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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Steve Pucska's Wife

A Revolt in Paradise

Workers vs. Waste

Training Labor's Army

Waging the Class War "Strictly"

Brother Brown on the Idle Poor

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The National Monthly

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

CONTENTS

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READ! — THINK! — ACT!

IN the article on the opposite page, you read of a heroic struggle against Company Unionism and the American Plan.

American Unionism cannot stand still in the face of such attacks. It must fight back—intelligently and militantly. As was stated at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor: Company Unionism is attacking the very foundations of the workers' chief safeguard, their own organization.

One answer is an "Industrial Democracy" program—vigorously and untiringly presented—based on Labor Unionism. Another is Workers' Education—particularly pragmatic in character—equipping the workers with the FACTS that will enable them to win.

Philadelphia's story in this issue tells much. A speeding up of Workers' Education is the need—laying the way for renewed belligernt and quickened group action.

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Labor Age
The National Monthly

Steve Pucska's Wife

And Other Stories of Barrackville and Grant Town

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

EVICTED MINERS TENTING IN WEST VIRGINIA

STEVE PUCSKA is a man of small consequence. Why should he be anything else? It is his wife to whom we all bow as we go through Barrackville. There she stands in her door, arms akimbo, greeting us with a cheery salve of welcome. Hale and hearty is Mrs. Steve Pucska—an Amazonian feminist in action, even if she does go by her husband's name.

The Lucy Stone League would have to spend no hours of anguish defending the right of this lady of

the mines to bear her own name. She looks upon that as a mere trifle. By virtue of her own solid self-sufficiency, she has won for herself an individuality and a fame that has made her as distinct from Steve Pucska as the sun is to one of its satellites.

Browned from her Magyar blood, light-hearted and vigorous from much the same sources—strong and solid in build, she has a careless healthiness about her that many a man might envy. Especially, those who sit repining, pallid and fear-stricken, behind a city desk—shrieking within themselves for manhood and adventure.

Well, the reason that we give her such distinction as we do is, after all, not so much of a story. It can be understood only by living out there in the West Virginia hills. It can only be understood by spending a life-time in a filthy, coal-blackened company shack —with inadequate sanitation, by which we mean damn sickening and odoriferous ooze and refuse all about it. The sleek city dweller cannot grasp it. The traveling salesman—clerk—clean linen type of a New Yorker would have to have a God-given imagination to even glimpse it.

There is a strike on in West Virginia. God, when hasn't there been a strike? Eighteen months ago, the coal operators of the northern part of the state decided that their contracts were mere scraps of paper. Shortly after the celebrated Jacksonville agreement for the Central Competitive Fields, they had entered into a contract for their own fields at Baltimore. It was not as favorable to the men as the Jacksonville contract, in many respects. But the men accepted it—and it was to run until 1927.

Specifically, it stated that the operators and men bound themselves not to enter into any other contract save this one nor with any other organizations save themselves, until the time for the ending of the agreement should have come. The men agree, and keep their agreement. The operators agreed—and tore their agreement to shreds "at the proper time." They introduced company unions under the name of the "American Plan." They brought in the state policeman, the gunman and the strikebreaker—all in the name of Americanism.

Who did this? you ask. Mr. John D. Rockefeller did—that arch-hypocrite, continuing the blood-letting in a new form that he perpetrated at Ludlow. His Consolidation Coal Company broke its contract. Charles Schwab did—he the sainted one of Loretto, Pa., with his private chapel in his home, so that he may go to Heaven the quicker. His Bethlehem Steel interests broke their contract. Mr. Hutchinson did—whose palatial home is shown on the most popular of Fairmont postal cards, while they distain to show the fetid shacks of his miners. His company broke their contract.

Mrs. Pucska understood a different brand of "Americanism" from that of Rockefeller, Schwab and Hutchison. She had come to America for the purpose of living decently—and being subject no more to the vile regime of the Hungarian nobility, now so happily perpetuated through the aid of our "Democratic" government. As she says: "She knew what union did. She did not want to return to old slavery of non-union conditions."

But the scabs came in. Mrs. Pucska protested to them. She argued with them. She was the life of the picket line. She thought of complimentary names to call them, that would make them regret their mean part. She was effective—so very effective that she was arrested 15 times. She was so effective that she ducked a "scab" in the Monongahela River, to help convert him to the cause.

Jail had no fears for her. She faced it smilingly. Injunctions have no fears. She is ready to violate them. Of that stuff is real Americanism born. And Tom Jefferson, up somewhere in the free-speech heaven, must have smiled at the saintly conduct of his follower, Mrs. Pucska.

Today she is just as ready to repeat her performance as before. That is why every one hails her as they pass. That is why Tony Teti, organizer for the United Mine Workers, slows up his car he hurries by, and bows deferentially to Mrs. Pucska. So it is that Steve Pucska himself is a man of small consequence and is better known as "Mrs. Pucska's husband."

All through Marion and Monongahela counties—where real warfare now rages—it is the women who are the center of the struggle. It is they who keep up the fire of words on the picket lines. It is they who, in the words of a sedate bourgeois gentleman in Fairmont, "give me the worst hell when I try to take the pickets' pictures for the Consolidation Co." The pictures are being taken, in order to keep a perpetual blacklist for the men—to be shut out of a job forever and forever.

Above Grant Town sits the miners' barracks, erected by the United Mine Workers. Grant Town itself is black with the imported negroes from the South, brought in by Mr. Rockefeller's company for "Americanization" purposes. The Grant Town miners' barracks are sanitary, clean and exceedingly

cheerful in appearance. They house 75 of the 4,000 families living in barracks in the state, because of their union principles. In that camp, as in the others, it is the women who are the centers of orderliness and of union loyalty. Huddled together, so far as space goes, nationalities from all parts of the Caucasian and African world are gathered here together. But the good sense and spirit of the women win. They prevent that friction which exists in every middle-class neighborhood, and is the curse of Main Street's gossiping shady nooks and bungalows.

The Grant Town miners and their wives were set out in the snow, in mid-winter, by the company gunmen. John Hogan protested. (John Hogan continues to protest, it may be said. He still lives in Grant Town, in the midst of the "scabs" and refuses to be budged. "I have lived here for twenty years and mean to stay, even though I am 100 per cent. union," is the way he puts it). He had all the goods moved back into the houses. The gunmen threw them out again. Back Hogan and his friends returned them. Finally, the state police took it upon themselves to assist the gunmen—although Hogan contends they had no legal papers and had gone through no legal formalities. They even broke in some of the houses, to get out the goods.

The women's nerve remains unbroken by such experiences. "Why?" I asked. "You don't know what it was before the union. We don't want that again," is the invariable answer. "We are for union forever."

To the black strikebreaker from Alabama, the injunction has been added, as a weapon against the union men. Some 41 now hang over the heads of the miners of the twelve and a half northern counties. Judge W. S. Meredith greeted the new walkout of September with another sweeping "verboten" notice. It included the mayor of Monongah, Harry Bennett. It covered 54 men and women of that city and of Watson. They were not to picket. They were not to assemble in the streets to discuss the subject of unionism. Their children were also complained of. They were to do nothing, in a word, but sing the praises of "John the Baptist," and bend their knees to his anti-union program.

This did not agree with their own viewpoints or consciences. They defied the Honorable Meredith. They made a travesty of his trial, by pleading to know nothing of what he was charging them with. They will probably flood the West Virginia jails—they and their brothers and sisters, as an answer to Mr. Rockefeller's "Americanism."

It was a picturesque scene in the court-room at Fairmont when these men and women came before the worthy judge. Hundreds of miners from outlying communities crowded the room. Children played within the rail or lay sleeping on the floor, receiving their baptism in American principles in this trial of their parents for "lese majeste." There was an appearance of a holiday spirit about the proceedings, intensified when the "defendants" went home in big trucks provided for them, laughing and joking about the day's events. It was for all the world like a picnic.

The judge was very wroth at this levity and indifference on the part of the miners, and especially their show of ignorance. He scented connivance and conspiracy—poor man—and threatened to use the whole power of the state against them, even the state police. So that we may see more bloodshed in northern West Virginia.

Out of West Virginia—in the rough—comes these facts for American Labor and the American citizenship to ponder over. The operators have broken their written contract—it meaning nothing to them when it did not serve their purpose. Company unionism is extending its influence into the mining field—as it has done, more or less successfully—in other industries. The American negro is becoming an increasingly important industrial problem, now that the immigrant is no more. He cannot be met by throwing bricks at him, but by finding some means to organize him. In the West Virginia situation is a challenge to those "liberal" negro organizations which have been protesting—and quite rightly—against the denial of civil rights to the black man. The United Mine Workers does not close its doors to the negro. Why, then, are not these "liberal" organizations in West Virginia spreading the message of unionism among their fellows? Nothing would win for the black workers the esteem of their brothers more than action of this sort. It is a question that demands an answer.

Meantime, the injunction and the gunman continue busily at their task of attempting to break the spirit of the union miners. While the jails of the "Mountaineers' Free State" are being crowded with those who prefer to be free behind the bars rather than enslaved in the open sunshine.

Revolt --- in the Employer's Paradise

The Chinese Unions Arise

By JOHN W. BROWN

National Geographic Magazine

STILL TO BE WON FOR PROGRESS

The Chinese revolt has not touched the interior—where the peasantry still lives primitively.

