchy of WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY told of the successful conference on modern education and of the questionnaire on liberal thinking circulated among the college body. Horace Fort, a graduate of Berkeley Divinity, paid tribute to the L. I. D. and the old I. S. S. for its many years of activity in throwing light on problems of the new order.

Lecture System Criticized

General discussion on student problems followed the reports. A member of the faculty of Smith College appealed for suggestions in running classes on economic subjects. Several students attacked the lecture system as one cause of student apathy. Some felt that too much attention was given to athletics, to the injury of serious intellectual thought. Others felt that an attempt should be made to interest students in problems of economic change prior to their college days. The work of the League lecturers was commended as a stimulating factor in undergraduate activity.

Social Attitudes in a Mid-West College

Unfortunately Clarence O. Senior, the head of the Missouri Wesleyan College Chapter of the L. I. D., and one of the most active spirits in the Middle West, was unable to attend. He, however, sent in a report in which he stated that the Chapter had had several discussions this fall on "Democracy in the U. S.," "Youth Movement," "Our Economic Imperialism." These were connected with the groups already organized in the college. The Social Science Seminar joined the L. I. D. in a body. The Chapter recently prepared a questionnaire which it had the members of the college body answer. The answers to some of the questions were of unusual interest:

195 students declared that they did not consider war to be a satisfactory method of settling international disputes, while 9 answered in the affirmative.

53 were for U. S. participation in the World Court with the Hughes-Harding reservations; 81 for participation on the basis of the "Harmony Plan" of 30 peace leaders; 23 for participation under the "Borah terms," and 26 against participation.

15 believed that war was compatible with the teachings of Jesus and 190 that it was not.

15 were skeptical as to the place of organized religion in the modern world, as opposed to 204, who felt that religion had a place.

169 were against compulsory military training in public schools, while 51 favored it.

55 thought that the modern Socialist movement was detrimental to social progress, 132 felt that this was not the case.

84 said that they would not take part in another offensive war, and 118 that they would.

The overwhelming number of 215 believed that there was a place on the campus for a group to study and discuss modern social problems, while 4 nodded their heads in the negative.

The 12th question was as follows: If such a group is organized, what questions do you wish discussed first? The answers were:

Race Relationships, 83; Sex Relations, 80; Youth Movement, 74; Social Control, 73; Student Self-government, 66; 100 Per Cent. Americanism, 51; Criticisms of the Present Order, 47; Socialism, 42; The Liberal College, 34; Unionism and Labor, 33; A Christian Social Order, 32; Profit vs. Service, 29; Nationalization, 27; Economic Imperialism, 23; Pacifism, 15; Soviet Russia, 12.

A number of citizens in the town expressed satisfaction that the college students who, they heretofore thought, were nothing but "scatterbrains," were turning to the discussion of serious problems. The next forum will be on Race Relationship or Socialism. The Chapter is also taking up for consideration the practical problems that are confronting it in trying to put across the student conference next summer. "If you would call attention to that at the conference," writes Senior, "it might fall upon some ears that might give us practical suggestions."

7-2-23

INTELLECTUALS AND THE LABOR STRUGGLE

OTTO S. BEYER, JR., author of the "B. and O. Plan," J. B. S. Hardman, Educational Director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Ordway Tead, co-author of "Personnel Administration," were the three main speakers at the Tuesday afternoon session on the place of the technically trained man or woman in the labor struggle.

Otto Beyer, now employed by the International Association of Machinists as engineering adviser, told of his early experience as a technician for railroad companies, his dawning comprehension of the labor problem while with the railroads and the impulse he received toward the labor movement in connection with one of the League's chapters at the University of Illinois.

Beyer on Technician and Organized Labor

During the war, Captain Beyer assisted in setting up worker's representation systems in government arsenals, with organized labor thoroughly represented. Following the war, he contributed of his time and energy to plans for increased participation of labor in the management of industry. His final contribution was the installation of the so-called "B. and O. Plan" for stabilization of employment in the Glenwood repair shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and later in the shops of the Canadian National Railroads.

Mr. Beyer declared that college students with a technical training could assist labor in obtaining better conditions either as employees of management or of organized labor.

"It is possible as a manager," he declared, "to influence an industry's attitude toward the worker, to broaden its point of view, to destroy its prejudices. This is an important and valuable task. It is also possible to find a place as a technical adviser of labor groups. At the present time, this is somewhat more difficult. Trained students can be of service to the labor movement by entering the employ of labor as willing learners. The important thing is to get the confidence of labor. The tendency of youth is to get too 'het up' over the importance of their own convictions. To be of greatest service, one should have a practical knowledge of the industry."

In describing the B. and O. Plan, he declared that labor conditions had been greatly improved and that the workers were taking charge of functions under the plan that had formerly been regarded as prerogatives merely of management.

Hardman of Amalgamated Speaks on Intellectual's Approach

J. B. S. Hardman stated that American labor wants only those intellectuals who possess skill. He maintained that the students should not think that they were a part of the labor movement merely because they were employed in it.

"If you enter a participant, as well as a technician," he continued, "you may lead as well as be led. In entering, do not feel that you are 'sacrificing' for the movement; for you are well repaid for this so-called 'sacrifice' in the satisfaction you get out of it."

"Experience has shown that a labor movement cannot limit itself to an accepted formula or 'ism.' There is of course some fear by labor of the intellectual. This in part is based on the fact that many enter the movement as paid workers, with the idea of *taking*, rather than of *giving*. If the intellectual enters the movement on the basis of his profession, there will be no distrust."

"Finally one should approach the movement with a feeling that here is a fight which must be won. The essential thing is the purpose for which you are fighting."

Tead Speaks for the Liberal Manager

Ordway Tead spoke particularly for the collegian who was thinking of functioning in a liberal fashion on the managerial side. "A liberal or radical may function either in educational or political groups devoted to the solution of larger public problems, or in one's day to day business activities," he declared.

"Assuming that some of us are going into managerial positions, there is a great opportunity to use one's influence along liberal lines. And it is only on the specific thing that you are working with that you can express your attitude and exert influence. Being a mere inactive member or a liberal organization is not enough. Certain executives have changed and enlightened their points of view only through the facing of problems they have had to solve. It is through this process of experience that the possibility of education of adults becomes great."

In the discussion Paul Blanshard dealt with the manner in which men and women of other professions—teaching, ministry, medical profession, etc.—could, day by day, exert their influence in behalf of social justice. Doubt was expressed by Norman Thomas on the extent to which intellectuals would be able to express themselves freely on big political and economic problems, when employed as industrial managers. Mr. Tead, in answer to a question, stated his strong belief that the intellectual could be of great value not only in his daily work of influencing industrial processes, but in fundamental analyses of the industrial system and in the more general educational and agitational fields. Hillman Bishop acted as chairman of the meeting; Olga Rubinow, as secretary.

