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"The Student and the Social Order"

Discussion at Intercollegiate Winter Conference, L. I. D., New York City

STUDENTS from some two scores of colleges and universities attended various of the sessions of the Winter Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, held at Columbia University, New York City, from Wednesday, December 28 to Friday, December 30, 1927, and took part in the various sessions on "The Student and the Social Order." The conference was planned throughout by a Students' Committee and gave greater scope for actual student discussion than any conference in recent years.

It opened auspiciously on Wednesday morning. The Assembly room in Philosophy Hall was crowded with over 250 college men and women and friends of the League to listen to the symposium on "Capitalism," with Ivy Lee, Public Relations Counsellor for the Rockefeller and other interests defending the present industrial order and Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, criticizing its failings.

Ivy Lee Defines Capitalism

Ivy Lee declared that capitalism was a term which described social conditions under which we live. Capitalism, he maintained, was not static. There had been great improvement in the industrial system in the past and one had reason to look forward to greater improvement in the future. He continued in substance as follows:

I am a believer in the capitalist system and in the profit-making motive because it actually works. It was the profit motive which induced Harriman and others at enormous risk to themselves to build the Northern Pacific Railroad connecting the East and the West. Following the Great War socialists believed that the capitalist system was about to collapse. Austria for a while seemed on the verge of ruin. It had to have working capital. As a result of the willingness of monied people to take risks, however, Austria was supplied with capital and her recovery led to the recovery of Europe. Following the War the Pennsylvania Railroad was restored by the government to its owners in a state verging on bankruptcy. In the beginning of the War the operating ratio on this railroad was about 80 percent. As a result of government operation, the operating ratio was 103 percent. When the road was returned, the Board of Directors again placed the road on an efficient basis and soon reduced the operating ratio to 78 percent. The profit motive actually works.

In the second place, no other energizing force is at present equal to the profit motive in getting results. It is, of course, true that in present society a large number of people are working for spiritual motives, as in the case of many teachers, clergymen, doctors and nurses. But the majority of men are spurred on by the desire for profit. I do not believe that it is possible at present to dispense with this motive. On the other hand, if everyone could be gotten to operate on the basis of the Golden Rule, we would not need socialism. I recently went to Russia and found there a certain drabness.

Little progress was being made. It is true that many were giving themselves with devotion equal to that of the best spirits in other parts of the world. The great majority, I found, however, were insisting on getting the benefits of their toil, the same as in other countries. Ryckoff, the Prime Minister of Russia, declared recently that after ten years of the bolshevik experiment, Russia was behind capitalist states in the organization of its industrial plant and in its productivity. The country had not as yet learned how to build cheaply, economically and rapidly.

In the third place, I am convinced that the so-called evils of capitalism are not inherent in capitalism. We have seen constant improvement in capitalism in the past. We have eliminated slavery. We are checking child labor. There is still a great mal-distribution of wealth, but every legislature is adopting measures to secure more intelligent handling of this subject. All kinds of radical legislation could be adopted without interfering with the system of private property which seeks to insure to the worker the benefit of that part of his product which he is entitled to enjoy.

In the fourth place, the outstanding characteristic of present-day society is its capacity to reform itself. I wish to congratulate this audience on its healthy discontent. Human society improves as a result of such discontent, and I believe that we have great reason for confidence in the future.

Dr. Ward on the Religion of Capitalism

Professor Harry F. Ward continued the symposium. He declared that in the United States capitalism was a religion and that most countries outside of the United States had thus far become very skeptical of that religion. It was a belief in private property in the means of production and distribution. As in the case with other religions, the religion of capitalism was never completely lived out. The world would not be a tolerable place if we completely lived out our religions. Dr. Ward continued in substance:

One of the troubles with capitalism is that it operates to prevent private property among a considerable portion of the population. The religion of capitalism is also a belief in economic anarchy and chaos, in the blind working of competitive forces, the force of supply and demand, in the futility of the application of intelligence to industry and in the automatic working of the markets. Even Adam Smith had doubts about the perfect working of a competitive system and solaced himself with the reflection that there must be an invisible hand guiding the competitive regime. That, however, is not the scientific attitude as applied to industry.

Capitalism is also a belief that the strongest force in human nature is self-interest working itself out in the acquisition of money. It is time for us to consider what the profit motive actually is, whether it is what it conceives itself to be or something else and how does it work. One of the troubles with it is that it prevents

social planning. It splits economic functions into conflicting parts, into conflicts between production, distribution and consumption, conflicts between agriculture and industry, between the middleman and finance. Under capitalism we have seen the development of business from small business capitalism to monopoly and finally to the control by big pools of capital, managed by big financial groups. The present form of capitalism might almost be called state capitalism. In Russia we find state capitalism with a mixture of state socialism. Under state capitalism in Russia industry is publicly owned and operated. Here in the United States, private capitalism is using the state for its own interests. Private capitalism maintains that government operation is wrong, that it interferes with business, but at the same time it contends that it is good business to get the government to do things that the government can do and then have private capitalism obtain the results of the government's activity.

I think that there is another side of the problem of government operation, although not ownership, of the railroads of the country. When the railroads claim that the government owed it large sums of money, the Interstate Commerce Commission checked up and found that the railroads owed the government far more money and finally the suit was settled out of court by the payment by the railroads of a million or more dollars.

We can perhaps approach the question of the working of the profit motive by asking ourselves what are the major problems in the next generation and whether these problems are likely to be solved on the basis of the capitalist system. There are the questions of the control of the Nation's railroads, its electrical power, the distribution of its product, which is now based on the relative strength of the contending forces rather than on the contribution of each to the social product. There is the problem of human relations, the problem of production. We have been able in late years to develop our luxury production pretty well as in the case of automobiles, but what about our shoe industry, our textiles, our houses? Is any city today proposing to solve the housing problem on the basis of capitalism?

There is the question of the production of food. We have applied to that industry for the most part the capitalist stimulus. Yet industry is decaying. The only remedies that capitalism seems to offer to the agricultural problem is that production in agriculture be limited and that prices be increased. And how about banking and its relation to conflicts abroad?

Following the two main addresses, Mr. Lee elaborated on his general thesis and answered questions from the floor. One of the main problems discussed was that of the results of government control of the railroads. Mr. Laidler asked Mr. Lee whether it was not true that the railroads were taken under federal control following the breakdown of private enterprise; that all efforts were made during the federal control to transport food, ammunition and other commodities speedily to the Atlantic seaboard, rather than to run the railroads economically; that the railroads would have paid their own way had the government consented to increase rates at the time that it increased wages and that most impartial authorities agreed that under federal control the government accomplished in quite an admirable fashion the objects which it sought to attain. Mr. Lee, in answering, spoke of the difficulties that the railroads found placed in the way of their securing new capital prior to the War. He agreed that conditions were abnormal during the War and that it was unwise to draw too many lessons regarding the efficiency or inefficiency of public vs. private control on the basis of war experience.

The Columbine Incident

In his final summary, Professor Ward gave a vivid account of the shooting of the I. W. W. in Colorado. He declared that the vice-president of the mine in Columbine where the shooting occurred never asked for protection. The authorities of the mine, where the major stockholder was a liberal, asked that the gates of the property be left open

and that the miners be not obstructed in entering the property and holding meetings on the place, as they had done for some time past. The officer in command, however, insisted on keeping the workers out, had the machine guns ready and when the leaders of the strikers jumped over the fence, began to beat them up and throw tear bombs. The strikers threw back stones whereupon the militia brought their guns to bear upon the strikers, several of whom were killed.

In dealing with the profit motive, Dr. Ward spoke of the low standards prevailing among many of the sellers of goods and asked why the public was not able to depend for measurements on the Bureau of Standards the same as did Uncle Sam in his purchase of goods for the army and other government departments. He elaborated on the dilemma of thrift which is presented at the present time and of the manner in which increasing thrift leads to the piling up of capital and to the decrease in purchasing power among the masses. In dealing with our investments abroad, he declared that no one questioned the sincere desire of capitalists to avoid war, but that the actions of capitalists were leading to war. He cited the proposed loan of forty million dollars from the Morgan people to Japan to aid in the Manchurian railroad, which loan would strengthen the reactionary government of Japan, defeat liberalism in Japan, undo the diplomacy of the State Department for many years past and permanently alienate China from the United States.

The morning session was opened by Ludwig C. Hirning, President of the Social Problems Club of Columbia and the students were welcomed by Ambrose Doskow at Columbia, Chairman of the Students' Conference Committee.

Professor Overstreet for Psychological Approach

Professor Harry A. Overstreet, Professor of Philosophy of the College of the City of New York and author of *Influencing Human Behavior*, was the first speaker at the afternoon session. He declared that the issue of the profit vs. the service motive in industry could not be discussed in terms of nineteenth-century economics. Instead it should be considered in the light of twentieth-century psychological concepts. He continued:

Is industry to operate on the basis of the profit or the service motive? The creative or the acquisitive impulse? Those are useless questions. There is not quite as clear a distinction as the question seems to suggest. I am a professor and am motivated by a mixture of impulses. I have joy in my teaching, but I am also influenced by an advance in salary. I may therefore be said to be working both for profit and for service. I do not believe that anything much will come from our efforts toward progress until we cease to think of such efforts as necessarily involving a fight. Do any of us know a perfect solution of the economic problem? If a person says yes, he is moronic. Does anyone know of a perfect married life? Are we going to hold dogmatically to the belief that there is a fixed solution? Are we going to regard the social problem as involving a fight between the two sides, or a problem that has to be explored? Anyone who considers the economic problem without a psychological approach is doomed to failure. Carlton Parker, a type of the twentieth-century psychological economist, led the way to the new approach. He asked what are human beings like, what do they want, what can they get, what kind of organization is least disastrous. Capitalism and socialism are both metaphysical abstractions. It is not enough to set the stage with two combatants. The issue should be placed in its scientific setting. It is my hope that liberal clubs throughout the country may increasingly adopt the tone of exploration not in economic, but in psychological terms.

Ida Patigalia of Brookwood asked Professor Overstreet whether it was necessary always to have before one a question mark, whether the conflict method should be abandoned. Professor Overstreet replied that that depended on where one was. Workers must fight; at the same time they can

continue to explore. He declared that he personally urged the inquiring mind, at the same time he was a member of the Teacher's Union. He urged the liberal students to cast out the "either or" method, when "either or" presupposes one of two fixed solutions. Lillian Herstein of Chicago criticized the average college professor for being afraid to make judgments and declared that the average psychologist was too academic and was not enlightened on economic issues.

Tippett on Capitalism and the Worker

Tom Tippett, former head of the educational work of the Illinois Miners and at present instructor in economics at Brookwood, followed with a paper on the workers and capitalism. While the average American worker, he held, had higher standards of life than workers abroad, their condition was far from ideal. He did not receive his share of the wealth and income in the United States. The percentage of wage earners who obtained enough wages to provide a fairly happy life which carried with it security to the end was very small. Over most workers, he maintained, was the prospect of unemployment. He continued:

There are always a million and a half unemployed dogging factory gates for a job. This number is increased as the business cycle moves around. Aside from that ghost, there is always dependent old age awaiting them. Old age in industrial America arrives long before the age of fifty has been reached. Work itself is an uninteresting, weary, monotonous grind. Industrial engineers and technicians have come into industry with Mr. Taylor's system and removed the need for brains for the shop and concentrated the need for them in the office. With their stop watches, they have harnessed workers to the machine. The capacity of the machine has been scientifically measured and the speed gauge has been regulated by that test. Engineers as yet have not held their watches on human heart beats or human nervous systems—the human element gets little consideration—our labor supply is cheap and plentiful; why measure or conserve that? Occupational disease is taken for granted so that the by-product of chemical manufacture destroys the live tissues of human bodies. Industrial accidents keep pace with industrial expansions. Twenty-five thousand workers are killed outright every year and uncounted thousands are crippled. We are so calloused to this abuse that as a country we won't take the trouble to make an official record of the casualties.