II. EAST AGAINST WEST

THE next step towards social regulation was taken by the Shanghai Municipal Council, apparently under pressure from the Y. W. C. A. In June, 1923, they appointed a Commission "to inquire into the conditions of child labor in the foreign settlement of Shanghai and the vicinity and to make recommendations to the council as to what regulations, if any, should be applied to child labor in the foreign settlement of Shanghai, having regard to practical considerations and to local conditions generally."

It reported in July, 1924, commenting on the Pekin regulations, but not going so far. For instance, where Pekin recommended prohibition of girl child labor at 10 years, the Shanghai Commission set the present limit for boys and girls at 12, with the prospect, after four years working, of a possible prohibition at 10. Juvenile labor was that under 14, and for juveniles night work was not prohibited, only disapproved, while only two rest days a month were demanded. On the other hand they improved on the Pekin regulations in their definition of a factory, as being "premises in which ten or more persons are employed in manual work."

"Paradise for Employers"

Before the report was published, Ramsay MacDonald, as British Foreign Minister, had called upon the British Minister in Peking for reports from the consular service regarding industrial conditions in China. On November 17, 1924, the British Minister sent to the British Foreign Office reports by all the consular offices except one. Some of these are extraordinarily frank. These, together with the Shanghai Child Labor Commission Report and correspondence regarding the Pekin regulations have been issued by the British Government as a Blue Book. Its title: "China No. 1 (1925)". The frankest statement from Chefoo, where a report by a Y. M. C. A. Secretary is appended, in which a side-heading "Paradise for Employers" appears. Another very frank though curt and barren report comes from Mukden, and concludes:

"Chinese labor is used to long hours and has no standard of comfort comparable with what obtains in Europe, even in the more primitive countries. So dire is the poverty of the people that they will work

long hours at low wages under almost any conditions."

Several of the reports refer to the Pekin regulations, but none of them mention any methodical carrying out of the regulations.

In the handicraft industries and those in which workers are employed outside a factory and in small groups or gangs, something approaching the European guild system exists. These guilds will consist of a number of master-workers, their workmen and their apprentices. Even in the factory trades the practice of engaging master-workmen who engage and pay workmen and apprentices exists to some extent. A rule of the Chinese Electrical Workers' General Union (Shanghai) states that "members who employ apprentices must not employ any under the age of 14 and must treat them well." The guilds of merchants and handicrafts are the basis of the Chambers of Commerce.

Chinese Unions

Because of the gang-system, it is difficult to distinguish by names merely between workers' organizations of the guild type and those which are entirely or predominently trade unions as understood in the west. The report of the Shanghai consul to the British Minister quoted in "China No. 1, 1925," gives a long and interesting account of trade unionism in Shanghai. It originated he says, during the war, under the influence of the southern non-participation party of Sun Yat Sen. Afterwards, it was continually assisted by that party (socialist and revolutionary) and possibly by Russian Communists, up to 1921. The touch with the Kuomintang movement has never ceased and has rather increased. The Shanghai consul gives a list of 81 "Workmen's Societies in Shanghai." Of these, however, some are merchants' and laborers' mutual associations, two or three are styled Merchants' Unions, one a "National Goods Lecturing Society," one a club. There is a Laundry Masters' Union and a Master Engravers' Union, also a Ricksha Head Contractors' Friendly Society. Again, there is a Foreign Employment Bureau. The Citizen's Committee might be anything. The consul's definition is therefore evidently a very loose one. Moreover, of those that remain, the Bookbinders' Union, the rules of which are quoted, is shown to be a Guild on the old model. This is also probably true of some other fine handicrafts. On the other hand, the word "Guild" is used of the Steamship Firemen's Associations, which are probably real trade unions. A number of Labor Unions are mentioned and a Women's Labor Improvement Society. The latter, with the Silk Filature Employees' Society presumably account for such organization as exists among the textile workers.

The Canton consul gives a list of labor organizations known to him in Canton as being affiliated with the Kuo-Min-Tang; besides the Labor Volunteers, Agricultural Volunteer Army, Students' Association, Anti-Imperialist Alliance, People's Freedom Society. He mentions the following trade unions: Oilworkers' Union, Masons' and Carpenters' Union, Mechanics and Marine Engineers' Union, Rickshaw Pullers' Union, Chinese Compositors' Union. These he says are actual workers' unions, not guilds.

The unions which have been in touch with the I. F. T. U. are: Nanyany Bros. Workers' Association, The Shanghai Copper Smith's Association, Shanghai Labor Union, The Shanghai Women's Laborers Improvement Society of the Silk Weaving Factories.

As is natural in view of the vast distances, the disturbed state of the country and the general illiteracy of the workers, most of the unions are of a local character. Nevertheless some, such as the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Chinese Electric Laborers' Union, aim at covering the whole country for their trades. And, in spite of the statement of the Chinese delegate to the last Labor Conference at Geneva that there was no national body representing all trades, telegrams have been received in England lately from a Chinese Federation of Trade Unions.

In addition to associations with an economic basis, China swarms with secret societies and clubs of all kinds.

The statement has been repeatedly made in the press lately that the Chinese are not interested in better conditions for the workers. This is certainly not true about the Chinese workers themselves, whatever truth it may contain or have contained in the past as to the manufacturers and merchants.

Strikes, Demonstrations, Martyrdoms

Ever since the end of the war there have been repeated signs of unrest among the workers—movements towards organization, temporary or permanent, industrial or political—demonstrations and strikes. In many of these movements some part has been taken by the students' societies and clubs, through which the workers were brought the knowledge of what was being thought and done by the workers in the West. Not only students but university professors joined in the movement for the education and enlightenment of the workers and their emancipation from starvation-wage slavery.

Workers struck not only for higher pay and better treatment but also demanded shorter hours, increase of rest days, and recognition of trade unions. Canton and Shanghai were the principal centres of the movement. In 1921, on May 1st, a comparatively strong union was formed of the workers in the railway shops on the Pekin-Hankow Railway, but attempts to form a national railway workers' union failed. The same year attempts at celebrating May Day were made in Canton with success and in Shang-

hai, where the celebrations were forbidden. In the latter city, however, trade union organization made strides.

In Chang-Sha twenty-two separate unions had combined in 1921 to form the "Human Labor Union" which co-ordinated wage movements and published a paper. At the beginning of 1922 came the first violent action against the Trade Unions. In connection with a cotton strike, the employers persuaded (it is said, bribed) the provincial authorities to arrest and execute the secretary and editor, and close down the Human Labor Union. The first result of this outrage was to cause demonstrations or attempted demonstrations in other cities. A crop of strikes followed, forty in Shanghai alone.

Then a fresh and worse outrage was perpetrated. In February, 1923, a meeting was called at Hupeh for another attempt to form a general railway workers' union. The police forbade the meeting, to which delegates had been sent from various places. When the organizers persisted in holding the gathering, the police, under orders from the military governor Wu Pei Fu, intervened. They sealed up the offices, sending home the delegates. The Hupeh workers were ordered back to work, and when they refused Wu Pei Fu ordered the leader, Lin Tsiang Chien, to be beheaded and over forty workers shot.

In the meantime, a meeting had been summoned in Canton for May 1, 1922, to form a National Centre, but it was organized at too short notice and the conference was too small and unrepresentative for any action to be taken.

From 1923 onwards the history of the Labor Movement continued to be that of sporadic strikes, often suppressed by the police by force, but sometimes resulting in considerable improvements in wages. Few details are obtainable, but a few words here and there in the consular reports refer to both success and failure. Relations with the Kuo-min-tang and the students' associations also evidently persist. It is evident from later events that Trade Union organization and coordination continued, and that more national unions were formed, including a National Seamen's Union and a Railway Federation.

At the beginning of February, 1925, there began a series of wage movements in the International Settlement in Shanghai which have had the result of turning the stream of thought and feeling away from indignation against capitalism as such and focussing attention on foreign capitalism and foreign interference in general.

The Blaze Up at Shanghai

On February 9th there occurred a strike of Chinese laborers in a Japanese cotton-mill at Shanghai, owing partly to ill-treatment by a foreman and partly to a wage-demand. It collapsed on the 27th of February, after the arrest of the leaders, and the workers went back. By May trouble had broken out again, and on May 9th there were 5,000 cotton workers on strike for higher pay. The following day several firms locked their workers out, by force, the workers who wished to come into the factory being fired on by "mill-guards," i.e., armed foremen. Two were killed and many wounded. Then some of the workers tried a staying-in-strike. This, and the dismissal of union leaders led on the 17th of May to conflict in one mill, where again several workers managed to gain control of the building, but on the 29th it was surrounded by troops. Two strikers were killed and many wounded.

Not only had the foreign Municipal Council called out the troops, but on the same day as the last outrage two Japanese gunboats appeared. It seems, from a report that has leaked out, that the Municipal Council had been preparing for some time for possible conflict. For, in March they informed the British War Office that the Volunteer Guard was to be increased and requested further supplies of rifles and ammunition, (120 cases) "in emergency." They were supplied. The armaments used by the volunteer force apparently included also machine guns, bombs, armored cars and tanks.