STUDENTS IN INDUSTRY

THE evening session was prefaced by a very enjoyable buffet supper to the delegates at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas. When the conferees were able to turn their attention from sandwiches to speeches, Mr. Thomas began by outlining briefly the effort to organize the Pullman car porters and to bespeak the intelligent friendship of the students for those engaged in this effort. The chairman of the evening, Everett C. Clinchy, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. at Wesleyan, then showed charts which graphically illustrated the state of indifference or prejudice on all sorts of labor and social problems with which the freshmen entered Wesleyan. It is the intention of those who have planned this experiment to keep track of these same men and to find the effect of their years in college upon them with relation to the same problem. Later in the evening in the discussion on students in industry, Professor Davis of Cornell told of the educational effect achieved by having a class on labor conditions attend a meeting of the Musicians' Union on strike in Ithaca. The result was a general awakening of the students to labor's point of view and actual promise of some help from particular students in putting that point of view before the public. In other words, students can be interested.

Students Should Enter Industry—Jerome Davis

The main address of the evening was given by Professor Jerome Davis of Yale. He began with a careful analysis of a certain unreality in college education, especially along social lines and urged the necessity of laboratory work in sociology. He said in part:

"America glories in her education as well as she may, having built up the most costly and the most extensive educational mechanism in the world. The American child can go to grammar school, to high school, even to college, often times without cost for his instruction. On

the other hand, our educational system is defective in many ways. Too frequently college education as it exists in America is mal-education. Someone has asked how college education resembles a bakery. The answer is that it provides a four years' loaf.

"To most students the outside activities are the real part of the college world. It is perhaps true that they accomplish much that is good. Athletics have no doubt diverted the mind of many a man from something worse. On the other hand, too often, at present, as the President of Michigan has so recently reminded us, college becomes a training ground in drinking and immorality.

"To most students college classes are more or less unreal. They lack any compelling dynamic interest. The result is that college often inculcates the wrong sort of ideas into the plastic minds of the oncoming generation. Some college students have been known to think that they are inherently better than the workers because they have had a college degree, others have come to believe that the profit motive is the *summum bonum* of all effort, still others have become convinced of the sanctity of the private property theory, while others and perhaps the largest number have become thoroughly grounded and hardened in their belief in the divine right and providence of capitalism.

"The teaching of social science is particularly defective. It should have a device for stimulating the interest of the student similar to laboratory work in chemistry or physics. To accomplish this purpose we should compel the students to enter industry and work side by side with labor while they are studying economics and sociology. This can be done as Antioch is now requiring it, in alternate periods of five weeks, or it can be done while the student is studying, or a student can be compelled to spend his summer at work in industry. The latter form of laboratory training is the easiest to arrange for. Most students waste a large share of their summer vacations today, not because they do not earn money during the summer, but because they do not spend the summer in a way which will contribute the maximum to their future potentialities to serve society. We must see to it that every student is provided a real opportunity to see the problems and the difficulties of labor.

"Will America dare to blaze a new trail of educational adventure which will recreate intellectual interest and a passion for social reality?"

Student Discussion

The discussion which followed was most interesting. Many of the students spoke from experience, having earned their own living at industrial jobs or participating in summer student groups in industry. The discussion brought out such points as: the inadequacy of summer experience to give real knowledge of industrial conditions, the necessity that students should find their own jobs if they are to know what it feels like to be workers, the importance of bringing the students who work from necessity and not from sociological zeal into friendly relations with the union movement, the value of an understanding with labor and of such planning as will keep students from becoming unwittingly strike breakers or from taking jobs away from workers who need them. Professor Harlow of Smith told of one girl in the South whom he had persuaded to try to get work in one of her father's own mills during the summer. This she did, living with the workers, with very salutary results on working conditions in the mill after she came home and told her father what she thought of things!

Paul Blanshard urged the value of a committee among the students themselves to investigate the amount of student interest in the subject, to advise students who plan to go into industry and to serve as a bond of unity between them. He said that he knew of twenty students in the South who were willing to help organize the cotton mill workers if circumstances made it possible. As a result of the discussion and Mr. Blanshard's suggestion there was general endorsement of this plan and a considerable number of the delegates agreed to meet together at lunch the following day. At that

time they formed the Committee on Students in Industry, which is announced elsewhere in this Bulletin. Edward Ripley of Dartmouth acted as the meeting's secretary.

HUMANIZED ECONOMICS

COLLEGE students should avoid the doctrinaire attitude. Economic teachers should give up the teaching of "pre-digested principles to be taken as logical absolutes." They should endeavor to find out "the scarlet strand" among the drab strands of economic thought, which leads students on a holy quest for truth. They should make their approach with the student mind where the strand seems scarlet to the students. Such were the suggestions of Professor Rexford Tugwell of Columbia in the discussion of "Humanized Economics" at the Wednesday morning session of the Conference continued at Miss Stokes' Studio. Professor Tugwell, who has, in his "American Economic Life," presented a text book which may well revolutionize the teaching of economics in this country, spoke specifically on "The New Approach to the Teaching of Economics." He said in part:

"We are convinced that the worth of our economic activities is to be judged, not by the bulk of goods produced, or the cheapness with which it is done, not by the impressive growth of factories, markets and cities, or by the statistics of tonnage moved about the earth, but by the kind of lives men and women lead as they go about these activities. In order to attain some better control for the furtherance of this purpose, we conclude that 'we ought to study economics'—this in order to find out how the system operates and how its consequences arise.

"But such a general impulse, fine as it is, is not a sustaining one, and often leads to hasty generalization, to adherence to doctrinaire policies, to social panaceas. One who subscribes to a panacea usually does so because it allows him to stop thinking, to dismiss one difficulty at least, and to go on with other matters. I have one student who cannot think about price-fixing as a social policy because his is a landlord family, badly hit by the rent laws of New York. I have another who cannot admit the evils of government ownership because he is a socialist. I have still another who cannot think about trade-union policy because he is a believer in industrial unionism.

"Doctrinaire attitudes must be avoided, but the impulse to be informed and to take part in the social transformation which is under way must be satisfied. I, for one, feel that doctrinairism creeps in because we are introduced to economics formally by teachers or text to a great body of pre-digested principles, which are to be taken as logical absolutes. This, of course, reverses the normal process of learning; and in defense we are apt to fall back on simple formulae which are easy to understand but which are really the enemies of progress. What would be a normal starting point and a normal process of learning? To find an answer to this question we might ask another. Why is it that to you or me one strand of the network of reality is scarlet and all the rest drab? Why is it that the seemingly scarlet one draws us on and on through long and passionate researches? And why do we ignore the rest? Can you, or can anyone, answer these questions? Perhaps it is that we fail to realize from the beginning that the net which holds us is made from a single strand, however complexly it is knit; and that our painstaking efforts to unravel it will bring us finally to see that all the threads are scarlet because they are all one.