Underpaid husbands send their wives to industry where they undermine their wage standards by doing a man's work for a woman's pay. The wife then in far too many cases must also do her job at home on the side. Children do not escape either. There are too many millions of them in industry. They too supplement a parent's wage that is too small and go up against the same body devastating conditions the adults endure.

Mr. Tippett then answered the question as to why there was seemingly so little discontent with prevailing conditions. The lack of discontent, he believed, was only seeming. There were too many current strikes, organization campaigns, too much industrial trouble to claim any real contentment. The captains of industry, furthermore, were consciously moving to keep discontent out of sight through the huge army of labor spies scattered throughout industry, the black list, etc.:

In the coal industry at the present time the workers are not only thrown out of work with no economic surplus to fall back upon, but other civil institutions that have no legal right to interfere always come to the bosses' rescue. Court injunctions have been so extended that it is difficult, if not impossible, to carry on a peaceful strike. The police are always called upon to line up on the bosses' side and if they do not do the job, the state soldiers are called in. In addition, in the South the coal operators maintain a private standing army that is always armed, always in the field and that never hesitates to shoot a union organizer if ordered to do so by the company who employs him. This opposition that I have de-

scribed is directed toward those workers who attempt to form conservative trade-unions, whose philosophy does not interfere with private ownership of industry or the notion that industry should be run for any other purpose than private profits. The American Federation of Labor demands almost literally nothing but crumbs from the banquet table of the capitalists and an ounce of self-respect—the right to organize independent unions. In America that right the workers do not have. The owners of our industry, following Mr. Rockefeller's lead, offer company unions under company control. Others offer the well known benevolent despotism of Mr. Ford. There were kind masters in the old South who gave that kind of freedom to their slaves and there were owners of ancient manors who treated their serfs in the same way. And if perchance workers develop an opposition to capitalism per se and attempt to organize a movement to change our social order, there is no length too great for the capitalists to go to suppress them. Jails still have their political prisoners. There is the I. W. W. in the West, Tom Mooney and his fellow class war prisoners are still in California jails, and we still have before us the horrible example of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Professor Taylor Gives a Definition

Professor Horace Taylor of the Economics Department of Columbia then concluded with an objective statement as to the pros and cons of capitalism. He defined capitalism as a cultural arrangement in which the instruments of production were used privately and the control of production and the ownership of products were vested in private owners. On the one hand, as Mr. Lee maintained, capitalism might be favored on the ground that it was a going concern and that it "delivered the goods." On the other hand, it might be opposed on the ground that it involved injustice in the distributive process and vested too great power in the ruling economic class over the government and over social institutions.

In the discussion from the floor, several students criticized large numbers of the students in America on the ground that they were mere cheer leaders and knew little about the social problem. Simon Gerson of the C. C. N. Y. Liberal Club urged students to take a definite stand for or against the labor movement. Joseph Weiss, a Columbia graduate, declared that the process of education was a slow one; that there are 110 million people in America and that 109 million of them must be educated; that we must work through 150 different organizations and that if we condemned all organizations except our own we would get nowhere. Professor Ward, in summarizing the discussion of the day, criticized the psychologist who took only one fixed approach, namely the approach of inquiry, and who did not realize that action was important as well as inquiry.

Beatrice Heiman of Barnard acted as chairman during the session and Paul Blanshard, as discussion leader.

Student Discussion of Vital Problems

On Thursday the delegates divided into four groups for an informal, intimate discussion of subjects of interest.

Paul Blanshard led the discussion on "Liberal Activities on the Campus," assisted by Felix Cohen of Harvard. A. D. Black of the N. Y. Ethical Culture School served as the discussion leader in the group on "Education as a Road to Freedom" with George S. Counts, Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia, and Abraham Lefkowitz, as technical advisers. The groups on "The Value of Political Action" and the "Class Struggle and Labor Unionism" were led respectively by Stephen Wilson of Columbia and William B. Spofford of the C. L. I. D. William P. Hapgood of the Columbia Conserve Company, J. S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Benjamin Stolberg, McAlister Coleman and Solon De Leon acted as advisers to these groups. Ruth Hicks of Vassar and William George Fennell of Yale were chairmen of the short general sessions.

Liberalism in American Colleges

The discussion group on "Liberalism in American Colleges" was one of the most lively and fruitful of the conference. Informal reports were made by many of the thirty-three colleges represented at the conference. It is impossible here to summarize all of these reports, but valuable suggestions were made by many officers of liberal clubs and student forums. The College of the City of New York reported activities for the day session and the night session which centered in the long struggle of the liberal elements among students against compulsory military training. A recent expulsion of two students for criticism of the faculty was discussed and condemned. City College liberal organizations sent a large group to the conference and their leaders were conspicuously active in all discussions. The Columbia Social Problems Club reported several successful meetings this fall and an extensive program for the winter. An L. I. D. group is in process of formation at Cornell.

William Hunt, president of the Dartmouth Round Table, reported a most successful year with an interesting combination of college lectures and discussion. The Dartmouth Round Table receives financial support from the college administration and is allowed to choose its own speakers who are usually outstanding leaders capable of discussing provocative themes in a stimulating manner. The organization has about one hundred student and faculty members with wide influence on the Dartmouth campus.

A representative of the Harvard Liberal Club was welcomed in the person of Jacques Herling. Many of the activities of this club were described by Mr. Herling and during the discussion period a good many criticisms were thrown at the Harvard group for its failure to stimulate more thought on the Harvard campus and its absorption in property problems. Girls from Hunter College described their heroic efforts to keep their liberal movement alive in spite of an indifferent student body and a not too enthusiastic college administration. Clarence Senior told of an interesting radical paper published by students of the University of Kansas, *The Dove*. He described the debunking of certain militarists on the Kansas campus and the general effect of this stimulating little paper. He announced the Mid-West Student Conference which has been called by students at the University of Kansas for February 24 and 25.

From Brookwood and from Pocono People's College came provocative questionings of the standard American college and attacks upon the indifference of American students to the sufferings of labor. Brookwood sent to the conference a good delegation of vigorous young labor leaders who served to remind the other students constantly of the practical aspects of the labor struggle. Stella Eskin reported the beginnings of a new liberal group at Smith College and Cecil Headrick described a recent joint meeting of the liberal students of Union Theological Seminary with miners from the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Miss Ruth Hicks represented the Vassar Chapter of the L. I. D. in the discussion and Yale University was represented by the president of its Liberal Club, William George Fennell. Mr. Fennell aroused much interest by his description of the cooperation of Yale students with the Neckwear Makers Union in New Haven. Three Yale students were taken to the police station after marching on the strikers' picket line and their participation did more than any other thing to arouse community interest in the struggle of the Neckwear Workers for better conditions. Betty Dublin of Barnard told how the Barnard and other groups in the city were helping in raising funds for the miners of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Colorado. The group in Barnard was using the Bulletin Boards extensively for telling of meetings of importance planned throughout the city.

Out of this conference came a report of findings which was presented to the entire group of delegates by Felix Cohen of Harvard who formerly led the fight at New York

City College against compulsory military training. Mr. Cohen in his report offered no resolution, but suggested a great many practical solutions for campus liberal problems. It was suggested that the activities of college liberal clubs should include not only the bringing of speakers to campuses, but holding of discussion seminars wherever possible on serious social problems and the development of liberal discussions in college newspapers. Students, Mr. Cohen said, should make their chief contribution in the present situation in the field of careful exploration and thought, but actual participation in political and labor activity should be encouraged wherever it is practical. The organization of unorganized workers and the development of a genuinely represented labor political party in this country should be supported.

Following Mr. Cohen's report there was a long and animated discussion from the floor in which a left-wing position was vigorously presented by the delegates from the College of the City of New York. Professor William H. Dinkins of Selma College, Alabama, reminded the students of the great advance of liberal activity among colored students of the South.

The passing of resolutions was distinctly unpopular with most of the students who felt that the chief function of the conference was not legislative. Two resolutions, however, were passed at the morning session on Friday which expressed the desire of the students to support the political and industrial drive for labor organization. The first of these resolutions concerning political action declared:

"The working class can serve its interests on the parliamentary field best at the present time by formation of a Labor Party based upon the American Labor Unions and including those Parties which now seek to serve the working class. The running of joint Labor tickets by these parties during elections should be a first step in the direction of forming the Labor Party.

"College Labor Party Clubs should be formed to facilitate students helping develop the Labor Party movement."

The second concerning trade union organization said:

"The American Labor Movement, in striving for a new social order, must proceed to organize the mass of unorganized workers into the labor unions.

"The students should consider as one of their tasks, aiding the organizing of the unorganized working youth of this country into the unions which now leave the youth in an unorganized state and bar them from union membership. We endorse the Brookwood Youth Institute, now being held, as a first step in this direction."

Education as a Road to Freedom

The group on "Education as a Road to Freedom" gave their attention in the morning session to a discussion of what constitutes freedom and in the afternoon to the agencies through which education toward a freer and more democratic society should take place. The reports of William H. Dinkins and Samuel Rothenberg, presented in the Friday morning session, gave as the point of view of the group that too much of our present education was essentially class education and that a definite attempt was being made in public schools to make education propagandist in nature with a view to perpetuating the present system. The group urged that use should be made by liberals of all kinds of clubs, churches and institutions. They should try to get facts before the people in books, in the periodical press, through the radio, the theatre and other media of expression for the purpose of enlarging the sphere of human expression. Nor should labor unions, political parties, the cooperative movement, be neglected. Students were urged to join the labor movement and through it to work for a classless society, to help in the unionization of teachers, to increase the emphasis on creative education and group discussion and to seek to secure for the students greater opportunity for student expression.

In the discussion Eunice Shaughnessy summarized three

difficulties which the liberal teacher encountered in training high school students for a new social outlook upon life.

1. The emphasis upon individualism.
2. The routinizing of work partly due to the small appropriations for educational development.
3. The rigidity of college entrance examinations.

A hot discussion ensued on the question as to whether education was in itself a class instrument in present society. There was general agreement that powerful economic groups used educational organizations for their own end.

On the Class Struggle

Cecil Headrick on Friday morning presented the report of the groups on the "Class Struggle and Trade Unionism" and on "Political Action." William P. Hapgood as one of the advisers of the group briefly sketched the plan for industrial democracy in the Columbia Conserve Company. He maintained that workers should control the instruments of production and that ownership would follow control. All power should be given to the workers within the factory. Company unionism, he believed, was a farce unless it gave real power. He gave a few indications which seemed to point to a liberalization among employers on the question of workers' control. Benjamin Stolberg felt that it would be difficult to put Mr. Hapgood's plan at work in such large industries as the bituminous coal industry. He believed that militant class struggle tactics were being weakened by the present leadership of the A. F. of L. and that more aggressive action was necessary. J. S. Potofsky, Assistant Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, disagreed with Mr. Hapgood in his optimism regarding the liberality of any considerable group of American employers. Labor could not wait, he declared, for reform from the top. He disagreed with Stolberg in his contention that the class struggle was always the best method of advance. The experience of the Amalgamated had proved that the round table way was important. Strategy was in many instances more important than militancy. There should be less theorizing about the class struggle and more active steps taken by capitalist means to gain power, through, for instance, co-operative banks, housing, insurance, etc. It was, of course, granted that the round table methods were ineffective unless workers were willing to strike to uphold their rights. The students felt that there were many evidences of a class struggle at the present time in coal and textile, etc., but that most workers in America did not realize their destiny as future controllers of industry.