On the 30th a great procession of protest was organized jointly by the workers' unions and the students' societies. In the course of their demonstration they entered the International Settlement. As the unarmed procession neared the Laoza police station, they were ordered by the police to disperse. When they did not do so, Inspector Everson, (a Britisher) who was in temporary charge, gave orders, (it is stated with only ten seconds warning): "Fire to kill." It may be noted that in Great Britain he could have given no harsher order than to fire over the heads of an unarmed crowd, even after the Riot Act had been read. Nine or ten students were killed, and many wounded and taken prisoner.

On June 1st, after further demonstrations, martial law was proclaimed. The workers countered with a general strike, so far as all foreign-owned enterprises, including the municipal services, were concerned.

Foreign Troops Used to Quell Workers

Thereafter, events happened so thick and fast and the news about them is so contradictory that it is very difficult to discover what really did happen and why. One thing, however, appears to be certain. The Shanghai incident was primarily an industrial movement, (the students and socialist or anti-foreign elements coming to the fore only after the outrages on the workers). From June 2nd and 3rd onwards, however, and with the landing of French, American, Italian, British and Japanese naval and military forces, the movement becomes first equally industrial

RAISING THE NEW GENERATION TO RAISE ITSELF

At Manumit—the story of which appears on the next page—the children learn to do for themselves and to know the meaning of Labor's fight.

and political and later predominantly political. The politics were partly anti-foreign, and partly anti-north and pro-south, which is pro-socialist. Thus the demonstrations of sympathy with the murdered strikers and students in Shanghai, which took place at Canton, Peking, Chinkiang, Hankow, Tsientin, Taiyuanfu, Kaifeng and Nanking in the early days of June demanded justice for the strikers and those attacked by the foreign troops and police. After further shooting by foreign troops at Hankow, Canton, etc., the movement becomes more and more anti-foreign. Finally, the "Thirteen Demands" framed by the Canton Chamber of Commerce go outside the details of the conflict entirely and deal with the abolition of foreign rights, such as extra-territoriality. Nevertheless, strikes on industrial bases have broken out in many places and in Tsingtao the demands made are all relative to wages and conditions and to the recognition of trade unions. Other strikes such as that of the National Seamen's Union are partly sympathetic, partly due to the grievances of the workers concerned.

The Chinese Foreign Office protested as early as June 2nd to the Diplomatic Body in China, and demanded the release of the arrested students. The Diplomatic Corps having defended the police action, the Foreign Office persisted. The Diplomatic Body then agreed to send a commission to inquire into the Shanghai events, in conjunction with a Chinese Commission. The foreign members included representatives of England, America, Belgium and Italy. The Chinese representatives refused to sit with the British member, and the only report so far made is by the foreign members (excluding the British). Their report was suppressed, but it leaked out in the French papers. Apparently, it blamed the British chief of police for being absent, his British substitute for giving the order to fire and the American Chairman of the Municipal Council for the course of events generally. Subsequently, the Pekin government, which had been supporting the strikers to some extent with funds, as had the Chinese merchants, adopted formally the thirteen points of the Canton Chamber of Commerce. In order to "larn" the Chinese merchants of Shanghai the Municipal Council has cut off their supplies of electricity, etc.

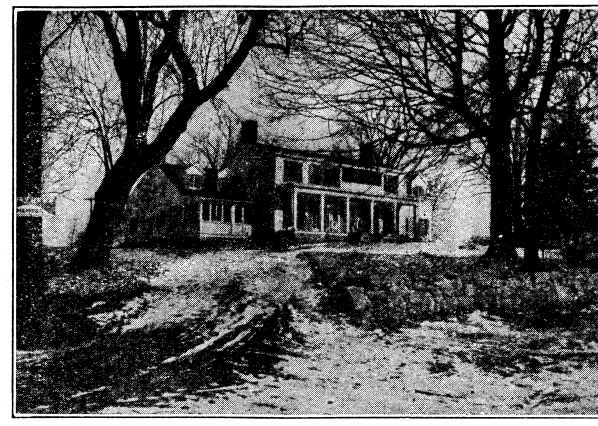
No word of regret or apology has been forthcoming from either of the powers implicated in the Shanghai incident and later exhibitions of force. America has, however, offered a conference on extra-territorial rights. The European merchants, manufacturers and governments point out, (what is unfortunately true), that they are not the only, (they say, "not the worst") sinners in the matter of oppressing he Chinese workers. It is evident that such a conference can only cure a part of the ills of China, particularly of working-class China.

The Western Workers' Movements must press for such a conference and the carrying out by their countries of measures relinquishing rights in China that are harmful to her liberty and destructive of the system of government in her country. But they must also keep their minds firmly fixed on the industrial side of the problem. That is, the emancipation of the Chinese workers from both Chinese and foreign tyranny. A stop must be put to the interference with Chinese labor organization. A halt must be called on forcing these workers to labor for starvation wages under conditions destructive of health and morals.

Elsie Wins a Point

And We Get a View of Manumit

By WM. F. FINCKE



CHILDREN TEACH THEMSELVES HERE
That's the idea at Manumit, Labor's school.

"I MOVE you, Mr. Chairman," said Elsie, age fourteen to Sam, age eleven, "that we have school tomorrow—Thanksgiving day." That started the row. Everybody wanted the floor at once but Sam kept them in order.

It soon developed that the smaller boys were against the proposition. Elsie, however, pressed her point and soon had an overwhelming majority with her despite the fact that two of the faculty, taking it for granted that there would be a holiday on Thanksgiving day, had already gone to New York.

"You fellows," continued Elsie, addressing herself to the younger boys, "still think you're in Public School where you want to get out of everything. Here at Manumit we are having the best time we ever had in all our lives. We have a lot of work to do and I want to have school so that we can get it done." The motion carried, the little hoys however still holding to their position.

All this took place at one of the regular weekly meetings of the Manumit School community last fall. It is given somewhat in detail so that you may be able to judge for yourselves how successful Labor has been in developing a newer type of Education in this, its first resident school for workers' children.

That there was something new in Education was first brought home to me some fifteen years ago when my oldest boy started to go to school. To my utter surprise, I found that he really enjoyed going to school, that it was a fascinating place to him. (NOTE: It should be stated that he attended the most modern up-to-date school we could find in New York at that time). Here was something new. A school which the children liked to attend. That was the beginning of my interest in what is known as Modern Experimental Education.

One Vote, One Person

The incident from the life at Manumit will give you some idea of how these modern methods are working in a school which Labor has developed for her children. You will note that in deciding whether or not they should have school on Thanksgiving Day, the children were not only allowed but expected to settle the affairs which immediately concern them in their life at school. They—that is, the entire group, faculty and students together, democratically, one vote one person—decide all matters which have to do with their life at Manumit; how the housework shall be done; when they shall do their school work; who shall be assigned to the various farm jobs; what entertainments shall be put on. All these matters are settled in the community meeting and then turned over to the various committees, of which students are always chairmen, to see that they are carried out. In two fields only do the faculty reserve to themselves the right to veto—Health and Safety, and Educational procedure. Even in these two fields there are committees headed by students working on these problems. For the first principle which governs the educational policy at Manumit is that Life is

Education, or to put it the other way around, that Education to be vital must come through the life experience of the child.

This idea is not new to Labor Folk. They know where they got their real education as children—in the street, the home; in their play, in selling papers, etc. The school may have taught them to read and write, but it did very little else. And where did they get their post-graduate work? At Yale or Harvard, Princeton or Columbia? Not by a long shot, but from the Trade Union Movement, where they have to face and solve the immediate problems of our everyday life.

Important as academic training may be, there is a tendency, on the part of those of us who were denied such opportunities in our youth, to overemphasize its advantages. We are inclined to think that education consists in pumping into the child's head all the information it can possibly take in, no matter if it does go out of the other ear, and so we sacrifice to send our children on through high school and college. With this current idea of Education, Manumit takes issue. While we do recognize the true value of "academic work"—every child at Manumit being required to carry work in all of our six fields of study, namely, Language and Literature, Social Science, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Arts and Crafts, and Music—nevertheless we submit that the children at Manumit get more real education out of the school meeting where they discussed the question of working on Thanksgiving Day than they can possibly acquire by learning the names and dates of the Kings of England, or reading a history book written to prove that this or that country was always right and her enemies always wrong.

"Catching" Education

The other aspect of modern education which our school meeting illustrates is its Joyousness. One does not have to be interested in one's work in order to become a good machine operator. In fact, the more mechanical the operator becomes the better he is; the ideal, from the employer's point of view, being the unthinking, non-feeling Robot of R. U. R. fame.

Not so with Education. Our object is not to make machines but rather thinking beings out of our children. So, while you may become good operators without taking any interest in your work, modern psychology has proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that you cannot gain an education without taking a lively interest in the world about you. That is what the educators call the "interest motive" and all successful education is based upon it.

Call it what you will, you and I can always spot it whenever we see children enjoying their school life. We used to think education had to be beaten into the child. Now we know it is "catching" only when the child is interested and happy. People often ask us if the children at Manumit don't get homesick. This summer we had a letter from one of the children who was home on vacation, saying she was "school-sick." The only real tears we have ever seen were spilled in the Grand Central Station by a little girl when she learned that she could not return to school next year.