"How should you approach economics? Let economics approach you. The right thing to do is the easy thing to do. Follow the scarlet strand. It will lead you finally to the frontiers which, if you pass, you must pass without a guiding hand or an encouraging voice, alone and unafraid. If, in the effort to get so far, you can discover an elder worker who is color-blind in your own fashion, cling awhile to the skirts of his mind. Read his books, listen to his talk. But remember always not to lose your grip on the realities which engage your own particular impulses. Do not become a disciple. He will not want you to so far as he is concerned. To him you

will always be something of a nuisance, with the irritation involved mitigated more or less by his love for discussing his work. And on your own account you must remember that salvation is not vicarious—at least in scholarship. Your parents or your friends cannot make you great or fine in life. Neither can your teacher make of you a great scholar, nor an understanding one. At best he can only help. Your salvation is, in truth, your own; and you must win it for yourself."

Professor Carver's "Economic Revolution"

"Professor Carver's 'Economic Revolution'—Every Man a Capitalist" was the subject assigned to Professor Alvin Johnson, Director of the New School for Social Research, the second speaker of the morning session.

"All of us are agreed upon a 'desire for revolution,' whether we be conservative or radical," declared Professor Johnson, "when we are young. It is because we want the world remade according to our heart's desire. When we are old, we want the most astonishing revolution of all, one which will make the economic order stand still.

"Professor Carver sees a constant increase in the holdings of the workers. Workers, he feels, are bound to become richer and richer until the distinction between worker and capitalist will disappear. There will be no room for labor leaders—they will become apostles of thrift among disgruntled workers.

"Professor Carver points to the fact that savings accounts have increased threefold from 1914 to 1924. In estimating this growth, however, he has included savings not only in the ordinary savings banks, but in trust companies, etc. How much of this increased savings comes from the worker one can only guess. There is no way of definitely telling. Many big investors put their money in savings banks as a transition stage between investments.

"In building and loan associations there has also been an increase. These are, it is true, largely workers' assets. But the building boom since 1914 has drawn from all classes. Undoubtedly a large proportion of workers hold policies in the life insurance companies. A great number undoubtedly own a few shares in public utilities as a result of recent campaigns. This has the effect of helping the utilities, for many customers who own stock may be depended on to report when their customers steal current and the like.

"There has been an increased purchasing of automobiles, etc., but most articles costing \$15 or over nowadays are being bought on the instalment plan.

"Assume, however, that workers' holdings have increased threefold. So has capital's. The strategic position of labor has not improved. Nor would the return to labor of a half billion to a billion dollars from interest increase his income to any great extent. It would mean that he could obtain only about \$3 from interest to every \$100 received from wages.

"Furthermore, for everyone who goes up and down the country preaching thrift, there are ten who are thinking out methods of securing from consumers the extra money which they have earned, and the drawing power of these hosts of advertisers and sellers of all sorts of commodities will in the end be far more powerful than the admonition of thrift advocates. In a few years, when the selling machine adjusts itself to the increased purchasing power of the American wage earner, the savings are likely again to decrease."

Professor Johnson spoke of the very great increase in the control over public utilities on the part of the managers, as distinct from the capitalist-owners. If labor, as a result of the stoppage of immigration and migration from the farm, gets better organized, it may be, Professor Johnson felt, that the management will prefer to increase wages, rather than increase the dividends to owners, fearing trouble with labor more than a mild protest on the part of the owners.

In the discussion, Norman Thomas drew attention to one

instance, on the other hand, when the owners were anxious for a settlement with labor, but were unable to move the executive of the company who had determined to fight to the finish in order to prove his superior strength.

Changing Concepts of Private Property

The third and last speaker of the morning session, Robert Lee Hale of Columbia, insisted that property, under modern conditions, was a form of paternalism, and not a corollary of the individualistic philosophy. In protecting property rights, the state performs the task of restricting the activities of non-owners. Legally the law of trespass, for instance, is supposed to regard all alike. Practically, however, in this world of economic inequalities, the law, in forbidding one person from trespassing on another's property, might prevent him from enjoying the use of any property whatsoever. In restricting another—a millionaire—from trespass, it would still permit him to enjoy very rich estates. The legal restrictions imposed on different people by the law of property are therefore *not equal* in any important sense. (Dr. Hale's analysis at this point recalled to some present the quotation from Anatole France: "The law in its majestic equality permits the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, beg bread in the streets.")

Dr. Hale then analyzed the nature of the restrictions which are now being imposed by the modern state on industrial concerns, particularly the public utilities; the conflicts of interests and the source of authority in deciding whose interests should finally prevail.

This led the speaker to a discussion of the legislative or democratic method of making decisions, and of the defects in this method at present.

"In the first place," he declared, "there are territorial conflicts of interest between classes living under different sovereign governments. Shall the voters of Great Britain ultimately determine how much Americans shall pay for rubber? Or shall the voters of America determine how little British rubber planters shall receive for it? The Stevenson plan of restricting output is but little more paternalistic than the institution of ownership itself; and neither can be fully justified except on the ground that it gives the planters power to obtain incomes of a justifiable magnitude. And where is the democratic governmental body to determine what is justifiable? International representatives bodies do not yet exist.

"The second objection to the democratic solution lies in the fact that no legislature can be made to represent accurately the various conflicting interests affected by each proposed law. If they are chosen at all because of their views, it is because of their views on one or two important measures; their votes on the many minor bills reflect the wishes of their constituents on those bills only by accident.

"The third objection to the democratic solution is in its assumption that the interests of 51% of the people ought to prevail over those of 49%. Is this necessarily true? Suppose the 51% have each a very slight interest in one solution of a problem, while the 49% have each a very vital interest in the opposite solution? Is it possible to let the 49 prevail in such cases without letting them also prevail in cases where their interests are *less* vital than those of the 51? The question may be academic, since we have no machinery for letting the 51 prevail on most issues. At any rate, my purpose is to raise questions, not to answer them. The answers I do not know. And even if these objections to the democratic solution are fatal, cannot equally fatal objections be made to any proposed alternative?"

This led to a vigorous discussion as to methods of preserving democracy, but of utilizing experts to work out the details of principles formulated by the mass of the people. Roland Gibson served as the meeting's secretary.

IMPERIALISM AND LABOR SESSION

The Ford Case

THE Wednesday afternoon session of the conference was given over to the subject of imperialism and aroused unusually keen interest. Preceding the discussion proper, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn presented a brief appeal in behalf of Richard Ford. Ford is about to go to trial a second time for his life, having already served one twelve-year term, on the charges growing out of the tragic killings in the hop fields riot near Maryville, California, in 1913. Twenty-three hundred hop pickers, men and women, speaking twenty-seven languages, were engaged by a certain Mr. Durst. The admitted facts show that these workers lived and worked under the most intolerable conditions. There were, for instance, eight toilets for the entire number. Dysentery broke out. Ford and Suhr, old I. W. W.'s, organized a group and presented certain demands to Mr. Durst. These demands were summarily rejected. Durst called in deputy sheriffs to break up a meeting of the strikers which was being addressed by Ford and Suhr. The tactics of these sheriffs provoked a riot in which four people were killed. Ford and Suhr were on the platform and were unarmed. The trial was marked by passion and unfairness and these men were railroaded to prison. Now the trial must be enacted all over again with the son of one of the slain as District Attorney to prosecute Ford. Further facts may be had by writing the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York. The case, it will be seen, involves not only an issue of human justice, but the question whether a labor leader must be held responsible for violence which he did not order and did not plan.