What Kind of Political Action?

In the section on "Political Action," three points of view were presented in regard to the coming of a revolution: First the fatalist concept that revolution would inevitably come; second, the belief that there would be no revolution in America, that Congress would gradually become socialist and legislate the country into socialism; third, the view that no final judgment could be formed at the present time: the revolution might or might not come. Many obstacles, some of the delegates maintained, were now being placed in the way of progress through politics, and if these obstacles became too great the revolutionary method might be a handy method to use. Solon De Leon sponsored the suggestion that the parties in power in the present system acted as balances to the conflicting groups and therefore could not be depended upon to secure control of land and industry to the people. He urged the development of a fellowship of those who could be depended on to bring about a new order. Many in the group favored the development of an independent labor party even though the prime result of such a party was education.

Norman Thomas Presents Challenge to Student

At the conclusion of the discussion Norman Thomas gave a final address in part as follows:

In many respects this conference has maintained a high level of discussion. Considerable confusion has crept

in with regard to the "open mind," as was indicated in Wednesday's discussion, part of which I had to miss. What we want, I think, is not the wide open mind through which every wind of doctrine sweeps leaving only some detritus behind, but the scientific mind. Such a mind does not go on without generalizations or hypotheses—it gets nowhere if it does. It tests its hypothesis by experiment and fact. Properly speaking, the scientific mind is not coldly objective. It *cares*. It must care when human interests are at stake. The problem is to have some of the passion of what I may call a religious as well as a scientific approach and its driving power without its blind dogmatism.

Some of our discussion has smacked of that dogmatism. For instance, yesterday a group agreed on the necessity of a labor party, yet by the tone of some of its discussion it would have alienated, not attracted, converts. We accepted uncritically some sweeping statements and in agreeing on a labor party, failed to analyze that spirit of fair play which is a condition of a labor party too often forgotten in the "Come on, you yellow dog, let's unite" invitation from the left.

With this preface let me plead with students, graduate and undergraduate, to seek understanding. We need more, not less study and research in our radical cause. We Americans especially tend to be superficial. There is a place for the genuine intellectual and it is a high one.

But study in college groups will be better for appropriate action. Of course, we learn by doing. Appropriate action might begin with campus problems, militarism, real student comradeship, and the rest. It will include problems of industry studied first hand and from books.

And after college? There's the rub. There is where we feel the L. I. D. is failing most to do what we desire. Too many college radicals and liberals get over their enthusiasm too quickly in the struggle for success. They seek prizes in our economic lottery and are afraid not to conform to its rules.

There is no one piece of advice to give. For each of you it is a personal problem. Some of you, a few, may be called to face the lonely, arduous road of what Scott Nearing calls, and rather curiously defines, as the "professional revolutionist" the agitator and organizer. If you think of that one word of advice: don't get married.

Most of you will, I think should, go to work in the professions. There you will find more opportunities for advancing the cause of civil liberty and industrial democracy than many graduates think or have courage to attempt. Certainly you will as teachers, and perhaps as engineers or statisticians or even lawyers! All of you will have sympathy and spare time to give the labor movement. Pending the rise of a big labor party there are working class parties, Socialist or Communist according to your conviction, which need your help. And in helping such causes you may make a poorer living, but you will find a better life—yes, and, I hope, help to make it for your brothers. In this task the L. I. D. wants your continuing comradeship.

Paul Blanshard, discussion leader, gave the final benediction and resolutions were passed thanking the Social Problems Club and Columbia University for their hospitality. Simon Gerson of C. C. N. Y. and William A. Hunt of Dartmouth served as chairmen at the morning and afternoon discussions.

Besides the sessions at Columbia the students at the conference enjoyed three entertaining evenings of discussion and recreation. On Wednesday evening, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas gave a reception to the visiting delegates at their home followed by a film picture on Russia taken by the Student Delegation to Russia. Hillman Bishop, a former chairman of the Students' Committee, presided and a number of students who visited Russia last year gave their impression of the development of Russian industry and politics.

The Dance and Skits

On Friday evening the students conducted a dance and presented a number of skits at Earl Hall, Columbia University, as follows:

(1) SUCCESS

by Benjamin Levine and Gertrude Weil Klein

Oswald Jones, *the striver* William Parry
 His wife, *the pusher* Gertrude Weil Klein
 His daughter, *the cynic* Nettie Stern
 Tom, *his friend* Joseph Weiss
 Albert, *a neighbor's son* Jules Umansky
 John Armstrong, *a reporter* Maurice Franz
 Friends, *neighbors and citizens of Hicksville* . . . Samuel H. Friedman

SONGS

"A Little Questionnaire" . . . lyric by Samuel H. Friedman
 "The Average Man" . . . lyric and music by Harry Mayer

ooo—O—ooo

(2) THE PUBLICITY GAME

by Gertrude Weil Klein

Subway Sun, *public relations counsel* Harry W. Laidler
 R. Therb Risbrain, *another broadcaster* Norman Thomas

SONGS

"On to Mexico" lyric by Samuel H. Friedman
 music by Gabriel Engel
 "Prosperity" lyric by Samuel H. Friedman

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(3) CHICAGO: A MYSTERY PLAY WITH SHOOTING

by Benjamin Levine

Two-Gun Smith, *the father* Ambrose Doskow
 His wife Lillian Cooper
 His daughter Viola Levenson
 Tom, *his second son* Ben Shor
 George, *his third son* Maurice Franz
 The mysterious stranger Emanuel Blum

ooo—O—ooo

THE BROOKWOOD PLAYERS PRESENT:

(4) OPEN SHOP SUMMER

by Jasper Deeter and Edith Kowski

COMMITTEES AND STUDENTS

The Student Conference Committee consisted of: Ambrose Doskow of Columbia, chairman; Wendell Wheeler of Union Theologue; Hillman Bishop of Columbia; F. S. Cohen of Harvard; William P. Mangold of Yale (1927); Ida Patigalia of Brookwood; S. I. Rothenberg of the University of Pennsylvania; Georgiana Volze of Barnard; J. L. Afros of New York University; Irma Rittenhouse of Barnard; Abraham Kaufman and Simon Gerson of College of City of New York; Arthur Wubnig of New York University, and Cecil Headrick of Union Theologue; Winston J. Dancis and Edith Blumberg.

DELEGATES AND VISITORS

Among the delegates and visitors from various of the colleges were:

Barnard—Betty Dublin, May Dublin, Barbara Farinko, Dorothy Geller, Beatrice Heiman, Marguerite Rubinow.

Beaver—Anita Murray.

Berkeley Divinity—Clyde D. Wilson.

Brookwood—James Boyd, Charles Drake, J. B. English, Romania Ferguson, Ida Patigalia, G. Shadchan, W. Seligman.

Bryn Mawr—Edith S. Baxter, Nina Perera.

Chicago—Beatrice A. Myers.

City College—Winston J. Dancis, Leon Denenberg, Edward Epstein, Simon W. Gerson, Arthur Greger, Joseph P. Lash, Gertrude L. Levinson, Joseph Palchih, A. Louis Sternbach, Jack Stone, Helena Turitz, M. Vosk, Carl Weissberg, Abraham Zussman.

Columbia—William H. Dinkins, Ambrose Doskow, Julian S. Duncan, Jack Hirning, William T. Parry, Eunice Shaughnessy, Julius Umansky, Joseph Weiss.

Cornell—Frank J. Giorgi, Will Maslow, Oscar Zurer.

Dartmouth—Hsi-Chen Chang, Y. W. Doob, William A. Hunt, Otto O. Sokol.

Hampton Normal—Lloyd Callaway.

Harvard—Burnham P. Beckwith, Felix S. Cohen, Jacques Hirling.

Haverford—Royal S. Davis, Nathaniel Weyl.

Hunter—Anna Frankel, Mary Himiff, Eleanor Imbelli, Sylvia Kasinowitz, Dora Libin, Sylvia Steckler.

Kansas—Clarence O. Senior.

Maxwell Training—Bertha Berkowitz, Rose Marin.

New York School of Social Work—C. Anderson.

New York University—Morris Chausky, Herman Gross, Cecilia Statclick, David L. Watson.

Pennsylvania—Samuel I. Rothenberg.

Penn State—Vincent G. Burns.

Pocono People's—Charles Schaefer.

Princeton—George Chaikin.

Rand School—Philip Pasik.

Smith—Leonora Cohen, Stella Eskin, Betty Fleming, Florence de Haas.

Springfield—Tadakatsu Miyazaki.

Swarthmore—Elmer F. Cope, Edith D. Hull.

Syracuse—W. B. Reid.

Tufts—H. J. Rubinstein.

Union Theological Seminary—Harold G. Salton, Don B. Chase, Cecil Headrick.

Vassar—Caroline Dutcher, Ruth Hicks, Bluma Karp, Agnes Sailor.

Wheaton—Marian B. Britt.

Wesleyan—Takuzo Miyake, Everett R. Clinchy.

Western Reserve—Elizabeth Stuyvesant.

Yale—William G. Fennell, J. W. Whitelaw, William P. Mangold (grad.).

Annual Dinner on "Our Political Prospects"

THE Annual Dinner of the League held at Irving Plaza on Thursday evening, December 29, was devoted to a discussion of "Political Prospects for 1928." Norman Hapgood, who recently published a biography of Al Smith, urged in the next election the election of Governor Alfred Smith of New York as president of the United States. Max Eastman, Communist, spoke from his particular angle of the need for intelligent thinking regarding the complex problems of American life. Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota spoke as representative of the Progressive Republicans, while Norman Thomas gave the point of view of the Socialist Party. Robert Morss Lovett presided.

Norman Hapgood on "Al" Smith

In emphasizing the qualifications of Governor Smith, Norman Hapgood declared that the Governor had made over "the government of a great state from a condition in which its ramshackle backwardness was a natural prey of politicians to a condition in which it is a model of effective simplicity for the other states of the union." A criticism has been made, declared Mr. Hapgood, that the Governor does not know as much about national or international questions as he knows about New York State. It is equally true that he did not know the State questions in advance of studying

them, "but when he began to study a question, he always proceeded with enormous speed and thoroughness, making the fullest use of every kind of expert and never failing to come out with a solution that would stand the fiercest test." As far as the farmer is concerned, Mr. Hapgood declared that the government water power policy was a more contributive help in agriculture than anything else likely to be discussed during the campaign. He spoke of the Governor's record on civil liberties; declared that Smith had insisted when the socialist assemblymen had been thrown out of office upon a special election in order that the districts represented by socialists should not be without representation. The Governor pardoned Jim Larkin and Gitlow and showed the same attitude on freedom of opinion that is being upheld in the Supreme Court by such men as Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis. The Governor had likewise favored much advanced social legislation.

Eastman Urges Development of Thinking Groups

Max Eastman declared that, in his opinion, it was now an appropriate time in America for gloom. He had left the Socialist Party because he had adhered to the bolshevik program before Lenin died. He had to leave the Communist Party for adhering to the bolshevik program after Lenin died.