But you may ask—good as this type of education is, why should Labor be interested in developing such a school as Manumit? In a word, Labor must again have a voice in the direction and control of our Public School System which she helped to establish a hundred years ago. Labor was responsible for bringing the public school into being, but she has allowed this child of hers to be weaned away by the fat man who lives across the street in the big house with lots of automobiles of his own. Samuel Gompers just before his death, started a campaign to gain admission to the school platform for Organized Labor on the same basis as is now granted to Civic Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, and similar organizations. One thing ought to be clear to every labor man or woman. The future of the Organized Labor movement is indeed dark in any country where its children are brought up in an educational system which belittles, if it does not actually oppose, the cause for which we strive. If Organized Labor had, as it should have, its representatives on the various school boards, I doubt if Manumit ever would have come into existence. But until such a time comes, some of us, at least, are determined that our children shall receive their education in a school whose social aims are the aims of Labor; which is not only directed and controlled by men and women connected with the Labor Movement, but also manned by teachers who are part of the movement, and where the course of study is planned for the children of workers. Such is the background of Manumit.

The Public School

Our aim, of course, is to better the conditions in the Public School, to see to it that it is sympathetic, not hostile to the Labor Movement. But when Labor steps into such a highly technical field as Education, the authorities in that field have every right to ask what in blazes we know about education anyway. There are only two answers we can give to that question; just two ways to meet the experts on their own ground. The first is that we have in our own ranks

(*Continued on page* 29)

Idle Rich and Idle Poor

What a Whale of a Difference a Few Sheckels Make

By BILL BROWN, BOOMER

OF course, friends, they do say (proud-like) that air is still free. You've heard that there phrase yourself, a number of times. But I'm just suspicious enough to have a sneaking idea there's not much to it. Not so very much.

Hot air, maybe. Though little Cal has made hot air, cold, at that. And at the gas stations they do advertise "free air," but that's just a bargain teaser to sting you on gas and oil.

But what gets me a-thinking is this "music in the air" stuff. The biggest combination of combinations on earth, maybe, is got that radio business all to themselves. And it's going to be worse soon to secure free air, you understand, than it is to find the great "free press" we used to kid our American selves about. There ain't no such animal—and we might as well cheer up and forget it.

Shoot, friends: they even have up and got a property right—stakes and all, set out—to that ozone above us. Here comes a young guy named John Hayes Hammond, Jr., and he asks to take over our United States air mail for private profit. And this here Hoosier Postmaster General of ours says, says he: "Sure, old boy, we'll hand it over to you—and pay you to take it—after the government has spent millions of dollars to build it up." Of course, if I was to say this here New was a traitor, they'd sure roast hell out of me. But I have the privilege of thinking so—and I do think it and will keep on thinking it. Why, pretty soon the cabinet will be getting advance swag on a Teapot Dome deal for the pearly gates and the golden wings of the choirs of those there angels—after they've reached St. Peter and hit him on the bean.

This guy Hammond's pa is a respectable engineer and he was chairman of Harding's Coal Commission—and he has just recommended that the miners give up the safety laws in Pennsylvania, and go out and get killed even more than usual, to help the poor hard coal operators add a few hundred per cents to their profits. Say, that's hot air that's not free, you can bank on that. Old Man Hammond must be getting his fingers in the operators' pockets, directly or indirectly.

Which here remarks is caused by my traveling at the present moment through the state of West Virginia, out of Pittsburgh. Mine Host of The Ford has been telling me about the "idle poor" and the "lazy poor" and the "dirty beggars"—and other interesting things of that there kind. Just whether he's been aiming said remarks at me I'm not so sure. But any way, he riled me up so that I have just lit into him and told him a piece of my mind. I couldn't help it, you understand. This poor dub hasn't got any too much himself—and why the hell not talk about the "idle rich?" Wouldn't take his hot air—free.

If there's anything that gets the goat of yours truly, it's these here chemical accidents called the scions of the rich. And when a guy goes and talks about the "idle poor," I get to thinking: "What a whale of a difference a few sheckels make."

There's a young man of my acquaintance (yes, I have some of that kind of friends, too) what's one of the greatest dramatic authorities in this country. A genius, I tell you. And yet, this poor fellow has got to stand around and look meek while a member of the Idle Rich bawls him out—a guy that don't know Shakespeare from Gilbert and Sullivan. Just because this here rich chemical accident has put up a part of the money of the organization for which this here dramatic authority works.

And a newspaper man that I know and who knows this here dramatic man, he says: "Ain't that hell?" And I says: "No, it's America."

Then, there was another member of the Idle Rich who couldn't even add. Yet, he was made Finance Chairman of a political campaign—because he had money. But he fooled them, by selling buttons all through and thinking that was getting him somewhere. And everybody bowed down to him and said: "What a wise man is he!" Though none of them thought it. But it isn't the first time the Golden Calf was worshipped. And it isn't the first time that Calf Minds were Golden, either, you understand.

So, all I've got to say is, there ought to be an institution for the Idle Rich. It's a kind of disease, you understand. They ought to be put in there and made normal—in pocketbook. Then, what a change would be wrought in their characters! It makes me weep to think of it.

And this here fellow in the Ford was thinking about the miners. Them he was calling "Idle" and

"Good for Nothing" and "Poor." Yes sir, I almost screamed at him, though he was giving me a free ride. These here miners, fighting for American rights, living in hovels and fighting on like real men. And the Idle Rich of the operators, living in palaces (regular castles like that of this here guy Hutchinson at Fairmont) and breaking their contracts with the miners.

And then some of them runs up to New York now and then and gets ready for a still more feeble-minded generation of rich by playing around Follies' beauties. But the feebler the mind, the greater respect is paid it by the daily press—as long as the money bag is there.

Well, now, I guess I better lay down my pen—'cause I might say something real mean and that wouldn't be charitable! Charity, they say (another wise saying, brother!) covers a multitude of sins. Well, it takes a lot of charity to overlook the Idle Rich. But I have to come to it. Because if I don't, I won't be a "Liberal" no more. To be a "Liberal," you know, is to be so doggone charitable, you can't do anything about anything. That's why so many Idle Rich are "Liberals"—maybe.

ELBERT GARY ET AL.—TRAITORS

Spain and Mussolini, Wall Street's Models

IDA TARBELL—she of Standard Oil exposure fame—has gone the way of many pen-pushing "crusaders." Now she is intent upon exposing to the world the multifold virtues of one Elbert Gary—he of the United States Steel Corporation.

It will be a rare delight to note Ida explaining not only what a merciful Lord Bountiful "12-Hour" Gary has proven to be to his men; but also to witness her sobs over his love for Democracy. But old age must be provided for; and Ida is no longer young.

Judge Gary, the "representative American" of her narrative, is a traitor to every principle of American Democracy. That is said advisedly. He has not only attempted to crush his men in a manner that no American citizen and freeman would have allowed for one moment. He has also indicated his affection for the autocratic and bloody regime of Mussolini. Were he able, he would transport it to America, as his admiration for its "effects" made plain. He broke bread with the Murderer of Matteoti and the man who is keeping up a tottering Italy—with its lira sinking faster every moment—by the mobbing of anyone who differs with him.

The mind of Gary and of Wall Street is well reflected further in the columns of that worthy representative of our baronial thought—BARRON'S, owned and edited by the editor of the WALL STREET JOURNAL. In the issue of July 27th, he says:

"With socialism and bad politics in view it might almost be said of one well marked variety of 'democracy' that it is a bedlam tempered by receivership in bankruptcy. Two countries of Europe have adopted that method of dealing with the intolerable. Both succeeded in bringing order out of chaos and both have been subjected to the hearty abuse of our sentimental altruists, who would allow an infant to play with a box of matches in the neighborhood of the front parlor curtains in order to 'develop his individuality.' Italy was of course one of the countries which took the short way with gabble and waste and Spain was the other. Thanks to Spain's misfortune in having an unpopular war on her hands, the Spanish military directorate has not received anything like the credit it deserves."

He then goes on to enlarge upon the questionable "glories" of the Dictatorship—which, by the way, was "strong" for the now "unpopular war." Whereupon, there follows this masterpiece of Dawesian "Americanism":

"We have, of course, statesmen who consider that all this is dearly purchased at the price of shutting off the politician's cackle. The intelligent reader, however, will probably be well content to ignore question-begging names and look at the results."

Bravo! A million dollars and a Distinguished Service Medal to the first Ku Kluxer to assassinate the remaining "La Follettistas" in the Senate!

And now our champion of violence and murder, Mr. Gary, becomes concerned about Crime Commission. Just as he hypocritically has talked about "welfare work" for his men while exploiting them with the 12-hour day, so now he talks of "stopping crime" while conniving at crime himself. Not only has he applauded the Murderer of Matteoti, but he has maintained forces of Murder in the Steel Region that would make the Soviet Government blush.

The Crime Commission of Judge Gary is merely a scheme to bring about the finger-printing of workingmen, the strengthening of the State Police and the unloosing of forces of Organized and Legalized Crime that America has never seen before. With the immigration bars up, the American worker will soon be in a position to make some real demands. Judge Gary and his fellow-criminals are preparing for that future day.

Correspondence Lessons

Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau

By C. J. HENDLEY

The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor

LESSON VI.