Paxton Hibben on Russia and Imperialism

Following Miss Flynn's address which, as she said, was not unrelated to the spirit and practice of imperialism, Captain Paxton Hibben presented most interestingly the theory that Russia had passed out of the state of imperialism into the stage of friendly cooperation between autonomous groups. This, he argued, was shown by the relations between the component parts of the Federated Soviet Republic and by the attitude of the Russian government toward Turkey, Persia and China, as well as toward the little Baltic states. Mr. Hibben illustrated his point by quotations from treaties and citations of historic facts. In reply to a question he denied the existence of the alleged secret treaties between Russia and Italy and was inclined to justify Bolshevik policy in Georgia. The questions covered a wide range of Russian matters and showed a general curiosity on the subject of the great Russian experiment.

American Imperialism in Latin America

By way of contrast Joseph Freeman, co-author with Scott Nearing on "Dollar Diplomacy," presented a graphic picture of the growth of American imperialism, primarily due to the wealth of the United States, its position as a creditor nation to the whole world, and the desire for export markets for capital and goods and the hunger for concessions for raw materials. He dwelt especially upon the growth of imperialism in our relations with Latin America, illustrating what he said both by statistics of economic investment and by citations of recent history in Mexico, Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.

China

Paul Blanshard, who was chairman of the meeting, referred briefly to the Chinese situation, where Japan and Great Britain, rather than the United States, are primarily responsible for the industrial and political conditions leading to the great strikes. Nevertheless, he pointed out, America

was not without responsibility, and a great deal of the police work on land in Shanghai and in Chinese ports and rivers has been done by American ships. He urged a hands-off policy as regards force combined with warm and friendly interest in a great nation. It is interesting to observe that comparatively few questions were asked of either Mr. Blanshard or Mr. Freeman and that there was almost no discussion of the points they made. Questions and discussion concerned Russia. All of which is good if it does not mean that our students are inclined to ignore our responsibility in Latin America and the Far East.

Resolutions

The discussion, judging from the interest, might have continued until this day, had it not been necessary to transact some business before adjournment. Miss Rubinow of Swarthmore, reporting for the Resolutions Committee which had been elected at the morning session, made some general suggestions for next year's conference which were adopted and which will be referred to the committee in charge. The committee then recommended four resolutions: (1) Extending the hearty sympathy and support of the conference to the students of the College of the City of New York and other institutions where there is a determined struggle against compulsory military training. (2) Emphatically endorsing the recognition of Soviet Russia and extending the support of the conference to Senator Borah and others to bring this about. (3) A resolution of sympathy with Richard Ford. (4) A recommendation to the colleges that they respond to the best of their ability to all bona fide appeals from labor unions for clothing, etc., to relieve the families of striking or unemployed workers, especially in the coal fields. All these resolutions were unanimously adopted and the office of the League was instructed to take such steps as might be necessary to give them publicity and efficacy. After a final resolution of thanks to Miss Stokes and Miss Sanford for the hospitality of their studio, the convention adjourned.

COLLEGES REPRESENTED

NEARLY 90 undergraduate students registered at the student sessions of the conference from 28 colleges, and 50 alumni and friends of the League from a dozen or more other institutions.

Among the undergraduates registering were the following:

- Barnard*—Kate Eisig, '27; Leona Friedman, '26; Mira Komarovsky, '26; Sylvia S. Lewis, '26; Eunice Shaughnessy, '26.
- Bellevue Medical*—Victor H. Risman, '29.
- Berkeley Divinity*—H. J. Walter Coutu, '26; Joseph F. Fletcher, '27.
- Brooklyn Law*—Henry Portnow, '26.
- Brookwood*—Chas. V. Maute, Samuel Fisher, Adolph B. Gersh, William Ahamack, Celia Samorodin.
- Bryn Mawr*—Elizabeth Mallett, '26; Katherine Tompkins.
- C. C. N. Y.*—Aaron Sacks; Felix S. Cohen, '26.
- Columbia*—Marion K. G. Colle, '28; Willard B. Cowles, '27; Hillman M. Bishop, '26; Chang-wei Chiu, Graduate School; Robert Halpern, '28; Wm. T. Parry, '28; Leonard P. Simpson, '26; George Marshall, '26; Cornelius E. Byrne, Jr., '27; Victor R. Harvey, '27; Herbert J. Putz, '26.
- Cornell*—John Ehrlich, '28; Eugene Epstein, '28; Lawrence Goldberger, '26; Harry Freedman, '26; H. S. Stollnitz, Jr., '28; Noah Seborer, '26.
- Dartmouth*—Edward P. Ripley, '27.
- Goucher*—Jean Weiller, '26.
- Harvard*—Charles S. Epstein, Law 2; Louis Harap, '28.
- Haverford*—Edward H. Kingsburg, '26.
- M. I. T.*—Samuel Eskin, '26.
- Meadville*—Alan Marples, '28.
- Mt. Holyoke*—Frances Rice, '27.

N. Y. U.—J. L. Afros, Grace Rosenberg, '27; Florence Brush, '28; E. George Pappastratis, '25; Herman Bard, '28; Philip G. Trupin, '26; Sylvia Fiddleman, '27; Rose Sober, '29; Pauline Abrahams, '29; Lillian Semons, '29; Violet Brownstein, '28.

N. Y. Law—Albert H. Aronson, '26.
Smith—Elizabeth Stoffregen, '28; Adeline H. Taylor, '28; Constance Ingalls, '27; Margaret H. Rejebian, '26; Dorothea Spaetti, '26; Margaret Klumpp, '27; Anna M. Sharon, '27; Sarah C. Seaman, '26; Marion F. Nathan, '27.

Syracuse—Doris H. Moore, '26; Helen Jacobson, '27.

Swarthmore—Edna Beach, '28; Dorothea E. Wagner, '26; Olga Rubinow; Theodore Suckow, '27.

Trinity—Catherine Dillon, '27.

Union Seminary—John Kucera; Harold G. Salton, Senior Grad.

Vassar—Katherine H. Pollak, '26; Alice K. Hall, '26; Elinor Goldmark, '26; Bluma Karp, '29; Margit Borg, '27; Laetitia Todd Bolton, '26; Bernice Colyer, '26; Adelaide Kelby, '26.

Wellesley—Eleanor C. T. Moss, '26; Miriam D. Pellett, '26.