"I can't be a Republican because the Republicans haven't any program except to oppose the Democrats and I can't be a Democrat because the Democrats haven't any program except to oppose the Republicans. I think these two parties are entirely right in opposing the other, but that doesn't help me when it comes to choosing between them. I can see that Al Smith did a big thing when he pardoned Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow, but I don't see any indication that Al Smith or any other candidate put forward by the old parties is going to turn his attention to the two real and fundamental problems of social life in America—the problem of the growing injustice and impracticability of our economic system and the problem of military imperialism.

"I don't mean to say that these old parties haven't any economic program. They have. The economic program of the Democrats is to put Democrats in office and the economic program of the Republicans is to Republicans in office."

Eastman bemoaned the fact that the parties of labor in the United States, which corresponded with those in Europe that rolled up millions of votes at every election, were thus far of little influence in the political life of a nation. "Our eminent publicists are quite unconscious of their existence. The impression I have after five years absence from the United States is that the country has got to spinning so fast it has gone to sleep." He declared that those who understand the signs of politics in the deeper angles of Marx and Lenin realize that each period has its own appropriate and timely task, and the primary task for American radicals in a period of depressing and in action like this is thinking. He concluded:

I would like to see a small group of serious people who believe in the science of revolutionary engineering with class forces, and who are not scared out of their wits when some labor politician calls them "intellectuals" gather together and begin to do a little honest and conscientious mental work on the American problem. This would be a radical departure in the American movement, but the time for a radical departure has come. Our Socialist movement is so weak and ineffectual, thirty or so years after its birth, that there's nothing for it to do but be born again. So puny an infant has only one choice—either to die or become great. And the first step toward becoming great, starting where we are now, is to investigate patiently the peculiar terms of our problem and make a great plan.

Senator Nye Asks "Where Is Prosperity?"

Senator Gerald P. Nye, United States Senator from North Dakota, continued the symposium. He dealt with the way

in which the old party platform in the past had been fixed beforehand by a small group of party leaders. A few minds, he declared, under the present order of our political life are determining the course of each party. Such proceedings give the people a Hobson's choice when they mark their presidential ballot. They might as well close their eyes when they do the marking. Closing one's eyes would at least make the game a bit interesting to the average player. It would be interesting to open the eyes and see just where the cross on the ballot had landed.

"But though the situation is discouraging," he declared, "we ought all adopt that George Elliot resolve and reassert the truth that 'only failure a man ought fear is failure in cleaving to the purpose he sees to be best.' It would be cowardly not to make such sentiment part of us. We would be dishonest and unfair with ourselves and those to come after us if we resigned ourselves to the prevailing order of government and government making. It will not always be as it is now. The time will come, and I hope soon, when what is left of our democracy will be salvaged and government caused to respond to the interest of the many rather than the few."

Senator Nye declared that, as a people, we had too long permitted predatory interests to make our government chiefly an institution to guarantee the investments of Americans abroad, "while small though praiseworthy investments at home went to the damnation bow-wows."

Too long we have allowed our representatives to give away or sell for paltry sums the nation's great resources or privileges which stacked still further odds against the masses of the people. Too long we have permitted the use of great sums of money for the election of public officials who have become merely hired men for the interests. Too long have we let a jolly slap on the back and a job that afforded a living blind us to the fact that men who have paid the price in the campaign and as often as not to both parties in the same campaign expect returns in the form of tax reduction bills and subsidies or through some corrupt agent of the government and get them in one way or another. If the principals get caught there is plenty of money stolen from the people available to hire Burns' detectives to start a back-fire by framing honest officials or shadowing jurors. It is high time all America awakened to the frightful influence that has fastened itself upon our country and the very life of the people. When they do awaken there surely will be a positive response. This thing happens both under Republican and Democratic administrations. In two sessions of Congress, I have watched Democrats play hand-in-hand with their terrible foes, the Republicans, on virtually every major issue that has come before that body. For a while they fought the Mellon scheme of tax reduction that has now come into line. The Democrats are at times now out-Melloning Mellon himself.

Senator Lodge in 1923, on the floor of the Senate, declared that 90 per cent. of the campaign funds of both parties came from New York City. If the East insists on monopolizing both parties, there must follow a new alignment and a new alignment is certain to follow if this condition continues. The main reason why this alignment has not yet taken place lies in the willingness and readiness of the people to swallow course after course of Couéism—this mythical thing known in the present-day prosperity, but in other days known as hard times.

Senator Nye then proceeded to an analysis of so-called prosperity. He declared that the farmers were not enjoying it. Twenty-nine percent of the people live on American farms and are enjoying only 9% of the current national income. The exchange value of American farms has decreased 4 billion dollars since 1920. Farm indebtedness has increased from 4 to 12 billion dollars in the last fifteen years. The American consumer in 1926 paid 30 billion dollars for products for which the farmer who produced them received only 10 billion. While the prices for farm products had increased only 26% since before the war, farm living

cost had increased 68%, farm taxes 112%, farm building costs, 102%, grain freight rates, about 100%, the price from gang plows from \$50 to \$125, and of binders from \$120 to \$245. In the last 15 years farm tenantry has increased 100,000, and in the same period the number of farm owners had decreased by 80,000. The value of live stock in the U. S. was less for 1925 than it was in 1910 and was very near to being only one-half what it was in 1920.

Senator Nye, in referring to his own state of North Dakota, declared that there, in the last 15 years, the number of farm owners had decreased from 44,000 to 26,000, while tenants had increased from 10,000 to 26,000. Those who still own their farms in North Dakota have mortgages amounting to 41% of the value passed upon them. Mr. Nye asked whether the corporations of the country were sharing the prosperity and produced figures tending to indicate that this prosperity went for the most part to large corporations. About 200,000 of the manufacturing corporations of the country, or 40%, lost money last year. One-fourth of 1% of all the corporations enjoyed 66% of all the profits of the corporations. One thousand of the 430,000 corporations received five billion of the seven and a half billion dollars net profits. He continued:

We know of the 10 per cent. wage reduction in the textile industry effective December 1. We are aware of the unwholesome condition existing in the mining industry and of the continued increasing records of bankruptcy and foreclosing which are virtually choking the courts. How long can such unsubstantial food regarding prosperity serve to maintain life?

A recent paper brought to my attention a reminder of the ways of the South American Vampire bat. Many are the medieval legends of strange deaths during sleep of human beings and animals.

This creature, the bat, must have blood. In the darkness it finds its sleeping victim, and drops lightly from the air to a position hovering over its new-found food supply. Gently and quietly it fans its victim with its broad wings, all the while it painlessly forces its fangs slowly but surely into the flesh. Continually fanning, it feeds, sucking the warm life-blood from its prey. Never does the gentle fanning of the wings stop, not even as the bat removes its keen fangs and plugs the wound. So painless is the operation, so soothing is the fanning, that the victim does not awaken. So clean is the operation that the wound is difficult to discover. Only weakness is the telltale of something wrong. Returns of the bat to the victim night after night eventually brings the only ultimate end—death—death while the victim is gently fanned into deeper, ever deeper sleep.

We Americans are not beyond the reach of that bat-like creature known as prosperity propaganda. We are gently fanned into sleep and submission while our very foundation is being destroyed, while our very blood is being sucked away by those who demand tribute for this God of Riches!

I have hope that there will next year be such a temper shown by the people of America as will force my party to abandon the paths it now travels along with the Democratic party as at present constituted. I have hope that my party will acknowledge that temper and give us next year a choice in the way of presidential candidate who will represent the more genuine interests of the people and our country.

But it is entirely up to the people of the country themselves. They can have whatever they will tolerate or whatever they will demand, nothing more, nothing less. Let us tear the blinds from before our eyes and place this country far above the worship of property, and wealth, and power, and Big Business as we have come to know it in America.

Norman Thomas Presents a Program

Mr. Thomas, the last speaker, who represented the Socialist point of view, declared that he was in no wise representing any official point of view of the League for Industrial Democracy. The League gives its officers, as it gives its members, considerable liberty of opinion and he was exercising that liberty in disagreeing with some of the speakers at the

table. He began by agreeing with Mr. Eastman as to the need of the kind of study he proposed, a proposal which the speaker heartily welcomed. "I was going to agree with him," continued Mr. Thomas, "as to the gloom appropriate to this particular period in our political development, but that agreement was somewhat spoiled to me by Senator Nye's eloquent speech. When progressives talk as good socialism as Senator Nye, there is hope for the rest of the progressives. I have only one criticism to make. I couldn't help thinking that Senator Nye's magnificent drama and vampire bats of American prosperity came to a somewhat weak fifth act. After we heard all about what was the matter, we were told that he hoped that his party would do what every person, including Senator Nye, knows it hasn't the slightest intention of doing and cannot do as it is now constituted."

Mr. Thomas said that the Socialist Party was not in quite as precarious position as Mr. Eastman assumed. His five years of absence had obscured some American happenings such as the triumphant campaign in Reading, Pa., or the continued effective administration of the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee. Even here in New York we have managed to make something of a stir and are still decidedly alive. And in reply to Mr. Hapgood, Mr. Thomas remarked that the degree of progressivism that he finds if not in the Democratic Party than in Al Smith is largely proportionate to the intensity of socialist campaigns. And that by keeping going we have at least reminded the Democratic Party of some things they were likely to forget. He continued:

There is only one political opportunity in 1928 that seems to me worth bothering about. That is the opportunity which every Presidential campaign presents, and the next campaign in particular will present, to do some of the educational work necessary to the creation of a new party, not a third party but a strong labor party, which in the nature of things must make an alliance with the progressive elements among the farmers. Short of a miracle no such party will emerge in 1928. It will not emerge in 1932. Or it will emerge with an inadequate philosophy and program unless those of us who feel intensely on the great political issues of our day do what we can in 1928 through the Socialist Party and such allies as it may find. Let us look briefly at our social situation.

A partial, imperfect, and perhaps temporary "prosperity" skillfully capitalized by propagandists of the religion of profit has drugged us to the plain facts. We have not in any such degree as we have a right to expect bread, security, peace, freedom or comradeship. The religion of capitalism still has a strong hold over us, but it is intellectually bankrupt. The blessings of competition, the sacred law of supply and demand, the automatic workings of markets have afforded us none of the protection which their high priests, the older economists, predicted. Look at the coal industry and the textile mills to see where competition in its purest form leads. Practically the issue today is between anarchy and planned control of our industrial life. In the basic industries the issue is between private monopoly or the struggle of strong companies for private monopoly and public monopoly.

In international affairs the issue is between imperialism born of a union of nationalism and capitalism and international coöperation which alone can avert a new world war.

From the standpoint of the individual American it is a question whether we can keep such partial liberties as we have won or whether a ruling class by coercion and cajolery, by injunctions, militarism and control of the courts, by standardized education and recreation can continuously exploit a fairly well fed lot of Robots.

I am not arguing that a political party alone can solve these questions and solve them right. I am arguing that political action affords a possible way of real constructive progress. It is a way that is almost altogether blocked for Americans by the simple fact that by and large both the old parties belong to the same interests, that there is no difference between them nationally except a desire for office and that political struggle tends primarily

simply to divert the electorate. We have a Senator from New York who began his political career as a Republican Mayor of Ann Arbor and is today a Democratic Senator, having changed nothing but his address. This situation is ideal not only for the professional politician but for the grafter and for the more "respectable" seeker after special privilege. For the farmer and worker it makes political democracy a rather bad joke.