THE Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was begun in 1869 by Uriah S. Stephens, a tailor of Philadlephia who had studied to be a Baptist minister, and had been a school teacher. The Order was secret and had an elaborate ritual. Its initiation ceremony is to be found in John R. Commons' "Documentary History of American Industrial Society," Vol. X, pp. 19-24.

Principles of K. of L.

This ceremony contains the following principles:

"In the beginning God ordained that man should labor, not as a curse but as a blessing; not as punishment, but as a means of development, physically, mentally and morally; and has set thereunto his seal of approval in the rich increase and reward. By labor is brought forth the kindly fruits of the earth in rich abundance for our sustenance and comfort; by labor (not exhaustive) is promoted health of body and strength of mind; and labor garners the priceless stores of wisdom and knowledge. It is the philosophers' stone. Everything it touches turns to gold. . . .

"In using this power of organized effort and cooperation (to protect and advance the interests of labor) we but imitate the example of capital. . . . In all the multifarious branches of trade, capital has its combinations, and whether intended or not, it crushes the manly hopes of labor and tramples poor humanity in the dust. We mean to conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary capital; but men in their haste and greed, blinded by self-interest, overlook the interest of others, and sometimes even violate the rights of those they deem helpless. . . .

"We mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor (the only creator of values or capital) and the justice of receiving full, just share of the values or capital it creates. We shall, with all our strength, support laws to harmonize the interests of capital and labor, and also those laws that tend to lighten the exhaustiveness of toil. . . .

"Such is but an epitome of our objects."

Rapid Rise and Decline

After 1873 this organization grew steadily and after the eighties it grew by leaps and bounds, but its secrecy aroused strong opposition to it. Commons, in the "History of Labor in the United States," Vol. II, says the membership of the organization was reported as follows:

1878	9,287
1880	28,136
1885	150,000
1886	700,000
1887	510,530

After 1887 the membership declined even more rapidly than it had grown. The rapid rise of the Knights can be partly explained by the industrial conditions in the seventies and eighties. The condition of labor was desperate then. It was the time when big business as we know it was developing rapidly, and competition was terrific. The cutting of prices and the speeding up of production was resorted to in attempts to get the better of competitors. Industrial warfare prevailed; and the boldest and shrewdest buccaneers became the most successful business men.

And labor had to bear the brunt of this fight. Wages were cut without mercy, and intolerable working conditions were imposed. As a result there was chaos in the ranks of labor. The times called for an organization that could lead labor to emancipation from such conditions. And the Knights of Labor appeared to be such an organization. It was a union of all kinds and conditions of labor; its aim was revolutionary; it made its appeal to the emotions of men; and it promised to carry the whole labor movement with it. We can best see its significance in the terror it inspired in employers and old-fashioned conservatives generally. No one is saying anything about the present day radicals that is worse than what was said about the Knights when they were at the zenith of their power.

Nature of the K. of L.

After the decline of the K. of L. much was said about their impracticable business methods and their blunders; but it is easy for those who have learned a lesson from the mistakes of others to criticize those who made the mistakes. Perhaps the only faults of the Knights were: that they were ahead of their time and that they had to make the mistakes of pioneers.

Gompers in his autobiography (Vol. I, p. 244), says the "Knights of Labor was a social or fraternal organization. It was based upon a principle of co-

operation and its purpose was reform. . . . The K. of L. prided itself on being something higher and grander than a trade union or political party. . . . The order admitted to membership any person, excluding only lawyers and saloon-keepers. This policy included employers among those eligible. . . . The order was a hodge-podge with no basis for solidarity with the exception of a comparatively few trade assemblies. . . .

"There were two anti-trade union factions in the K. of L., one that wanted a super-labor movement and regarded trade unions as not respectable; and the other the radical group that wanted one big union for revolutionary purposes. . . .

"The fact was that it was an organization with high ideals, but was purely sentimental and bereft of all practical thought and action."

Rise of the A. F. of L.

When the Knights of Labor were flourishing at their best, the American Federation of Labor came into being and gradually grew into a strong rival of the K. of L. At first the purpose of the new organization was primarily to promote legislation in Congress and in the state legislature. Samuel Gompers, who was both a member of the K. of L. and a promoter of the new Federation of trade unions, says the Federation was at first committed to the policy of seeking relief for labor through legislation; but as it grew, it took on new activities.

The original name of the Federation of Labor was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. It had been organized in 1881 at a convention in Pittsburgh and represented eight national and international unions, forty-two local trade unions, and three district assemblies of the Knights of Labor. But this organization did not flourish.

In 1886 another labor convention was called to meet in Columbus, Ohio. This represented a much larger proportion of the trade unions of the country. It was claimed that the delegates represented over 300,000 members. Delegates of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions were there, and a new organization was formed and named the American Federation of Labor. Samuel Gompers was elected president. He had been very influential in forming the Federation of 1881, had kept it alive, and was leading promoter of the new Federation.

Conflict Between Two Organizations

Gompers says that he and those associated with him had no intention of supplanting the Knights of Labor. He says the attitude of the trade unionists was that they understood that the Knights of Labor was an educational association for the uplift of labor. They saw the need of such an order, he says, and joined it. But when the Order was changed into a conglomeration of trades in mixed local assemblies that tried to arrange the affairs of the trade unions regardless of labor's interests, the trade protested and insisted upon the Orders' confining its activity to its own jurisdiction. But the K. of L. became aggressive in its attempts to force the craft unions to sacrifice some of their interests for the sake of labor solidarity.

Its attitude was indicated by a conciliatory reply to a communication received from a trade union conference in 1886. They said: "We recognize the service rendered to humanity and the cause of labor by trades union organizations, but believe the time has come, or is fast approaching when all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow shall be enrolled under one general head, as we are controlled by one common law, the law of our necessities; and we will gladly welcome to our ranks or to protection under our banner any organization requesting admission."

But their power steadily declined after 1886. It was the day of craft unionism and the utopian idealism of the Knights could not prevail.

The Trade Union Point of View

The point of view of the trade unionists is expressed in the following statement prepared in 1886 by a trade union committee of which Gompers was a member:

"The officers of the national and international trade unions desire to make the statement that they have no antagonism toward the Knights of Labor and believe that as an order it has a legitimate mission in the labor movement of America. Through the development of industry and the aggregation of capital the tendency is to monopolize the business interests of the country, hence the various trades have been affected by the introduction of machinery, substitution of labor, women's and children's labor, the lack of an apprentice system, so that the several trades have been rapidly sinking to the level of pauper labor. To prevent the skilled labor of America from being reduced to beggary, and to sustain the standard of American workmanship and skill, the trade unions of America have been established. They are a social necessity as the past proves, . . . consequently, trade unions have become a fixed and permanent institution in America, calculated to lift all branches of labor to a higher degree of citizenship, and a larger sphere of social comfort. For this principle the thoughtful and far-seeing men of various crafts have founded unions of their respective trades,

OUR DAILY BREAD

BAKERIES to merge in $400,000,000 deal! We read that in the paper this October morning. It is merely the carrying out of the numerous sub-mergers which have made the Ward Baking Company, the General Baking Company and the Continental Baking Corporation the biggest of their kind. Now, they plan to go together in the newly-formed General Baking Corporation.

In the gray dawn of the October morning, as we hurry off to work, we get a confused idea from the news notice that a total of 157 plants will be gathered together under the wings of this gigantic combine. We also learn that it will be the biggest bread-making concern in the whole wide world. Paul H. Helms of the Ward Company will be at its head.

Poverty is not the impulse that is driving these concerns into a Trinity of Interest. With their present organizations, they have succeeded in registering profits mounting into the hundreds of percents—out of you and me. They have beaten down their workers—producing non-union bread. They have robbed the farmers of decent wheat prices. They have kept the price of this necessary commodity at war-time rates for the consumer. Hitting out in these three directions, they have reaped the reward in their huge dividends.

The PEOPLE'S LEGISLATIVE SERVICE warns us of what this new combine means for us. The screws will be put down tighter on workers, farmers and consumers. Soon we will have to transfer our prayer "Give us this day our daily bread" from the Lord, to the head of the Baking Trust.

As a start in the war against this group, remember NOT TO BUY ANY OF THEIR BREAD. One way to assure yourself of that is to insist upon the union label. Further steps will have to be taken against this combine—but that is the first, and right now, the most important. Any one who eats "scab" bread not only injures the Bakery Workers, but rivets future higher and higher prices on himself.

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and to maintain these unions, members have sacrificed countless time and money. . . . They are founded on such a basis that there are no fears of their destruction nor need there be any antagonism between them and the Knights of Labor. . . .

"For the future there can be no doubt that the trade unions of America will not only prosper but become a more fixed institution preserving their own autonomy and managing their own affairs."

It was upon this rock of trade autonomy that the two organizations divided. In spite of sincere attempts at reconciliation the rivalry between them grew until the K. of L. became a minor factor in the labor movement.

On many occasions has Mr. Gompers expressed the practical trade unionist's point of view on labor solidarity. His editorial in the *American Federationist*" of July, 1913, directed against the I. W. W. is typical. He said in this:

"We would not disparage idealism, but the vision of all the workers of the world banded together in one world-wide organization, against all other forces of society, nations, and state, is too chimerical to be entertained by an intelligent man or woman confronted with the practical problem of securing a better home, better food and clothing, and a better life. Intelligent, practical workers want an organization that will benefit them now, and will protect them in the enjoyment of advantages secured while additional benefits are sought. It is well and inspiring to work for the uplift of all humanity, but that usually can best be done if each will attend to his own immediate obligations so that all may daily grow into better things rather than suddenly be carried skyward by a cataclysmic uplift to strange and unaccustomed heights and duties."