Wesleyan—E. Douglas Burdick; Charles Reynolds, '27.

W. Chester N. S.—Sophia Shefren, '27.

Yale—Harold R. Hutcheson, '26.

Among the college graduates and faculty members attending the sessions were:

Martin Berdslee, *Amherst*, '21; Selinor Caldor, *Barnard*, '24; Horace Fort, *Berkeley Divinity*, '27; Bobbie Allen, *Brookwood*, '23; Sarah Fridgarst, *Brookwood*, '24; R. L. Vinton, *Brown Univ.*, '24; William E. Chalmers, *Brown*, '25; Nathan Miller, *Carnegie Inst. of Tech.*, Faculty; Ora Lee Risk, *Univ. of Chic.*, '18; Maud Jensen, *U. of Chic.*, '12; Irving H. Packela, *Columbia*, '22; Sidney Jarcho, *Columbia*, '24; Donald J. Henderson, *Columbia*, '25; E. Curtis, *Columbia*; Robert A. Brady, *Cornell*; Helen Mayers, *Cornell*, '23; Roland A. Gibson, *Dartmouth*, '24; Walter Vom Lehn, *Dartmouth*, '25; Robert A. Mac Cready, *Dartmouth*, '25; Lena Mayers, *Hunter*, '07; Robert E. Starkey, *Harvard Divinity*, '24; W. Charles Poletti, *Harvard*, '24; Minna Pilatowski, *Hunter*, '20; Anaphi F. M. Christie, *London Univ.*, '22; Gordon H. Ward, *Minnesota*, '25; Laura Rubinow, *N. Y. U.*, '25; Willard E. Atkins, *U. of N. C.* (Faculty); Dale De Witt, *Northwestern*, '20; Raymond Rubinow, *U. of Pa.*, '25; Hans Axel Walleen, *Pratt*, '23; Helen P. Hurebut, *Simmons*; S. Ralph Harlow, *Smith* (Faculty); Elizabeth Sands Johnson, *Wellesley*, '24; A. I. Cheyney, *Vassar*, '09; Foster V. Follett, *Wesleyan*, '25; Rose Leff, *Univ. of W. Ontario*, '25; Roger Sherman Baldwin, *Yale*, 1894; Jean Dickinson, *Yenching* (Faculty); Cora R. Hutchison, *Alumni Assoc.*, Wash. Chapter, L. I. D.; Laetitia Noon Conard, *Grinnell*.

The Twentieth Anniversary Dinner

MORE than four hundred people sat down at the twentieth anniversary dinner at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant. The feast of reason began right away, for the diners found at their places mimeographed copies of excerpts from the hundred or more messages of greeting that had come to the League. Bertrand Russell, J. Ramsay MacDonald and Norman Angell wrote from abroad. Bertrand Russell, for instance, said: "The more Europe inclines to reaction, the greater becomes the world's needs of American radicalism. And in this work the L. I. D. stands in the forefront." To list the American friends would take more space than there is available in this Bulletin. And to choose from among them would seem invidious. Messages came from some of outstanding leaders in the academic world, from editors of the liberal press, from writers and poets and from such outstanding clergymen as Bishop McConnell.

Laidler on the Society's History

There was only one conceivable chairman for the evening, and that was Harry Laidler, who was elected to the first executive committee of the newly formed Intercollegiate Socialist Society while still a student at Wesleyan, and who all the succeeding twenty years has occupied a position of leadership. For years he has been secretary or executive director of the society. He began with a brief history of the society from the days when Upton Sinclair and George Strobell were chiefly responsible for its inception, and Jack London toured the colleges and universities in its behalf, down to the present. Expenditures during the first two years amounted to the colossal sum of \$722. Of course money went farther in those days than it does now. Thus the first dinner of the society held in Peck restaurant in 1908 cost only a dollar a head. A Sun reporter "gathered that it was the aim of the society to swat wage-slavery with diplomas or smother it with degrees or something."

In the years from 1910 to 1917 with the growth of Socialism, the society grew apace. There were at one time during this period over a dozen alumni groups and from 60 to 70 student chapters.

Almost all this activity, was snuffed out during the war.

"As a society we refused to become a part of the war machine. Some of our members resigned, honestly and sincerely disagreeing with our policy." Mr. Laidler told of the activities of society following the war and finally of the decision to reorganize in order that the society may the better do its part in bringing about an alliance between labor and learning. So the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1921 became the League for Industrial Democracy. Its growth and present activities are well known to readers of this Bulletin.

Dr. Laidler closed with a tribute to the leaders called from us by death and in tribute to them, on the suggestion of Reverend Eliot White, the whole company of diners rose in silent tribute.

Mrs. Laidler, accompanied by Carroll Hollister, then sang to the delight of everybody "Ring Out the Old, Ring in the New" and "Go Down Moses."

Florence Kelley Speaks

Thereafter in ten minutes each, a number of speakers gallantly essayed the difficult task of examining from different angles "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering." President Lovett, who was to have been one of those speakers, had been called to Chicago and sent a telegram of greeting and regret. Florence Kelley, former president of the society, veteran yet ever youthful soldier of the common good, spoke on Social Reform. One symbol of social reform, she said, has been the wiping out of Allen Street, New York. But four and twenty years after she first viewed it with horror, it still persists. The failure of our present society to take a far flung view of social well-being is, in Mrs. Kelley's opinion, illustrated by our utter failure to do anything about the warning that competent scientists are giving us as to the danger of earthquakes in New York City. We might at least consider this possibility in our housing plan, in our distribution and control of water, and in the quality and distribution of gas. "We are just as reckless and just as individualist and just as little habituated to thinking concretely of the good of the whole community in case of need as we were on the 15th day of July, 1914."

Stuart Chase on the Technician, 1905-1925

It cannot be said that Stuart Chase, author of the "Tragedy of Waste," and treasurer of the L. I. D., gave a much more encouraging picture in his discussion of the place and work of the technician. "The technician is a modern medicine man. Instead of your doctors, hoodoos or oracles one consults today the expert. . . . New York City has been built by experts. Its physical structure is unthinkable without them. The finest sort of detail engineering, architectural, mechanical and electrical skill has gone into its upbuilding—and look at the damn thing." Almost a generation ago Veblen began to argue for the education of the technician who holds the strategic levers of the whole industrial process. They must be made to see synthetically. Not much progress has been made since Veblen sounded his challenge. Labor and the technicians together "could run the earth if they had a mind to and it might pay them to pension off the business men. But continuing as medicine men, the technician can banish human life from this planet in the next war or certainly by the war after that, and let God begin again with an animal which promises more hopeful brain development."

Professor Douglas on The Social Sciences

Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago was somewhat more hopeful about the improvement in economic thinking in the last twenty years. After paying his tribute to the League and to Dr. Laidler, he pointed out how far the economists had moved since 1905 when they still were inclined to believe the eighteenth century couplet:

"Thou God and nature planned the universal frame,
And bade self love and social be the same."