In this situation what's to be done? My progressive friends from the West say, "utilize existing political machinery, especially the Republican Party as best you can." Some of them have made a gallant struggle and have won something, but not enough. The consolidation of capitalist control and the march of American imperialism have gone on almost contemptuous of such little reforms as they have brought about. Progressivism of this sort lacks both philosophy and method. It is as outworn, if we did but realize it, as the attempt to fight modern battles after the fashion of Indian skirmishes. A great deal of so-called progressivism is really retrogressive. It consists in sighing for the dear, dead days of the small business man and owner. Witness the enthusiasm many progressives still feel for that cumbersome and dangerous law, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act—a law that has done more harm to labor than it has done good to the small business man.

My friend, Norman Hapgood in his perennial search for a Messiah has now hit upon Governor Smith. Governor Smith has many virtues. He is less of a progressive than some of his friends claim, even in state affairs. He has no national program at all, and on the only two progressive issues of national scope on which he has yet spoken or acted he has gone wrong. I refer to his clever sidestepping of the Child Labor amendment to which he was pledged and his declaration against the federal inheritance tax. But supposing that he were as progressive as Mr. Hapgood thinks. How absurd it is to think that one progressive candidate for President can remake a party. What we need is organized, disciplined, intelligent action in cities, states and nation through a party based consciously on the interests of the great producing masses as against the owning and controlling classes. Such a party will bring no immediate panacea. It will make its own mistakes. It will have to develop its own philosophy. Certain immediate issues are ready to hand.

1. It will stand resolutely against imperialism and for international coöperation. It will oppose the collection

of private debts in weaker nations by public force. It will consciously seek peace.

2. It will stand for a wider and fuller measure of civil liberty, for the right to organize, for reform of our judicial procedure and especially for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

3. It will stand for using our system of taxation to promote social justice. It will increase, not diminish inheritance taxes and super taxes on income. It will, I trust, advocate lower tariffs for international as well as national reasons. Meanwhile it will doubtless advocate that so long as our tariff system lasts some way be found to admit farmers to a seat at the tariff table or in other words, to afford them equivalent protection.

4. Such a party must advocate a progressive system for the acquisition and democratic control of natural monopolies beginning, I should think, with coal and super power.

5. It will urge social insurance not only for humanitarian reasons but as a condition of effective labor organization.

I have not attempted to work out these general propositions into a political platform. To my mind any party will fail that does not develop a philosophy as well as an immediate program. It is not true that opportunism is enough. We need to oppose the religion of Babbitt and the Rotary Clubs with a higher religion of ordered and intelligent coöperation of the world's stores of natural resources and machinery for the abolition of poverty and war and the realization of freedom and brotherhood. So great a task outruns the life of one generation or the functions of any political party. But in so far as political action may be effective at all—and that, in my judgment, is a long ways—I am sure that we shall be saved not by a Messiah, not by the guerrilla warfare of the progressives, but by the organization of a loyal party of those who toil by hand and brain to keep our complex life going on this little planet which is our home. To preach this belief is the great political opportunity of 1928.

Prior to the other speakers, Rennie Smith, member of the British Parliament, brought greetings to the American comrades from the British Labor Party. Harry W. Laidler gave a brief statement regarding the activities of the L. I. D. during 1927. The dinner was broadcast over Radio WEVD.

League Lecturers

Paul Blanshard Among the Colleges

IN the December *Bulletin* we reported Paul Blanshard's successful trip among the New England colleges and left him in Philadelphia where he spoke on November 20 on the "Chinese Revolution" before the Labor Institute Forum with an audience of 400. This lecture was regarded as one of the most interesting held by the Forum during the year. During the last few days of November, the L. I. D. Field Secretary spoke before the Labor Temple in New York, the Swarthmore College Forum and a student group at the New York University School of Commerce, Washington Square.

During December, Blanshard took a trip to the South, addressing college and city groups as follows:

Baltimore—Class in Economics at JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, and discussion group at the International Student Conference.

Chattanooga—UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA, Assembly and combined classes in economics.

Maryville, Tenn.—MARYVILLE COLLEGE, Assembly and classes in economics.

Raleigh—Classes in Economics and in History at NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE and Meeting at Y. M. C. A.

Greensboro—Class in Economics, in Imperialism and at

chapel of NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE. Also Southern Conference on Cotton Mill Labor Conditions.

Atlanta—Classes in Economics and History and College Assembly at EMORY UNIVERSITY.

Decatur—Meeting under joint auspices of International Relations Club and League of Women Voters at AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE.

Atlanta—Chapel at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE and meeting of Atlanta Federation of Labor.

New York—Meeting at Church of All Nations.

Immediately after the Christmas holidays, Mr. Blanshard continued his trip among the colleges of the country. On his first stop from New York to the Pacific Coast, he visited Baltimore and addressed 75 students before the GOUCHER COLLEGE Ethics Club on "From Henry Ford to Bernard Shaw." Twenty-four students joined the League. Martha Mulford, 1928, agreed to serve as student representative. Mr. Blanshard, while in Baltimore, also spoke at the Baltimore Open Forum, at the Hippodrome Theatre before an audience of 800 on the "Industrial Revolution in the South," and before the Student Body of MORGAN COLLEGE on "Imperialism." The Open Forum meeting turned partly into a debate between Mr. Blanshard and the president of

the Marion Manufacturing Company of North Carolina. While failing to deny any of the facts presented by Blanshard and admitting the payment in his own mill of an average wage of \$14 a week for the ten hour day, President Baldwin of this company maintained that conditions in his mills were comparatively good. He asked Mr. Blanshard to deliver the same address before his workers with the opportunity of the mill management to reply. Mr. Blanshard accepted with alacrity, and will endeavor to visit the mill in June. The discussion with the publicity it aroused drew public attention to Southern mill conditions more than anything that had occurred in that section of the country for some time.

From Baltimore, Blanshard went to Cincinnati and at the UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI addressed the Sociology Club on "China." The meeting was arranged by Josephine Streit, the L. I. D. Student Representative. Several members joined the League. In Cincinnati also Blanshard spoke at the Church of the Covenant Forum and before a discussion group on Youth and Labor.

Leaving from Cincinnati to Cleveland, Blanshard addressed a labor problems class at CASE, the college chapel at WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, the Adult Educational Association of Cleveland, the Cuyahoga County Bar Association, the Y. M. C. A. and the Amalgamated discussion group and Professor McWilliams's class in Western Reserve. At his next stop at OBERLIN, he addressed a Student Forum of three hundred, and an economics class, the latter on "Unemployment." He reported the fine activities of C. B. Miller, the L. I. D. Student Representative.

In Detroit, the home of Ford, Blanshard had spent three busy days from January 15 to 17, speaking before the Fellowcraft Club of the Detroit Y. M. C. A., the Y. M. C. A. of HIGHLAND PARK JUNIOR COLLEGE, a class of teachers at TEACHERS COLLEGE, where he reports an excellent reception, some combined classes of DETROIT TEACHERS COLLEGE (subject "Ford and Industrial Democracy"), and before the Student Club of DETROIT CITY COLLEGE. Bob Cruden of DETROIT CITY COLLEGE is one of the most active spirits there.

On January 19, Blanshard visited his Alma Mater at Ann Arbor and addressed the L. I. D. Chapter on "The Chinese Revolution." The next day he went to Big Rapids, Michigan, and spoke four times at FERRIS INSTITUTE, twice at the Assembly with 900 students present, and before two classes in psychology. The unusual thing about this day was that after the regular morning assembly where the speaker lectured on "The Chinese Revolution," a special assembly was called for the afternoon and Mr. Blanshard was given 45 minutes to address the students on his lecture "From Ford to Bernard Shaw."

Following his Michigan dates, Blanshard went to Kansas, and on January 23, 24 and 25 spoke in the following colleges:

Jan. 23—STERLING COLLEGE at College Chapel and before several combined classes. Ten students joined the League. During the day Mr. Blanshard also met with the debate squad.

Jan. 24—Special Assembly at FRIENDS UNIVERSITY at Wichita, Kansas, followed by an evening meeting. President Menderhall turned over the morning to Blanshard as it was registration day and classes were not in regular session. Mr. Blanshard spoke an hour and then the Assembly was turned into a Forum for a half hour for questions and discussion.

Jan. 25—BETHEL COLLEGE, Newton, Kansas, a college assembly of 300.

Jan. 26—EMPORIA COLLEGE with four meetings before college chapel and combined economics classes followed by a supper meeting at the Congregational Church in the evening.

Jan. 27—College Chapel at Emporia College on the "Chinese Revolution," followed by combined classes at KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. John Mixon has consented to act as student representative at this college.

Jan. 29—Trinity and Grace Methodist Churches at Denver,

Colorado, on "Stopping the Next War" and the "Chinese Revolution." "I found out a lot about the Miners' situation," declared Blanshard, "and gained a new respect for the leadership of the I. W. W. here. They are making a great and intelligent fight. However, I couldn't go to any miner's meetings because they are prohibited through a trick quarantine."

Blanshard's next stop was at Portland, Oregon.

During his Southern and Western trips, Mr. Blanshard has been made the target of attack by the organ of the textile manufacturers, for his position on the Southern cotton mill situation, and by a certain military organization, because of his broad international outlook. On the occasion of his visit to the Kansas colleges an unsuccessful endeavor was again made to prevent him from speaking at Emporia College. This, however, was completely unsuccessful and the *Emporia Daily Gazette* came out with the following editorial, probably from the pen of William Allen White:

Paul Blanshard, a socialist, a scholar, a gentleman, possibly a pacifist and perhaps a vegetarian, speaks this evening under the auspices of the College of Emporia, Y. M. C. A., in War Memorial Chapel at 7:15 o'clock. Since his initial letter is fairly well up in the alphabet, his name—like Abou ben Adhem's—leads all the rest, particularly on "red lists" compiled by diligent publicity agents for the more feeble-minded manufacturers. Also like Abou ben Adhem, he "awoke one night from a deep dream of Peace" and has been talking most diligently on this and kindred subjects ever since. Tonight he will start out on "Industrial Democracy" and will wind up wherever questions from the audience lead him.

If you are one of us who disagrees with most of the things in which Mr. Blanshard believes, you may be interested in attending this meeting to hear an intelligent exposition of the other side, and after Mr. Blanshard has finished, you are invited to state your views in the discussion which will follow.

If you are a hot-headed jackass who believes that these blankety blank yellow radicals should be ridden out of town on a rail instead of being permitted to seduce the youth of the land, you also are welcome to come and shoot off your face in as violent and abusive a manner as your general lack of good breeding and common sense will allow. There is very little else that you can do about it, as this matter of free speech in Emporia is settled once and for all.

Mr. Blanshard's views are unorthodox, but he is a gentleman, earnest, honest, courteous, and courageous. Yet, again, like Abou ben Adhem, he may be written "as one who loves his fellowmen."

In these respects, at least, "may his tribe increase."