Evidence of Labor's Growing Power

The records of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor since 1886 make up a great part of the story of American Labor. They are available in some libraries. The gradual increase in the number of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicate a gradual development in cohesion and solidarity. Labor is not only growing in power, but is growing more conscious of its power; and this consciuosness, in turn, multiplies the power that has accumulated. And with this growth of power has developed a great technique in the use of it. The American Federation of Labor has become one of the great American institutions.

Suggestions for Study

Those who are reading this series of lessons must realize that it is the barest outline of the history of the labor movement. And it is a failure unless it leads some one to more reading.

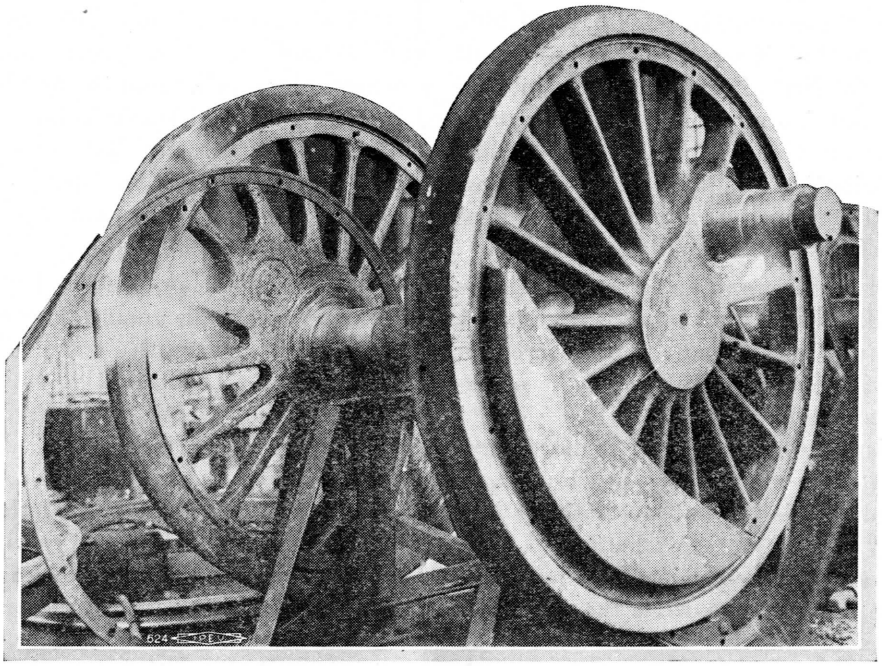
Do you have a copy of Mrs. Beards' book? Have you taken the list of books we published in the first lesson to your local library to see if you can secure any of them?

A postal card addressed to the Workers' Education Bureau, 476 West 24th Street, New York City, will bring you a list of books that the Bureau can supply you at reasonable prices.

Workers vs. Waste

Our Stake in Killing Idleness and Bad Methods

By STUART CHASE



WASTE CLOGS INDUSTRY'S WHEELS

And it is the Working Class who suffer. At Atlantic City, the A. F. of L. launched a new war against Waste.

MR. STUART CHASE, the author of this article, has just written a book, published by the Macmillan Company and called "The Tragedy of Waste." Its importance to the ultimate aims of labor is profound. In the book Mr. Chase has made a scientific study of the three main channels of wasted labor power referred to in this article, giving the detail figures and the documentary references upon which the total figures quoted are based. In a brief summary like this article it is not possible of course to give the sources and documentary proof.

THE man who has perhaps done more to promote labor legislation than any other living American was talking. "Again and again in our struggle to promote shorter hours, better wages, health and safety measures, improved working conditions, we are confronted with the fact that there simply isn't the economic surplus available to make our program possible. We find ourselves up against a stone wall. This is not true in all cases, of course. For many measures, there is a surplus to be tapped in the profits of private companies; in taxation—which has enabled us to make progress in the past, with which we shall make some progress in the future. But for any comprehensive program, looking toward the real emancipation of labor—the surplus simply isn't in sight."

Suppose it were possible to take all the profits away from the business man and distribute them among the workers who are chiefly responsible for producing the goods. Would this solve the problem of poverty, low living standards, long hours of work? It would not. It would help, but it would not help so very much. If the entire national income, after an allowance for savings and an allowance for rent and interest were divided equally between the twenty-one million theoretical families in the country, it might amount to $2,500 per family. As a good many millions of us, both men and women are not married, and not living at home; and as it costs more relatively for a single person to live, the $2,500

is too theoretical to enter into a practical calculation. To make it worse, a society in which each worker receives an exactly equal amount is unthinkable, and once the principle of differential wages are allowed, it follows inevitably that if some families are to get $3,000 or $3,500 a year, other families will be driven *below* the average to $2,000, to $1,500. While it is probable that if we could take away all profit, and could distribute it equally, the minimum budget of health and decency might just about be met, the hard facts are that even if we could abolish profit—equal distribution would be forever impossible, and for all those receiving *more* than the budget of health and decency, others would fall below.

This is what Mr. Andrews meant when he said he struck a stone wall. This is what labor is up against unless some ways and means can be discovered to *increase* productivity, to give us more of the necessities and comforts of life.

Now this sounds like speeding up; like more Taylor systems; more piece-work; more hustle; longer hours. And of course this is what the business men think of when they talk of more production. Let us reason it out, however, and see if there is not some other way. At the present time, while the output of goods and services in America is enormous, there isn't quite enough wholesome food, far from enough durable and beautiful clothing, very far from enough clean, airy and well-built housing, and a tremendous shortage of medical, dental and educational facilities, to say nothing of an insufficient output of the little comforts, the modest luxuries and niceties which every family would like to enjoy; and which—who can blame them—they now so often sacrifice a necessity to enjoy. Such things as a Ford, a radio, a set of books. A tremendous output we have, but not enough of the necessities and comforts of life for the majority of our population. We want more of this sort of production. *Which means in the last analysis that we want more labor power devoted to providing worth-while goods and services.* Where can we get that labor power? Here is where the elimination of waste becomes of the first importance.

We can get more labor power to make worth-while things by reducing the lost motion, the waste and the leakage in present methods of production and distribution. This doesn't mean speeding up, it means a shift in the job—a turning from waste production to wealth production. In the present economic organization of society there are three main channels of wasted labor power.

The first is *idleness.* On any given working day in America, on the average, there are about six millions out of forty millions able-bodied adults doing precisely nothing. About fifteen percent. of our potential working population is always producing nothing at all—mostly, be it observed, not because they do not want to work, but because they cannot get a chance to work. Unemployment—seasonal and psychical, turnover losses (shifting from job to job), strikes and lockouts, preventable accidents and diseases, absenteeism and the lost labor power of the idle rich and the Weary Willies make up the six million total. Only the last three classes—amounting to less than a million—can be called shirkers.

The second great channel of waste has in labor power been devoted to useless or vicious products. For such production, Ruskin has coined the term "illth." Worth-while goods and services, he said were well for man or wealth; evil products were ill for man or illth. A conservative estimate would place the total labor power so diverted in America at 8,000,000, or twenty percent. of all labor. The main classes include: war, preparation, deleterious drugs and patent medicines, a part of the alcohol traffic—say above wines and beer, prostitution and crime, land speculation and stock exchanges (in part), get-rich-quick performers, bogus stock promoting, the artificial stimulation of gambling, the over-commercialization of recreation, quackery of all kinds—palm readers, oriental mystics, "personality" developers, how-to-double-your-salary, easy-to-work-at-home; the bulk of correspondence school bunkum, the bulk of advertising, the debasing of the arts, super-luxuries, the adulteration of true wealth—doped foodstuffs, shoddy clothing, poorly built housing. . . . An endless list indeed. It was Bernard Shaw who said: "Mankind is the only animal which esteems itself rich according to the number and voracity of its parasites." All illth is a perversion of wealth. Could these illth producers—most of them innocent enough—be turned back to the production of real wealth, we could increase the output of real wealth at least thirty percent.

The third great channel is labor power lost, because the technical arts of doing the job right are not made use of; because two steps are taken, when only one is necessary; because industry is not organized on the principle that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. This channel, while it may deal with scientific management in part, does not mean speeding up. For speeding up denotes wearing out men faster than a normal life calls for; it means an increase in industrial accidents towards closing time; in brief it means waste.

No, what we imply by improving the technique

"LA FOLLETTISM" IS NOT DEAD

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE'S death did not end "La Follettism"—contrary to the hopes of the Interests in America.

His son's sweeping victory is the least striking of the things that say, unquestionably, that the ideas of "Fighting Bob" will go on and triumph.

Merger after merger of Big Economic Groups—Railroads, Water Power Companies, Bakeries and the like—are paving the way for a further lineup of Monopoly against the Workers, that will cause La Follette's name to come to the fore as a symbol of the untiring struggle for Economic Freedom.