"From the purely theoretical standpoint it is perfectly plain now to any reputable economist that values in the market are not necessarily ethical." Professor Douglas, after developing that idea, continued:

"I think you can construct a theory of socialism, a theory of equality, more strongly from the doctrine of diminishing utility than from the doctrine of surplus value, because, if it be true that people with added income spend their added dollars on less necessary things, doesn't it follow that a greater equality of income would enable other people to satisfy more socially necessary desires?"

Maurer on the Forward March of Labor

James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and a Vice-President of the League, followed with an address on labor progress within the last twenty years. After telling one of his own inimitable stories, Mr. Maurer pointed to the real progress made by labor in regard to the limitation of child labor, better compensation laws, mothers' assistance, and even old age pensions, in spite of the fact that Pennsylvania courts had declared the Pennsylvania law unconstitutional. There remains, however, the great danger that the benevolent paternalistic policy of capital will reduce the worker to the lot of the more or less contented slave, blind to the fact that for all his benefits he pays out of his own wages. Another danger lies in the fact that the great extension of the ownership of stock is really camouflage for the consolidation of the control of great bankers over all the industry in the country.

Morris Hillquit Surveys Socialist Progress

Mr. Hillquit's contribution was a rapid survey of the Socialist movement in Europe and America. After describing the increasing influence of the Socialist movement during the last twenty years, he said:

"In the countries of advanced economic development

and long democratic training and traditions, the 'transitional state' has not proved to be a regime of proletarian dictatorship. Rather has it turned out to be one of unstable political balance between the powers of Socialism and capitalism, marked by alternate victories, defeats and temporary compromise combinations.

"In these succeeding changes of political fortune the parties of Socialism gain steady strength in the long run. Their hopes are based on the expectation of growth to the point of absolute and permanent majorities. In the United States the last twenty years have witnessed more radical changes in the Socialist movement than anywhere else. The onslaughts of the war hysteria and the Communist schism have struck it with greater force than the movement in Europe because it was younger and weaker. The material prosperity and general political indifference which set in after the war; the economic well-being of our workers as compared with the abject misery of their comrades in other lands all served as a check on the growth of Socialism in the United States.

"But the American Socialists need not despair and will not surrender. As to myself I am as confident of the ultimate triumph of our cause as I was twenty years ago when we organized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Socialism is conquering Europe. It will no more halt at the American coastline than did capitalism, civilization or the war. In the vicissitudes of the post-war period Socialism has proved itself mutable in method, elastic in form, but indestructible in substance.

Blanshard On the Colleges

As the last of the ten minute speakers, Mr. Laidler introduced Paul Blanshard, "the world's greatest college trotter." Mr. Blanshard began with a fascinating contrast between the clothes and customs and way of thought of the student in 1905 and in 1925. He did not conceal his preference for the 1925 edition. But that admiration for the collegians of 1925 proved to be no indiscriminate adulation. "The twin evils of the modern college world and the chief obstacles to interesting college students in labor conditions are football—which is symbolical of the over-organized life of our college youth—and the diluted culture of salesmanship. College students are more conservative than their professors because they too often regard college as a backdoor to big business. The average college professor in this country is one hundred percent more revolutionary in his views about industrial democracy than the average laborer, and the professors are not parlor bolsheviks either, but genuine scientists."

Greetings from the Society's Friends

Then followed a series of brief greetings from David Sinclair, a recent graduate of Wisconsin, and from Leonard D. Abbott, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mrs. Louise Adams Floyd, Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan, Algernon Lee of the Rand School and Miss Mary Sanford, all of whom have been connected for many years with the life and work of the society. Miss Sanford surprised Harry Laidler by presenting to him a brief case as a slight token of the appreciation felt by the Board of Directors for his years of devoted and brilliant service to the League. Mr. Baldwin brought felicitous greetings from the American Civil Liberties Union. H. S. Raushenbush, formerly head of the Amherst Chapter, now Secretary of the Committee on Coal and Power, spoke of the valuable educational work of the I. S. S. and L. I. D. Justine Wise, now at Yale Law School, and Robert Halpern of Columbia spoke for the present generation of students. Mr. Halpern raised the audience with his declaration of the intention of the students to "carry on."

Norman Thomas On the Need for "Carrying On"

Norman Thomas closed in what was not, wonderful to say, a begging speech. He reported that prompt and generous responses to a birthday letter appeal had brought in pledges

totaling \$3,044 and contributions of \$1521.00. He then took up the grounds for some degree of hope and confidence in the struggle for social justice. He said in part:

"It is quite possible that America may become the world's greatest empire and the chief menace to peace. It is not necessary to admit that such a fate is inevitable. In labor ranks and among economists and technicians there is a new grip on reality. Even our Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce, by the very energy of their professions of faith and by their exaggerated fear of a little handful of radicals, show a weakening of the foundations of that religious faith in profit and property on which capitalism was built. Disillusionment and doubt so current in our day and generation may themselves be a good training school for the newer radicalism. This newer radicalism has ground for confidence in what is being learned both by success and by failure in Russia and by the results of other experiments along more democratic lines in such a country as Denmark.

"There is no assurance of victory. Neither is there as-

surance of defeat. The area in which man's free will, his intelligence, can operate, is limited. To us it probably seems more limited than it did to some of us twenty years ago, but it is still there, and unless we do what lies within us to make our action effective within that area, what right have we to predict disaster for those children whom we have dared to bring into this world?

"I therefore plead for an energy of carrying on, not sustained by mirages, not sustained by hopes of impossible immediate victories, not sustained by a rather simple, naive faith in formulas. I plead for an energy of carrying on which is intellectually alert, which admits the possibility of long periods of failure, but which is yet aware that there is the chance of success and that during the struggle there is joy in playing your part like a man rather than accepting injustice and disaster with resignation."

(A more complete account of this dinner will appear in a pamphlet on "Twenty Years of Education," soon to be published by the Society.)

College Trips of L. I. D. Speakers

BLANSHARD IN EAST AND SOUTH

THE last bulletin described the college trip of Paul Blanshard from the middle of October to the middle of November. November 18 found him at the UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, where he spoke before 700 students at the student assembly and was most enthusiastically received. The next day, November 19, he addressed two classes in economics at JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY on "Russia" and on "Labor and Government." Fifty-five students at this university became members of the L. I. D. From Maryland, Mr. Blanshard went to Washington, D. C. and there addressed a keenly interested audience under the auspices of the Washington Chapter of the L. I. D. on "Japan and China." While in the Capitol city, he also spoke in the chapel of HOWARD UNIVERSITY before 250 students and before the Washington Free Lance Club.

Other addresses in Maryland were:

Nov. 20.—Dinner of Fellowship of Reconciliation and Fellowship for the Christian Social Order at Friends Meeting House, Baltimore. An address before the GOUCHER COLLEGE Ethics Club.