Norman Thomas's Western Trip

NORMAN THOMAS has just returned from a speaking trip which took him through Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa and Minnesota. Previous to this trip, since the beginning of the year, Mr. Thomas had debated in Brooklyn against William English Walling in support of the need for a labor party in the United States, had participated in a symposium at the Labor Institute Forum at Philadelphia on the question of disarmament, and spoken for the Forum at the New School for Social Research in New York, the Rotary Club in Haverstraw, and the Socialists in Jersey City. Both in these meetings and on the trip no one could complain of lack of variety in audiences. Concerning his trip Mr. Thomas writes:

During my recent trip I visited Pittsburgh and six of the neighboring coal camps where miners are on strike; Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio; Chicago, Joliet and Evanston, Illinois; Cedar Falls and Indianola, Iowa, and St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn. In all I made forty-three speeches. The number was large, because I spoke several times in some colleges and kept many speaking engagements under the auspices of the Chicago Open Forum Speakers' Bureau in that city. Moreover, I had many engagements in St. Paul and Minneapolis. I spoke one or more times in the following schools and

colleges: Pittsburgh University, where I tried to help the students form a Liberal Club; Ohio State University, where I rejoiced at the progress of our friends of the Liberal Club; the Y. M. C. A. Forum at Northwestern University, where, in spite of the imminence of examinations we had an interesting group and got several members; the University of Chicago, where our old friends of the Liberal Club seem to be showing new life and energy; Meadville and Chicago Theological Seminaries, which are now affiliated with the University of Chicago; Convocation at the University of Minnesota; the general assembly of three large and fine Minneapolis high schools, and of the State Agricultural School in St. Paul. In Iowa I had the pleasure of visiting Iowa State Teachers' College at Cedar Falls and Simpson College at Indianola, institutions where none of our representatives have been, at least for many years, and where, if I may judge by attendance, real interest was shown. I shall report later who among several interested students will act as our student representatives in some of these colleges where no one has heretofore been active. I was particularly pleased at the attention and interest at the high school meetings in Minneapolis.

Aside from these meetings I addressed all sorts and kinds of clubs and forums. At one forum in Chicago I took part in a symposium on the trend in industrial relations with John Frey the well known labor leader, and Mr. Clarke, a personal worker of Cleveland. At another I debated with Victor Olander, of the Illinois Federation of Labor, on the need for a more progressive policy in the A. F. of L.

I had some opportunity to see and hear as well as speak, and with all due caution about the danger of generalizations I should like to summarize my impressions for our readers. Even more than in the East I was impressed on this trip by the mythical nature of Coolidge prosperity. Leaving out of account the tragedy of the coal fields, unemployment is general. While the farmers had a somewhat better year in 1927 than in 1926 and the dangerous run of bank failures in Iowa and Minnesota has been checked, farmers and small town bankers and business men are, with reason, far from content. The hypnotism of the prosperity ballyhoo is wearing off. Nobody is proud and happy about our imperialist venture in Nicaragua. Yet there is little evidence of any militant progressivism of any sort.

Why is this so? For three reasons, it seems to me: (1) There is a lack of faith or hope; (2) there is a lack of leadership, and (3) there is a lack of organization either on the political or industrial field. The Socialist Party in many of these communities has almost disappeared and the labor movement is depressed in numbers and spirit. It is my solemn conviction that if the Socialist Party and the labor movement had been able to keep an aggressive and intelligent organization in these post-war years, even if at times that organization had become numerically weak, we should today be seeing a new revival of power in regions where just now the highest flight of progressivism seems to be support of Lowden or Smith.

Conditions are tragically bad among the coal miners. Simply from humanitarian reasons our Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, which has its headquarters at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, deserves all the support you can give it. The union committees are handling the relief problem as well as their resources permit. One can scarcely praise too highly the spirit of the miners and their families quartered in rough, wooden barracks which, when I saw them, were deep in the mud of a January thaw. The tragedy of it is that the chances of clear-cut victory are not greater, and for that tragedy not merely external circumstances but the policy of the Lewis administration is to blame. The Lewis administration has failed to hold the confidence of all of the organized miners, it has not organized the unorganized, it has not sought to plan for an overdeveloped, chaotic industry, but, on the other hand, has deliberately repressed all discussion of ways and means to make effective that nationalization of the industry for which the miners repeatedly voted, and without which there can be no constructive planning in this basic industry.

The situation among the farmers is not so immediately tragic. The less efficient or less fortunate have been

driven off the farms. Those who remain have a hard fight. In Iowa, Minnesota and Illinois they are pretty well committed to the McNary-Haugen bill. But so far as I could learn there is a wholesome skepticism concerning that measure as a cure-all. Certainly the McNary-Haugen bill with the equalization fee to check overproduction and land speculation is preferable to the Coolidge measure without such a fee. Certainly if the rest of the public is going to stick to high tariffs, the farmers are entitled to some equivalent. Perhaps, as one shrewd observer suggested to me, the best way to get rid of the subsidy system is to try to subsidize everybody.

Lest this report of general conditions seem too pessimistic I should add that the farmer-labor movement in Minnesota and the Northwest is by no means dead. Its present leadership is both sincere and shrewd. It knows that a national party is necessary, but will probably go slow in trying to create that party on paper before a real foundation has been laid for it. It is wisely concentrating on work within the states without making the mistake of assuming that that will be enough. It will pay us to watch developments closely.

I do not want to close without expressing my own deep appreciation of the courtesy and hospitality which I met everywhere. There is not space to catalogue all who helped me in every city and town, but it is not invidious to thank publicly Professor Warne, of the University of Pittsburgh; Mr. Garnett, our student representative at Ohio State University; the Cincinnati Peace League, Mr. Fred Moore, of the Chicago Open Forum Speakers' Bureau; Mr. Hinckley, state student Y. M. C. A. secretary of Iowa; the Reverend Howard Y. Williams, of St. Paul, and Professor Cooper, of Minnesota, and my good friends of Hull House for their sacrifice of time and energy in arranging my trip. And I must not forget those gallant and hardy souls of the Minneapolis Lunch Club who waited for me from 12:30 until 3:50 P. M. when my train was delayed by a wreck on the road ahead.

N. T.

Laidler—Raushenbush's Power Study

DURING December Mr. Laidler gave much of his time to the Winter Conference and spent a considerable part of January, in conjunction with Miss Vivi Berkman, research assistant of the Committee on Coal and Power, in bringing the data regarding the power industry up-to-date for incorporation in Raushenbush and Laidler's book on "Power Control" soon to be issued by the *New Republic* in its Dollar Series. This book is largely the result of two years' work by H. S. Raushenbush as secretary of the committee on Coal and Power. Mr. Raushenbush was compelled to leave the country on account of sickness in the family last Spring, and final preparation for publication was made under the direction of Mr. Laidler. The book, which will consist of some 290 pages, will deal, among other things, with the "Power and Glory" of the industry, its "Propaganda Technique," "Concentration of Power Control," "Rates," "Regulation," "Municipal Ownership in America," "The Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Experiment," "The Proposed Developments on the St. Lawrence River, at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam," and a final chapter on "Next Steps in Power Control." It promises to be a unique contribution to the literature on this important subject. Those desiring the book should communicate immediately with the League. The price will be \$1.00.

In December Mr. Laidler visited Vassar and spoke at the Saturday lunch meeting of the Vassar Political Association on "How Does American Labor Stand?" He served as Chairman at Paul Blanshard's meeting at the Civic Club on January 4, at the debate on "Should Youth Join a Political Party?" on January 15 and at the Brailsford meeting at the People's House on January 25. On the 12th he addressed the Graduate Economics Club at Columbia on "Power Control." On the 19th he began a series of six Thursday evening lectures at the Rand School of Social Science on "Socialism and Modern Social Movements." On February 2, he spoke at the N. Y. Ethical Culture High School Assembly.

In late February Mr. Laidler will speak at Cornell and other colleges of northern New York, and on February 14, at Haverford. At the February meeting of the National Bureau of Economic Research Mr. Laidler was elected vice-president of the Bureau for the coming year.

Other Speakers

DURING the month of January, on the warm recommendation of some of our friends, we employed Vincent G. Burns on an experiment in intensive work which we have long wanted to undertake. Mr. Burns is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, has been pastor of the Pittsfield Congregational Church and has been much used in student Y. M. C. A. work. Mr. Burns spoke before student groups, college classes, etc., during the month at the following colleges: Simmons College, Harvard University, Radcliffe College, Boston University School of Theology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Wellesley College, Tufts College, Clark University, Smith College, Amherst College, Massachusetts Agricultural College. He also addressed a number of city groups in settlement houses and Y. M. C. A.'s.

Mr. Burns met individually with many students, secured a number of memberships and was responsible for the organization of a chapter at Amherst College.

Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, author of *Education and Moral Growth* and other works and instructor in Summer sessions of the University of Wisconsin, California and Ohio State, is lecturing in the Middle West during March, and would be willing to address a limited number of L. I. D. college and city groups in the neighborhood of the cities through which he is passing. His tentative itinerary follows: Rochester, March 11; Kansas City, March 15; St. Louis, March 18; Chattanooga, March 19; Chicago, March 21; Lafayette, Ind., March 25. Dr. Neumann's subjects include: "Three Types of Social Change: Which will America Choose?" "Are we Fit for Democracy?" "Can Human Nature be Changed?" "Fascism, Bolshevism and Something Better," "The Freedom that Matters Most," "The Revolt of Modern Youth." Those interested in securing Dr. Neumann might communicate with the League or with Dr. Neumann direct at 44 Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. William Pickens, Field Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, former Dean of Morgan College and noted author, and a member of the Board of Directors of the L. I. D., is on a trip to the Pacific Coast this spring, and is available for a few more college and city engagements. He is planning to speak at the following cities, among others: From February 12 to March 12, in the neighborhood of Los Angeles, California, from the middle to the latter part of March in the neighborhood of San Francisco; from March 22 to March 30, Portland, Oregon; from April 1 to 8, Seattle and other cities in Washington; from April 10 to 13, Great Falls, Butte and Billings, Montana, and from April 16 to 19, Minneapolis, Duluth, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Dr. Pickens has recently returned from a visit to Great Britain, Russia, etc. He is one of the most eloquent Negro speakers in America.

YALE STUDENTS AID LABOR

STUDENTS in a good conservative institution like Yale have furnished the best example in recent years of intelligent and effective coöperation between students and the workers. The first steps in the relations between the Yale Liberal Club and the Neckwear Makers' Union, now on strike in New Haven, were told in our last Bulletin. The strikers were hindered by an embargo in the newspapers on all publicity and by laws, ordinances and customs forbidding the giving of oral or written information in any effective style to the public or the workers. During the Christmas holidays the L. I. D. had the honor of publishing an admirable leaflet written by three of the Yale students, Messrs.

George Brooks, Frederick C. Hyde and J. B. Whitelaw. This leaflet was a dispassionate presentation of facts which we ourselves presented before publication to the manufacturers with a request for their comment. Their answer was silence. On January 10, nineteen students were arrested for distributing this leaflet. They were brought into court on January 21 and fined \$1 each. An appeal in the case of one of the defendants is being taken to the higher courts to test the constitutionality of their arrest. In this action they have the support of the American Civil Liberties Union and the services of Philip Troup, a prominent New Haven attorney. Contrary to an *Associated Press* dispatch they have the moral support of the *Yale Daily News* and most of the best elements in the University. Already they have accomplished one object in breaking down the embargo of silence in the newspapers against the strike.

It is worth giving an honor roll of the students who were arrested. We quote the list given in the *New York Times*:

John L. Levine, Edward M. Fleming, Howard P. Williams and W. F. Sayre of New York City; John R. Toop, Philadelphia; J. J. Patterson, Milford, Conn.; John D. Pettis, Peking, China; Michael J. Vicors, Ansonia, Conn.; Henry E. Sprinkle, Jr., Salisbury, N. C.; William A. Davis, West Barrington, R. I.; Lewis S. Prott, Detroit, Mich.; Gery Miller, New Haven; Roy B. Damron, Huntington, W. Va.; William B. Easton, Jr., Stroudsburg, Pa.; Samuel F. Miller, Loveland, Col.; Henry C. Lynch, Greenwich, Conn.; Fred E. Lowder, Reedley, Cal.; Walter F. Myers, Erie, Pa., and Frederick C. Hyde, Boston, Mass.