Central Press Association

THE OAK IS GONE—BUT THE ROOTS REMAIN

The declaration of the A. F. of L. against independent political action at this hour does not disturb this view or contradict it. When the proper time comes—President William Green stated — American Labor will launch again into an independent movement on the political field. And that hour—through the course of economic events—is likely to be quicker in coming than President Green predicts.

The roots of united political action of the workers — which La Follette's name typifies—are sunk deep in America and will sprout again to a bigger harvest.

of production has to do with better geographical arrangement of plants, terminals, warehouses, retail stores; with closing down superfluous coal mines, with developing water power and giant power, with cutting down seasonal fluctuations, with using one milk wagon to the street instead of half a dozen, with lessening the chaos created by quick style changes, with an increased use of standardized parts and processes, with community planning instead of real estate gambling. The studies of Mr. Hoover's engineers indicate that the present leakage in production and distribution is from 30 to 40 percent. Conservative business men believe that it is at least 25 percent. Twenty-five percent. of the effort now going into sound goods and services (40 million, less 6 million, less 8 million, equals 26 million) is the equivalent of nearly seven million workers.

Thus we lose:

First—Through idleness, 6 million workers; second—through the production of illth, 8 million workers; third—through bad technical methods at least 7 million workers; a total of 21 million workers.

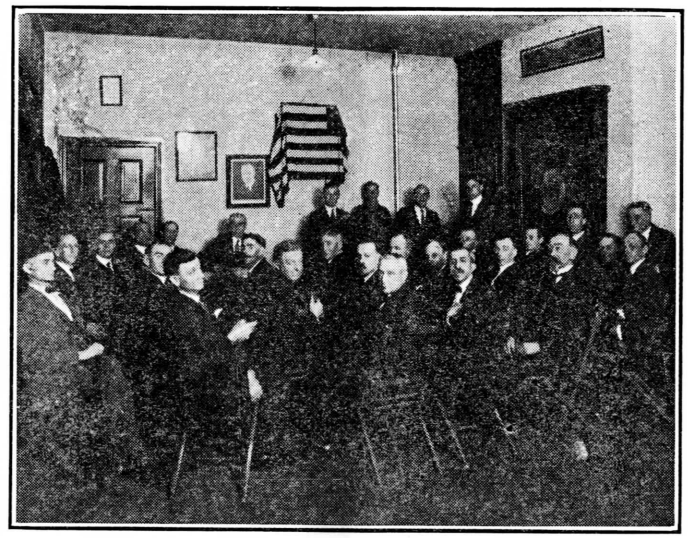
Which is just about *half* the total labor power in America. If waste could be abolished, we could double the output of sound necessities and comforts, raise the last family above the line of poverty and want, and in the end shorten hours—speed down, rather than up. This is the challenge of waste elimination. And by aiding, furthering and fighting for a reduction in waste, labor can in the end increase its share in the good things of life. It is to be doubted if there is any other way.

Training Labor's Army

The Quaker City Success—A Great Experiment

By E. J. LEVER

AT GRIPS WITH THE FACTS



PAINTERS' CLASS IN PROBLEMS OF THEIR INDUSTRY

ORGANIZED Labor is the only army in the world which expects results without training its privates, corporals, sergeants, lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels and generals. It is the only army in existence which picks up its members as raw recruits and, without giving them the manual of arms of trade unionism, expects them to fight as if they were trained for combat duty. It is the only army that is not trained in the tactics and methods of the enemy, that it may save itself in time of adversity and advance its outposts of control when favorable industrial and political conditions make its forward march advisable.

Union Labor, just like any other combat unit, has a wealth of experience to draw upon. But unlike any other army, the experiences of its forerunners are not organized for the information and guidance of those now composing it, that former mistakes shall be avoided and that better judgment be used in its organization and management. Nevertheless, information on the history and many problems of organized labor already exist today and keeps accumulating on an ever-increasing scale. Some unions have already seen the wisdom of recording their past experiences, while most of the work has been done by more or less disinterested scholars, who became attracted to this modern social movement, because of its immense significance for all people as well as to Labor itself. Possessing this ever-accumulating knowledge of the problems of Labor, and recognizing the indispensability of its application, how shall Labor engage in the task of disseminating it within its own ranks, that a better and more intelligently guided movement may be built up?

Workers' Education is the only answer for this vexing problem. This is not an original suggestion by any means, but our present understanding of its significance is. Heretofore nearly all leaders, when confronted with the task of getting their memberships' co-operation in given problems, cried with despair that what the movement needs is more education. But what was meant by education then was the reading of trade-union journals and the attendance of meetings, where through speeches the needs and possibilities of the movement were explained.

What Experience Teaches

Since the establishment of the Workers' Education movement, however, a clearer understanding of the type and methods of workers' education has been arrived at. Workers' Education defines the older methods of reaching the rank and file as *Mass Education*, which is important and can be applied today more effectively than ever, because of the existence of greater agencies today for the dissemination and organizing of knowledge.

But experience, that teacher of fools and wise alike, has also pointed to a still more effective method of raising the intelligence of the workers, and that

is the establishment of Joint Education Committees or Labor Colleges in all industrial centers under the direct auspices of Organized Labor. Their duties are to engage competent specialists in the problems affecting the workers to act as instructors during union meetings, or at special meetings of the officers and active members, who are the bone and sinew of the movement. At these classes or study groups or union meetings the workers are urged to undertake the intelligent discussion of the problems of direct interest to them, led by qualified instructors. Textbooks, study courses, outlines, notes and information needed are supplied by the Labor College, and the members told not only the teacher's point of view, but are supplied with the necessary information on the methods used in discovering and compiling his material for their information.

It is readily to be seen that this is the "factual approach" to the workers' problems. And that where heretofore the opinions expressed on any question were those based on the individual experiences of each member, they are now presented as the combined experiences of any part of the entire movement. To this extent the dissemination of knowledge and experience becomes more universal, is placed on a higher plane, becomes more intelligible, more available and therefore more effective in aiding the organized workers in their daily struggles for improved conditions.

Shop Econmics Win

In Philadelphia, as described in the September issue of LABOR AGE, specific studies of indivual industries by groups of workers, known as Shop Economics, has probably been worked out better and more effectively in its direct benefits to the workers than in any other labor school in the country, with the one exception of Brookwood, which is in a class by itself as a resident labor college. The methods used are those pretty generally agreed to in conventions of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, which is to permit the individual unions or student groups to choose their own subjects of study after having the importance and significance of each course explained to their satisfaction. If Shop Economics is chosen, a qualified instructor is assigned to the group, drawn from a list of teachers approved by the Labor College, who, if not acceptable to the union is replaced at any time by one more suitable to their needs.

The union supplies a blackboard. The secretary and instructor of the College meet the union members and jointly outline a plan of study based on the union's needs. The instructor gets to work gathering the necessary facts having a direct relation to the problems in hand, organizes his lecture thereon and presents it at the next meeting. The length of time of each class is agreed to by the union itself. The discussion method is used, and each student can break in with questions at any old time. Not much time is spent in lecturing as such, but each member is encouraged to express his opinion, and reticent members are even urged to express theirs by calling the roll. Such courses are usually organized for ten weeks to start with, one night per week. During that period the members have a chance to digest the problems presented, that at the end of the course they may understand better how far they are willing to go with it, and upon which a permanent course of study is based.

In some instances the members decide to try some other subject for a while, just to see what Social Psychology, or Public Speaking and Conduct of Union Meetings looks like, or the History and Problems of Organized Labor, or a general course in Labor Economics. They can choose anything they like and the same process of supplying them with a suitable instructor is followed.

The unions choosing Shop Economics, however, as a rule choose to continue with it, because their interest is aroused on the facts of their own industry, and a definite constructive job, such as studying unemployment, shop management, wages, hours and conditions and their relation to the union is undertaken. Each member of the union may then be issued cards, which he is expected to fill out and return periodically to his secretary, containing blanks for information as to the hours he has worked, the wages he received, the name of the employer, etc., upon which the cards are filed for use in the class as data for training the members in negotiations with employers to improve their conditions, as well as supplying them with arguments to organize their non-union fellow workers on the job.

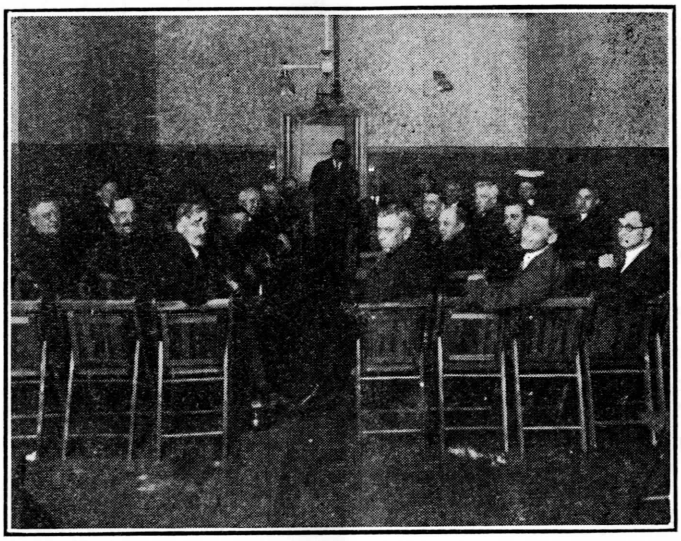
Dealing With the Non-Union Man

With a thorough knowledge of the ecenomics of their industry and the problems of labor in connection therewith, as well as of the aims and significance of Organized Labor, coached in a splendid course of Public Speaking and Conduct of Union Meetings and Conventions, to train them in their duties as local officers and active committeemen, the non-union man they run across on the job is a poor match for the

PLEASE NOTE!