Nov. 21.—Club talk at JOHNS HOPKINS.

Nov. 22.—Baltimore Forum address at Hippodrome Theatre with 1000 present.

Nov. 23.—Informal group meeting at ST. JOHNS COLLEGE and an address before the Contemporary Club at HOOD COLLEGE.

Thence he went to Rochester, for many years the center of his educational work with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and was entertained by the Women's City Club at their luncheon on November 28 and spoke at the Y. W. C. A. vesper service.

In the Pennsylvania Colleges

Mr. Blanshard then visited the Pennsylvania colleges. His lectures in Pennsylvania were as follows:

Nov. 20.—A class in education at ALLEGHENY COLLEGE and a talk before the Y. W. C. A. group.

Dec. 1.—A lecture before student body, ALLEGHENY COLLEGE, (600 present); topic, "Stopping the Next War." Talk before combined economics and sociology classes; an excellent response. Following these addresses, Mr. Blanshard spoke three times at MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL

SCHOOL and formed a strong L. I. D. Chapter there. Edwin H. Wilson became student representative.

Dec. 2.—Chapel talk at GROVE CITY COLLEGE on the "Ideals of Labor," (500 present). Luncheon in the girls' dormitory, on "Women In Industry."

Dec. 3.—Five addresses at BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY, before economics classes and student groups.

Dec. 4.—Assembly and address at SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY, followed by two class addresses before educational and theological groups.

Dec. 6.—Young Democracy Forum, Philadelphia, on "China and Japan," (500 present).

Dec. 7.—Four speeches at FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE before the entire college body. Classes in economics and sociology and the Y. M. C. A. cabinet.

Dec. 9.—Convocation address at the UNIVERSITY OF WEST VIRGINIA, (700 present), Kiwanis Club at Morgantown and the Y. W. C. A. of the University.

In the Carolinas and in Georgia

Dec. 11.—Four addresses before economics classes at the UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. Twenty-three students joined.

Dec. 12.—Lecture before the economics class at DUKE UNIVERSITY.

Dec. 14.—Chapel talk before the NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, (900 present), and before a class in economics.

Dec. 15.—Chapel talk before 500 students at the UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, followed by two class addresses.

Dec. 16.—Three addresses before chapel and economics and history classes at AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE; splendid response. 50 signed up as members.

Dec. 17.—A meeting to form permanent organization for the discussion of industrial questions at AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE, followed by an address in the chapel of EMORY UNIVERSITY on "Labor and Imperialism in the Orient."

Dec. 18.—A chapel talk and a Y. M. C. A. talk at EMORY UNIVERSITY.

From Emory, Mr. Blanshard went to Mobile, Alabama, where he visited his family over Christmas. He returned to the North in time for the L. I. D. conference.

In 1926

Immediately after the conference he started on his western trip. The reports received from Mr. Blanshard at present writing are as follows:

Jan. 4.—Class in sociology in the UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO.

Jan. 5.—An address at Salem Evangelical Church of Buffalo, followed by a lecture of the City Federation of Evangelical Brotherhood.

Jan. 6.—An assembly talk, (500 present), at EARLHAM COLLEGE and three class and student lectures. Fifty students became members of the League. Joe Rogers consented to serve as student representative.

THOMAS AND LAIDLER

SINCE the report in the last BULLETIN, aside from executive work in the office and the preparation of the editorial service to labor papers, Mr. Thomas's speaking engagements have fallen into two general classes. First, before college groups. This includes the completion of the interesting series of discussions under the auspices of the Columbia Social Problems Club on the subject of Socialism. Wherever it is possible for a college to arrange such discussion groups with a leader, better results can be obtained as a rule than by a series of addresses delivered at an audience, even if these public meetings are larger than the discussion groups.

In connection with the fair spirited, wholesome and informing discussions of problems of peace in our colleges organized by the Students' World Court Committee, Mr. Thomas went to regional conferences at Syracuse, N. Y. and Boston, Mass., and to a college meeting under the auspices of the Yale Liberal Club at New Haven. At Syracuse he addressed the delegates to the regional conference on "Imperialism and Peace" and spoke at greater length on the same general subject at a lively and well-attended meeting of the Faculty Club of Syracuse University. He took general part in the meeting of the greater Boston regional conference at Harvard University, speaking especially on the subject, "Public Opinion and Social Problems"—with, of course, especial reference to the problem of peace. He also spoke to a meeting of the Harvard Liberal Club on "Socialism and Individual Freedom" and before the assembly of the Sargent School for Physical Training in Cambridge on "The World Court and Peace." Before the Yale Liberal Club, Mr. Thomas argued that the World Court, while good in itself, was not good enough. A very interesting discussion followed.

At the National Student Conference at Princeton Mr. Thomas led one of the discussion group on "Imperialism." As our readers probably know, at this Princeton Conference, representative of a very large number of colleges and universities from all over the country, preliminary steps were taken to the formation of a national student federation which promises well, and to which the League for Industrial Democracy sends its good wishes and offers all possible cooperation. A live student federation in America ought to have genuine influence along three lines: (1) the development of an effective public opinion on college problems of which there are many; (2) the better education of the student world on national and international issues, and (3) the development of more international contacts with the student bodies of other countries. Speaking of international contacts, one of Mr. Thomas's most interesting meetings was with the Universal Students Club in New York.

Beside these college meetings Mr. Thomas also spoke before the Associated Young Folks League of Brooklyn on "Race, Religion and Fraternity," before the Labor Temple Forum in

New York on "Is There Political Hope in New York?", before a Banquet in Poughkeepsie at which Eugene V. Debs was the principal speaker, before the Central Trades and Labor Council of New Haven, Conn., on "Is Labor Drunk With Prosperity?", and at the Forum of the Jackson Heights Community Church on "Giant Power—Master or Servant?" He spoke at a mass meeting in behalf of the Defense Fund for Richard Ford, delivered two lectures in a course at the Rand School, one on "Socialism and Individual Liberty" and the other on "Socialism in Relation to National, Racial and Religious Loyalties." He addressed the Forum of the Young People's Society of the House of God in New York on "Is Human Nature Hopeless?" He also addressed an enthusiastic organizing meeting of the Pullman car porters and spoke at a smaller and more informal conference meeting on the subject of housing, before the Housing Committee, at the home of Mrs. Proskauer and on "Democracy and Civil Liberty" at a private discussion group. He likewise took part in a discussion following a debate on coal at the Greenwich House. On Saturday, January 9, Mr. Thomas left on a trip for the Middle West, which will be reported in the next BULLETIN.

Doctor Laidler is planning a two days' stay at Springfield Y. M. C. A. College on February 3 and 4, where he will lecture before the college body and various college classes. While in New England, he will also speak at a few other colleges.

During December, he devoted most of his time to the preparation of the Student Conference and the Twentieth Anniversary Dinner. On December 9, he spoke on "The History of Socialism," before the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Newark, and on "Transportation," before an extension class of New York University at Ocean Grove.