Members of the L. I. D. who desire copies of the leaflet prepared by the students may have them while the supply holds out on application to our office.

FURTHER COLLEGE NOTES

Among activities of L. I. D. groups not elsewhere reported are the following:

Albion—Archie Bahm has just mailed to the League an application for a charter signed by 14 students. He has found a good deal of interest in this Michigan college in the objects of the League.

Amherst—During the visit of Vincent Burns to Amherst, the following students signed an application for a charter as an L. I. D. Chapter: Eugene S. Wilson, A. Keedy, Oliver Henkel, Franklin Perry, L. H. Walz, George Findlay Griffiths, E. J. Kovacs, and Robert Cleaves, Jr.

Adelphi—Elizabeth Hall, chairman, and Ida Ostreich, secretary, sent in an application for a charter from Adelphi College, Brooklyn, on January 20, with the signatures of Ida Ostreich, Anne Schmukler, Helen Lent, Elizabeth Hall, Eleanora M. Pond, Evelyn Franz, Gladys Sullivan, Dorothy Hilkemeier, Donna T. Thompson, Pauline Lewendowsky, Mariuth Kling, attached.

Vassar—The Vassar branch of L. I. D. has recently sent in a report of its meetings during the fall, as follows: October, Caroline Ware on "Labor Conditions in the Neckwear Industry;" December 9, Mary Blankenhorn, executive secretary of the Consumers' League, on "Poughkeepsie Neckwear Industry—Labor Conditions;" December 10, Harry W. Laidler on "American Labor."

Ruth Hicks adds: "Several members have had interesting conferences in connection with the Neckwear workers in Poughkeepsie. We visited the Hull plant, talked with the pickets and with the union head, Mr. Cushing, to help us arrive at an understanding of this problem."

City College of New York—During the fall the Social Problems Club of City College of New York concentrated its attention on international relations. This is indicated by the following series of lectures arranged from October to December: October 19, S. W. Gerson and Marcus Vosk on "Soviet Russia in 1927"; October 26, Arthur H. Stein on "Industry under the Soviets"; November 10, the Rev. J. N. Sayre and Major Holton on "Preparedness"; November 23,

Henry Rosner on "War Danger and the Student"; December 1, Harry W. Laidler on "Education and War"; December 15, S. W. Gerson and Club on Report of Student Council Anti-Militarist Conference.

"The Club led in the struggle," said Simon W. Gerson, president of the Social Problems Club, "against military training at the college. The club participated in work of Student Council of New York, Student Council Anti-Militarist Conference, Youth Conference for Miners' Relief; it participated in meeting on 'Militarism in the Colleges' held off the campus; it participated in the editorial committee of the 1927 American Student Delegation to Russia through its representative there and in pre-conference arrangements of L. I. D. annual conference, and has elected seven delegates for them."

Berkeley Divinity School.—Joseph F. Fletcher of Berkeley Divinity School reports the following meetings for the fall: Harry W. Laidler, "Social Reform"; Paul Blanshard, "China"; Will Irwin, "Outlawry of War"; Florence Kelley, "Child Labor"; Oliver Dryer, "World Peace."

Wells College.—Louise Spencer, in late January, reports that a group of students of Wells College has become interested in certain phases of socialism and industrial reform, and has organized itself into a discussion group. The group is anxious to secure literature regarding the League.

Detroit City College.—Robert L. Cruden, student representative from Detroit College, sends us the following notable list of speakers who lately addressed the College Forum: Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr of Detroit; Chester Culver, general manager of the Detroit Employers' Association; Albert Weisbord, of Passaic fame, and now Workers' Party organizer in Detroit; Oliver Dryer, of London, England, presenting the pacifist stand in industrial conflict, F. O. R. representative; Arthur Pringle, of London, England, presenting the work of the Church in England relative in industry; V. L. Reynolds, candidate for Vice-President of United States on Socialist-Labor Party ticket at last election; Arlie Myers, representative of the Columbia Conserve Company; Paul Blanshard, of the L. I. D.

Mr. Cruden every week issues a live and timely mimeographed sheet or two, called *The Student Advance*, commenting on Nicaragua, the big navy program, the labor struggle, etc.

Dartmouth.—In commenting on the address of Norman Thomas at the L. I. D. banquet, *The Tower*, Dartmouth literary magazine, in its leading editorial of February 21, declares:

"Nineteen twenty-eight begins and the Presidential battle is on. So far, little of constructive value has come from any direction and one wonders cynically whether anything will. The one worthy pronouncement we have seen so far comes from Norman Thomas. He speaks for the Socialist party, but outlines a program that must please anyone with a shade of social conscience. Particularly it is a vital, courageous statement of basic issues, and not the superficial frothing that we associate with political campaigns. . . . Congratulations, Mr. Thomas!"

NEW YORK CHAPTER HEARS BRAILSFORD PLANS LECTURES ON CAMPAIGN ISSUES

ON Wednesday, January 25, H. N. Brailsford, author of *The War of Steel and Gold* and former editor of the London *New Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labor Party, spoke before a group of several hundred members and friends of the New York Chapter on "Preparing for the Next War—A Study of Imperialism." Mr. Brailsford gave a brief summary of England's ventures in imperialism since the days of Lord Palmerston, when England, for the first time, declared its policy of safeguarding the lives and property of its citizens in various parts of the world. He declared that, despite their protests, nations were preparing for the next war if they were following the policy of protecting, as nations, the investments of their citizens

in undeveloped countries. As one of the steps toward the checking of imperialism he urged the elimination of predatory interests within the borders of developed nations. He believed that a league of nations, if asked to adopt an international policy regarding investments, would probably adopt a wiser policy than if this matter were left to individual nations.

Under the rather facetious title, "The Follies of 1928," the New York Chapter is preparing a series of meetings that gives promise of intense interest during February and March on some of the vital problems of the Presidential campaign. Mrs. Helen H. Fincke, 143 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York City, has generously extended her home for these meetings, which will be held on Wednesday evenings from February 8 to March 14 (the one exception being Thursday, the 23rd). The meetings, to which all members of the League and their invited guests are welcome, are as follows:

Wednesday, February 8, at 8:15 P. M., "Down with the Farmer! or What Should be the Progressive Program in Agriculture?" Speaker: Benjamin C. Marsh, Director of the Farmers' National Council and the Anti-Monopoly League. Chairman: Algernon Lee, Educational Director, Rand School of Social Science.

Wednesday, February 15, at 8:15 P. M., "Bigger and Wealthier Elections, or Cleaning Out the Polls Under the 'New Tammany.'" Speaker: Jacob Panken, formerly Municipal Court Justice, New York City. Chairman: McAlister Coleman, writer.

Thursday, February 23, at 8:15 P. M., "Vote the Old Parties Straight or Is There a Place for a Third Party or Labor Party in America?" Speaker: Arthur W. MacMahon, Professor of Government, Columbia University. Chairman: Solon Deleon, Editor of the "American Labor Year Book."

Wednesday, February 29, at 8:15 P. M., "Court-ing American Labor or How Can the Evils of Court Injunctions be Eliminated?" Speaker: Herman Oliphant, Professor of Law, Columbia Law School; Attorney for the American Federation of Labor in the recent injunction proceedings instituted by the I. R. T. Chairman: Karl N. Llewellyn, Associate Professor of Law, Columbia.

Wednesday, March 7, at 8:15 P. M., "America Ueber Alles or What Can We Do to Check Our Imperialistic Ventures?" Speaker: Norman Thomas, Executive Director, L. I. D. Chairman: Lewis Gannett of the "Nation," and correspondent at Pan-American Congress at Havana.

Wednesday, March 14, at 8:15 P. M., "Let the Trusts Own Our Power and Coal or A Discussion of the Next Steps in Social Control in the Electrical and Coal Industries." Speakers: Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the L. I. D., and Tom Tippet, lecturer in Economics, Brookwood Labor College, formerly Educational Director of the Illinois Mine Workers. Chairman: Louis Waldman, New York attorney.

THE L. I. D. IN 1927

DURING the years 1927, the League for Industrial Democracy continued its educational work with vigor and success.

1. *College and Lecturing Activities.*—Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, Harry W. Laidler and Kenneth Lindsay (Oxford graduate and Parliamentary candidate of the British Labor Party) spoke for the League at 106 colleges and college conferences from the Atlantic to the Pacific, addressing more than 30,000 college students in college assemblies, economics classes, student discussion groups, etc., and 32,000 others in city groups (exclusive of political and radio audiences). Mr. Thomas alone gave 174 addresses during the year before educational groups. Nellie Marguerite Seeds, Morris Ernst, McAlister Coleman and Dr. William Pickens also took short college trips for the League. Individual chapters of the League, of course, secured dozens of other speakers for college lectures. There are at present League correspondents in over 100 colleges. At the L. I. D. Student

Conference in New York City during the Christmas holidays, over 200 students attended from two score colleges.

2. *Literature.*—The League published during the year the proceedings of the June, 1927, conference, in a book of 280 pages, entitled *Prosperity?* It issued the following pamphlets: *More Power to You*, a survey of the electrical power situation, by Evelyn Preston; *The Future of Capitalism*, a symposium, by M. C. Rorty, Scott Nearing, Sam Lewisohn and Morris Hillquit; *Labor Conditions in Southern Cotton Mills*, a 96-page pamphlet, by Paul Blanshard; *The Challenge of War* (a reprint), by Norman Thomas; *Roads to Freedom* (a reprint), by Harry W. Laidler; a leaflet on the Neckwear Workers' Situation, prepared by three Yale students, who are aiding the union in their struggle against sweated conditions; and literature explaining the aims of the League.

Mr. Laidler's *History of Socialist Thought*, a college text book (713 pages), was published in the spring by Thomas Y. Crowell and Constable (England). The book is in its second edition.

Mr. Laidler and Vivi Berkman of the Committee on Coal and Power also assisted in the completion of Mr. Raushenbush's book on *Power Control*, which will soon be published by the New Republic Publishing Company. A study on Recent Developments in Industry in America—in the Light of Industrial Democracy, was also continued throughout the year by Inez Pollak under the direction of Mr. Laidler.

3. *Editorial Service.* Mr. Thomas continued to issue his admirable educational service twice a month to over 100 labor and farm papers.

4. *Conferences.* The League held a June conference on "Prosperity" and a winter conference on "The Student and the Social Order." Among the speakers at these conferences were: Stuart Chase, Morris Hillquit, E. C. Lindeman, Isidor Lubin, James H. Maurer, Scott Nearing, Abraham Epstein, Joseph Schlossberg, George Soule, Carl C. Taylor, Willard Thorp, Fannia Cohn, Solon DeLeon, Jessie W. Hughan, Algernon Lee, Robert Morss Lovett, Benjamin C. Marsh, Laetitia M. Conard, Isidor Mufson, Nellie Seeds, Benjamin Stolberg, Ivy Lee, Harry F. Ward, Tom Tippet, A. D. Black, George S. Counts, Louis Waldman, William B. Spofford, William P. Hapgood, J. S. Potofsky, Senator Gerald P. Nye, Norman Hapgood, Max Eastman, and Messrs Blanshard, Laidler and Thomas.