Other meetings were:

Dec. 11.—Far Rockaway Civic Forum, on "Roads to World Peace."

Dec. 13.—Bronx Free Fellowship, on "The Mexican Struggle for Freedom."

Dec. 18.—Bronx Forum, on "The New Political Alignment."

Jan. 10.—Holy Trinity Church Forum, of Brooklyn, on "Employee Representation." A discussion with Judge Huggins of the League for Industrial Rights.

Dr. Laidler is also chairman of the meetings on "The Problems of the New Social Order," arranged under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the L. I. D. As Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee of the New York Civic Club, he has assisted in the arrangements of a number of meetings on industrial problems. His articles on "The History of Socialist Thought," have been appearing weekly in the *New Leader*. These will be subsequently published in a text book, by Thomas Y. Crowell Company. An article on "Labor Banking In the United States," by the Executive Director, has just been published in the January-February issue of the *American Review*, (Bloomington, Ill.)

Captain Paxton Hibben will speak on "Russia Today," at Smith and Amherst Colleges on January 25 and 26.

Students In Industry Committee

THE Committee on Students in Industry, organized at the Intercollegiate Conference, is actively at work. Within a short time it will send out letters of inquiry to ascertain the number of students who are anxious to come to grips with reality and learn something about the labor movement and the need for it by working in industry during

summer vacation. While the committee is availing itself in general of the friendly cooperation of the League and in particular of the advice of men like Paul Blanshard and Prof. Jerome Davis, it is an autonomous body. The Executive Committee of the movement consists of, Robert Halpern, of Columbia, chairman; Hillman Bishop, of Columbia; Alice Hall, of Vassar; Charles Maute, of Brookwood, and Eunice Shaughnessy of Barnard. On the general committee there are in addition, Ida Craven, of the University of Chicago; Samuel G. Eskin, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Bluma Karp, of Vassar; Margarete Klumpp, of Smith; Walter L. Morrison, of the University of Chicago; Henry Portnow of St. Lawrence, and Philip G. Trupin, of New York University. Members of Advisory committee: Paul Blanshard, Paul Brissenden, Norman Thomas, Jerome Davis and Robert Morss Lovett.

Letters addressed to Mr. Halpern, at the office of the League, Room 981, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will be placed in the hands of the committee.

Help for the Miners

BETTER men and better labor leaders don't come than John Brophy, President of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America. When John Brophy writes of need in his district, he means it. And when he promises to distribute clothing, you can be sure that a good job will be done. This is an introduction to some paragraphs from a recent letter from him.

"For more than a year there has been widespread unemployment in this district, with its attendant impoverishment of the miners and their families.

"In addition to this, the operators in many places have, because of the depression, abrogated their agreement with the United Mine Workers by attempting to impose large wage reductions. These we have resisted. In these communities in a number of instances, families have been evicted from their houses, often in large numbers, and in places where there was no other shelter.

"To secure legal aid to protect our interests, to provide shelter for evicted families and to supply a meagre relief in cases of extreme need, have taxed the resources of the district to the utmost. This you can readily understand when you know that there are about two thousand families in need of help.

"It occurred to us that your organization may be the means of sending out an appeal to those people who might be able and willing to render assistance in the way of donations of clothing. Many women and children, as well as the men, are in actual need of clothing for protection against the winter weather."

This is not the only appeal for clothing from miners. The need still continues great in West Virginia, where a good many of you sent clothing last winter. The joint committee of the L. I. D., and the Civil Liberties Union, which, with the aid of the American Fund, advertised this need last winter will doubtless shortly issue a kind of consolidated appeal for clothing, suggesting the nearest place in each region to which clothing may be sent. Perhaps the anthracite fields must be added to the bituminous camps in this plea. Doubtless the Intercollegiate Conference spoke for us all in endorsing all such pleas from bona fide labor organizations. Meanwhile, pending more comprehensive announcement, we urge upon our friends, in college and out, to send warm, substantial clothing or money for clothing to John Brophy, President, District No. 2, Miners' Building, Clearfield, Pa.

N. T.

The L. I. D. In 1925

A FULL account of the activities of the League in 1925 will be contained in the Twentieth Anniversary Number of our pamphlet series. In the meanwhile, the following facts may be of interest:

Paul Blanshard, Field Secretary of the League, in 1925 spoke in 95 colleges before 35,600 students and before over 5,000 townspeople in city groups. In the colleges he lectured at 52 chapel exercises, at 102 class-room meetings and before 66 student groups. Norman Thomas, in addition to his other League work, spoke at 29 colleges—in some of them several times—before some 5,675 college students and addressed 44 non-college groups, with audiences totaling 10,200 people, besides addressing innumerable political meetings during and between political campaigns. Harry W. Laidler spent the major part of his time to writing and administrative work for the League. During the summer he delivered three lectures before the student assembly at Colorado State Teachers College (about 2,000 present at each talk) as a college lecturer, and delivered numerous other talks during the year to college classes and student groups at Columbia, Barnard, N. Y. U., General Theological, and Wesleyan, before about 1,000 students. He gave a score of talks before non-college groups (total attendance 3,000), in addition to addresses during political campaigns.

The League also assisted in scheduling Frank Tannenbaum, Rennie Smith, M. P., William Pickens and others before numerous college groups. It added "What is Industrial Democracy?" by Norman Thomas to its pamphlet series. It printed a thoroughly revised edition of "Challenge of Waste" by Stuart Chase. H. S. Raushenbush's "The People's Fight for Coal and Power" was prepared and sent to the press.

Mr. Thomas continued his editorial service to labor and farm papers with marked success. Mr. Laidler continued his work on his college text book, "The History of Socialist Thought." The League organized a Committee on Coal and Power, with H. S. Raushenbush as secretary, for the purpose of working out a comprehensive plan for coal and power nationalization. It held its regular June Conference and several students' conferences. It cooperated with the American Civil Liberties Union in the work of relief for West Virginia miners. It launched the Committee on Justice for China. It helped in the formation of a Students in Industry and other committees. Its officers in many ways encouraged allied movements leading toward industrial democracy.

H. W. L.

N. Y. CHAPTER LECTURES

Owing to lack of space the Bulletin has been unable to publish in this issue summaries of the three lectures on "The Problems of the New Social Order" delivered by Messrs. Hillquit, Chase and Thomas, in the Peoples' House Auditorium under the auspices of the New York Chapter, L. I. D. Each lecture was of unusual interest. The three final meetings in the series are as follows:

Jan. 26.—Norman Angell, "International Organization and the New Social Order"; leader of discussion, Jessie W. Hugan.

Feb. 1.—John Brophy, "Trade Unions Under the New Social Order"; leader of discussion, A. J. Muste.

Feb. 9.—William H. Kilpatrick, "Incentives Under the New Social Order"; leader of discussion, Harriot Stanton Blatch. Harry W. Laidler, Chairman.