5. *Auxiliary Committees.* The League aided during the year several committees initiated largely through its efforts, including the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, which raised over \$10,000 for the striking mine workers; the Committee on Justice to China, the Committee on Coal and Giant Power and the Greco-Carrillo Committee. The last named committee, which represented various groups, was headed by President Lovett of the League. It was instrumental in securing Messrs. Darrow and Hays as attorneys for the two anti-Fascisti and in securing their acquittal. Mr. Thomas and several other officers were also active in the Sacco-Vanzetti case during the summer.

The opportunities for service increased considerably during the year. The hysteria in educational institutions which immediately followed the war and the Russian revolution had largely subsided. On the other hand, a number of militarist organizations had been busily engaged in sending to colleges and to city groups alleged information concerning liberal and radical speakers and with a view to so frightening their recipients that they would refuse to permit these speakers to appear before their groups. While the fantastic information presented by these organizations were at times effective, in most instances it was disregarded and the League speaker obtained a better hearing as a result of the attacks made upon him. One of the most hopeful signs of the times was the participation of the Yale students in the neckwear workers' struggle against the reestablishment of sweat shop conditions in New Haven and their willingness to submit themselves to arrest if by so doing they would aid the cause of civil liberties and of labor.

The League's opportunities within and without the colleges

promise to grow steadily during 1928. Whether the League will be able to take advantage of these enlarged opportunities will depend, to no small extent, on the coöperation of its members and friends. We urge all who have not as yet pledged to the League's work and who have not paid their 1928 dues to follow that impulse before putting down the Bulletin. We would also appreciate the names of other possible members and contributors.

H. W. L.

OUR JUNE CONFERENCE, 1928

FOR some years past members of the League have suggested that a June Conference be devoted to the question of possible changes in socialist philosophy and tactics as a result of recent developments in industry, in politics, and in fields of economics, sociology, political science, psychology and education. Following these suggestions, the Board of Directors of the L. I. D. at its February meeting decided to adopt as the subject for the June, 1928, Conference the following: "WHAT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE IN SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY AND TACTICS?" The committee tentatively decided on the following sessions:

Thursday evening, June 28.—The Economic Interpretation of History.

Friday morning, June 29.—A Socialist View of Progress Under Capitalism and the Theory of Value.

Friday evening, June 29.—The Class Struggle.

Saturday morning, June 30.—The Means to Labor Control of Government.

Saturday evening.—The Nature of the Transitional State.

Sunday morning, June 31.—The Structure of the Socialist State.

Sunday afternoon.—Next Steps in American Socialism.

An effort will be made at each of these sessions to bring into the discussion not only members of the socialist movement, but members of college faculties and other students of the subject who are able to present to the conference some of the latest contributions which their respective sciences have made to social progress. A more detailed program will be published in the next Bulletin of the League.

L. I. D. CLASSICS

ATTENTION is called to the following pamphlets published by the League. These pamphlets are of great value to discussion groups, debating teams and individual students.

The Present System at Work

"Labor in Southern Cotton Mills." By Paul Blanshard (1927; 88 pages; 25 cents a copy).

"How America Lives." By Harry W. Laidler (1924; 40 pages; 10 cents a copy; 15 copies, \$1).

"Challenge of Waste." By Stuart Chase (1925; 28 pages; 10 cents a copy; 15 copies, \$1).

"The Challenge of War." By Norman Thomas (1927; 44 pages; 10 cents a copy; 15 copies, \$1).

"The Profit Motive." By Harry F. Ward (1927; 44 pages; 15 copies, \$1).

"New Tactics in Social Conflict." Edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas (1926; 230 pages; 50 cents a copy).

"Prosperity?" Edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas (1927; 286 pages; 50 cents a copy).

Proposals for Change

"What is Industrial Democracy?" By Norman Thomas (1925; 58 pages; 15 cents a copy; 10 copies, \$1).

"Roads to Freedom." By Harry W. Laidler (1925; 40 pages; 10 cents a copy; 105 copies, \$1).

"Are Radicals Crazy?" By Stuart Chase (1926; 12 pages; 5 cents a copy; 25 copies, \$1).

"The Future of Capitalism and Socialism in America." A symposium by Sam A. Lewisohn, Dr. Scott Nearing, Colonel M. C. Rorty, Morris Hillquit (1927; 44 pages; 10 cents a copy; 15 copies, \$1).

Regarding Public Ownership

"More Power to You." By Evelyn Preston (1927; 16 pages; 5 cents a copy; 25 copies for \$1).

"The People's Fight for Coal and Power." By H. S. Raushenbush (1926; 36 pages; 10 cents a copy; 15 copies, \$1).

"Public Ownership Here and Abroad." By Harry W. Laidler (1924; 64 pages; 15 cents a copy; 10 copies, \$1).

"How Canada Manages Its Electrical Energy." By Harry W. Laidler (1924; 12 pages; 5 cents a copy; 25 copies for \$1).

The L. I. D.—Its History and Present Status

"Twenty Years of Social Pioneering" (1926; 68 pages; 15 cents a copy; 10 copies, \$1).

For Free Distribution in Limited Quantities

"The College Student as a Rebel"; 8 pages.

"What Is the L. I. D.?" 8 pages.

"The L. I. D. on the Campus"; 4 pages.

"How to Organize City Chapters"; 4 pages.

"A Course in Socialism." A humorous dialogue. By Jesse Lynch Williams; 4 pages.

A STATEMENT ON NICARAGUA

THE L. I. D. is an educational rather than a political organization, primarily concerned with industrial problems and their national implications. As such it has steadily and consistently opposed imperialism which has its principal root in an economic system of production for profit rather than for the general use of the people. Of the growth of this imperialism in spite of the official courtesies of the Pan-American conference at Havana, the war which the Coolidge Administration is waging in Nicaragua without authorization of the people or Congress gives shameful proof.

In view of this situation the Board of Directors at its meeting on February 1 took the following action:

1. It authorized its Executive Directors to endorse the Wheeler resolution of December 12 providing an official investigation of American concessions abroad as the basis for an informed policy against imperialism. The Wheeler resolution is in its judgment to be preferred to Senator Borah's plan of investigating only Nicaragua. An investigation cannot bring the dead back to life. We want to prevent what has happened in Nicaragua and Haiti happening in other countries.

2. The Board of Directors also endorsed the principle embodied in resolutions heretofore introduced by Senator Shipstead providing that public force should not be used in weaker nations to collect private debts.

3. It opposed the Administration's big navy program as a natural but dangerous concomitant to our growing imperialism.

4. It authorized its Executive Directors to urge upon the Administration and Congress a demand for the immediate cessation of American hostilities in Nicaragua and the unconditional withdrawal of the marines.

5. The Board of Directors authorized the Executive Directors to participate in conferences with other organizations under such circumstances as may in their judgment seem likely to further these ends.

6. The Board of Directors urges upon the members and friends of the League to support this action by letters to the President, Senators and Congressmen and by other efforts that may help to educate public opinion to a hearty support of the steps against imperialism. The Board expressed its pleasure at the strong stand of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. against intervention and its hope for a growth of the spirit of true internationalism among the peoples of the western hemisphere.

Note: The action of the members of the Board of Directors present at its February meeting was unanimous except that under clause 4 a minority of the Board would have favored the withdrawal of the marines "at a date to be fixed by negotiation with all parties in Nicaragua, in-

cluding General Sandino"—this in view of the surrender of the Liberals and their expectancy of American supervision of the election. No director would have favored indefinite occupation under this clause, but the majority felt that to insert it might seem to countenance an indefinite occupation under first one pretext and then another.

RELIEF FOR THE MINERS

We want earnestly to commend to our readers the work and the appeals of the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief with present headquarters at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, which we are proud to have created. It is difficult to exaggerate the need of the striking miners. Relief alone won't solve the mining situation, but it will be a big help now. For our part we cannot see any solution of the mining situation which does not begin with the principle of nationalization of a wasteful, overdeveloped industry and the conservation of our coal resources as a social heritage. Nationalization is no magic formula, but is a foundation principle for a sound industrial structure. We urge our readers to follow closely discussions of the coal situation in Congress and to support the demand for an investigation of the present situation, although, heaven knows, we ought to have had enough of investigation and be ready by now for some action. We bespeak the same kind of interest in the super power situation.

This number of the Bulletin is unusually long. We believe that in the report of the conference and the annual dinner it contains material of more than passing interest. We urge you to save this Bulletin as you would a pamphlet and to consider that in these reports we have given in somewhat cheaper form the material that otherwise we might have printed as a pamphlet dealing with very timely issues, industrial and political.

THE REAL AMERICA

"The Rise of American Civilization." Charles A. Beard and Mary Beard. The Macmillan Co.

With this two-decker volume, the "new history" comes into its own. The new history is far more than a debunking expedition concerned with puncturing the hogsheds of cologne and molasses with which the old history had anointed the Constitution, the founding fathers, indeed the whole epic of the colonization and growth of the thirteen colonies and of the United States. It is a sincere attempt to get back of illusions, to find the facts, and to follow them wherever they may lead. The original documents, rather than the conclusions of some inspired propagandist, become the guiding star. In the process, numberless dogmas, assumptions, and sanctified legends are torpedoed and sunk, to the horror and scandal of all good one hundred percenters, but this is only incidentally. It must be remembered that the facts as disclosed in the original documents do the torpedoing, rather than the writers of the new history.

What the latter are after is an interpretation that has nothing to do with sentiment, with Fourth of July orations, with good men and bad men, but only which fits the facts. In such a search, while the gas is let out of many an inflated national idol, other men and other events, little known heretofore, are thrown into high relief. Or a man like George Washington will be stripped of his halo, only to be given new values which make the discerning respect him as never before. Generally speaking, this interpretation is built around the life of the people as reflected in its economic organization, its "culture complex," its methods of education, of worship, of marketing, of transport—rather than around the life of its rulers as reflected in battles, laws and politics.

Many have been in the gallant adventures of the new historians into specific phases of the pageant of American civilization, but this story of Mr. and Mrs. Beard's is the first full length canvas. From Lief the Lucky to the Black Bottom dance, the great epic runs, relentless in its attempt to deal faithfully with the tangible evidence of life as it is

lived, rather than as poets have hymned it; yet in this very fidelity achieving a kind of majestic poetry of its own. The vision of the shining young commonwealth fades. But it gives way not to an unwashed upstart, half huckster, half barbarian, but to a great spiral of very human men and women, upon whom fell suffering, defeat, degradation and despair, and anon, hope, elation, steadfastness, unselfishness, and courage unspeakable.

STUART CHASE.

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SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Prosperity? A Symposium. Edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, 1927, 286pp., 50c.
Labor in Southern Cotton Mills, Paul Blanshard, 1927, 96pp., 25c.
More Power to You, Evelyn Preston, 1927, 16pp., 5c.
Power Control, H. S. Raushenbush and H. W. Laidler, N. Y.: New Republic, 1928, 290pp., \$1.
Your Money's Worth, Stuart Chase, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1927.
The Road to Plenty, William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings, Newton, Mass.: Pollak Foundation, 1928, \$2.
Communism, Harold J. Laski, N. Y.: Henry Holt, 1927, \$1.
Industry's Coming of Age, Rexford G. Tugwell, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1927.
Americanization of Labor, Robert W. Dunn, N. Y.: International Publishers, 1927.
America Comes of Age, André Siegfried, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1927, \$3.
General Disarmament or War? Rennie Smith, Wash., D. C.: National Council for the Prevention of War, 1927, \$1.
The Looting of Nicaragua, Rafael De Nogales, N. Y.: McBride, 1927, \$2.50.
How the Soviet Government Works, H. S. Brailsford, N. Y.: Vanguard, 1927, 50c.

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