What Workers' Education Can Do

CLASS IN SHOP ECONOMICS



UPHOLSTERY WEAVERS UNION, PHILADELPHIA

trained wits of a small army of union men and he succumbs to the constant pounding of the job agitators and joins as a raw recruit the already partially trained army of intelligently fighting union men, who have not only learned how to enlist their new member, but have learned how to so conduct their meetings as to command his respect and therefore hold him within their ranks.

They thereby also have the trained committeemen and local officers to negotiate with their employers for better conditions. An army that understands the problems of their industry, while the average employer knows only his own books and business is bound to gain results for itself.

The workers trained by this method in legislative work, understand the methods applied in getting through labor legislation and help thereby to gain laws for the protection of all workers. Classes in advanced English and journalism and other subjects of interest to the workers follow pretty much the same methods of instruction.

With such methods of educating their members, is it any wonder that the unions who have engaged in workers' education have made progress?

BLACK-SHIRTED ENEMIES

MR. SAKLATVALA must not enter America. He has been saying some naughty things about British tyranny in India.

Mr. Mussolini's men—delegates to the same body Mr. Saklatvala was to have attended—are received with open arms and a squadron of police to guard them. They have merely attacked the principles of American democratic government.

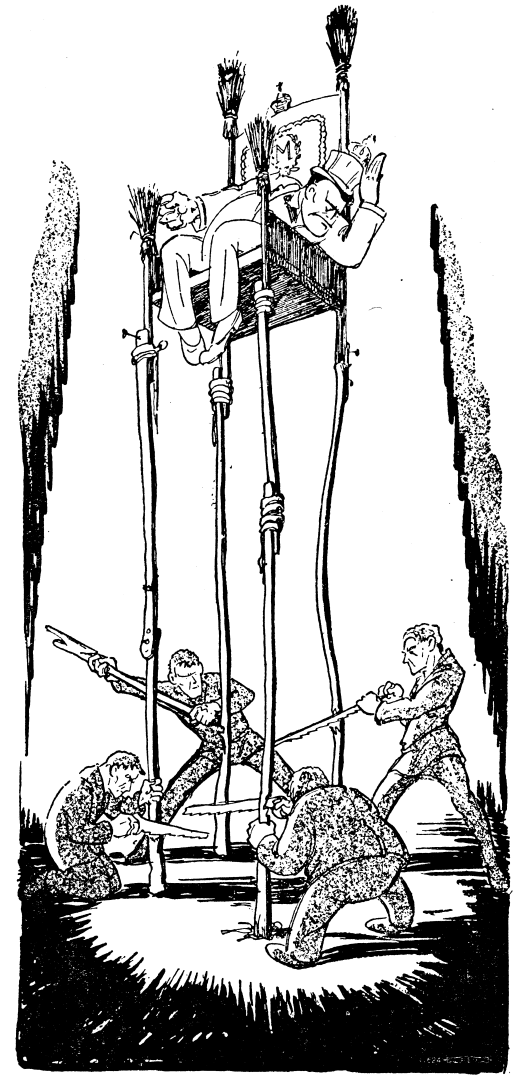
Mussolini has spat upon the ideas of "liberty" and "democracy" in every public speech that he has made. He has trampled upon them—even to the point of murder—in every public act that he has committed. That makes him and his representatives welcome to our shores.

"Against Fascism—National and International," is the heading of a letter of warning from the Italian Trade Union Federation to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Unless international trade unionism takes steps to war upon Fascism, Fascism will war upon it and destroy it—as it has done, to a large degree, in Italy. Say the Italian unionists:

"Fascism is the same as war. First and foremost, civil war; war between the two camps into which despotic dictatorship by one class divides the nation. In one camp are the privileged, upon whom the Fascist rulers depend; and in the other the domestic enemy for whom there is no safety of any kind, who are hunted mercilessly and subjected to all kinds of persecution and reprisals.

"Fascism also means war abroad; Mussolini's speech at the Fascist congress in Rome gave proof of that. The rhetoric and the big talk of the past have taken on an unexpected form. Now there is open talk of imperialist aims; war as the only possible means of settling the differences between nations; of the expansion of Italy by land and sea. With all its brutality this development is quite logical. A dictatorship can only maintain itself by keeping alive and encouraging in its Praetorian Guard the lust of power and war."

The Italian unions demand a "union war on Fascism" and a campaign that will expose its "shameful deeds in the world press." It has crushed workingmen's organization in Italy. It has cruelly butchered those who disagreed with it. It allows no freedom of speech, press and public assemblage. It is this sort of "government" which Messrs. Coolidge and Kellogg are so friendly toward, while gagging the leader of Hungary's democratic forces and barring out the critic of Great Britain's policy in India. Query: Is America a Republic or merely a Stool Pigeon for Czarism and Dictatorship?



DUTCH PAPER THUS PICTURES MUSSOLINI'S "FIRM POSITION"

Shall We Wage the Clawss War "Strictly?"

And Keep the Educational "Hell Fires" Burning

By MARGARET DANIELS

IN that grand, good book, written by a British coal digger with the pen-name of Roger Dataller and called "From a Pitman's Note Book," the author quotes from a circular which he received from a miners' educational committee as follows:

" 'Object—to help to establish in the City of S— the Kingdom of God!' "

"Method—Education.

" 'By 'the Kingdom of God' we mean streets along which it is a pleasure to walk: homes that are homes: workplaces in which people enjoy working: public-houses that are centres of social and educational life: kinemas that show elevating films: schools that would win the approval of Plato: churches made up of men and women indifferent to their own salvation: an environment in which people 'may have life and have it more abundantly.'

" 'By 'Education' we mean everything (from solitary meditation in our quiet room to merry conversation in our club-room, from getting up plays and concerts to attending lectures and services) by which people may become more *spiritual;* everything that enriches human beings with that which described in three words is Beauty, Truth and Goodness, and described in one word is GOD.' "

In commenting on this our author says: "Not bad as a declaration of faith. It's something to get a statement of that kind nowadays!"

Of course no such piously worded statement would ever go with our American coal diggers. It smacks too much of Y. M. C. A. propaganda and however strong the grip of the church on British miners, certainly organized religion in America has largely lost its hold on the rank and file of the workers. Nevertheless the statement is interesting to those interested in workers' education because of its insistence on the spiritual and emotional side of man's development.

When some ten or twenty years from now an historian sits down to chronicle the educational doings of our day, he will probably put the story of the progress of workers' education in this country since the war under some such chapter heading as "The Struggle Over Policy, Which Way Education?" For already at the very beginning of things educational two opposing camps have been formed—the one insisting on the teaching of the class struggle, pure and simple, the other maintaining that along with militancy a general cultural background must be built up. This fierce insistence of the first group upon the class struggle and nothing more brings to mind the engaging verse of G. D. H. Cole of the British Labor Party, to be sung to the tune of "Keep the Home Fires Burning":

> "Wage the clawss war strictly,
> Get the job done quickly,
> 'Ang the rich to lampposts 'igh,
> But don't 'ang me.
>
> "Stick to Marx, my 'earty,
> Damn the Lybor Party,
> Keep the Hell fires burning
> For the Bourgeoisie."

In a recent article in THE NATION, Ben Stolberg presents a more modified statement of the point of view of critics of our present educational system who are not necessarily extremists. He contends that there is grave danger that the entire workers' educational program will drift into the misty fields of social reform, personnel and uplift work and the like, and will in the long run give to the capitalists a new weapon against the old militancy. Like many other friends of organized labor he "views with alarm" anything that seems to divert unionism from its main function, which is the organization of workers into bodies capable of contending for the spoils of industry with the owners.

To the mind of this writer, at any rate, much of this debate now raging so furiously seems like a vortex in a vacuum. For as yet the organized workers' educational movement has not begun to touch more than the outer fringes of American labor. Ultimately, what they will be taught will be decided by the rank and file themselves. If they want unadulterated class struggle, they will have it. And if they want history, biology and the new psychology they will have that too. The present problem seems to be more to get them to want anything at all than to

THE AFFAIR AT COBER HILL

WE call it the "Affair at Cober Hill" to make the business a thing of mystery and incite your interest. "Affairs" are generally connected with detective stories. This is not about detectives, but it is fully as gripping, when you know all about it.

In the PLEBS MAGAZINE—organ of the Plebs Educational Movement in Britain—we read this beginning to a "diary of the week" at Cober Hill.

"Saturday, July 4th.—A *real* summer day—just the sort of day to sprawl on the lawns at Cober Hill and thank God one was booked for a week off! Plebs, hot and dusty from travel, trickled up to the Guest House all afternoon, "clocked on" in the register, dumped their luggage, and re-appeared quickly in flannels and *ninon de foie gras* (or whatever it is girls' dresses are made of). It was too glorious an evening to come indoors for a social. Instead, we strolled around the gardens until the moon came up, renewing old friendships, making a start on new ones, and exchanging sighs over some of the pals who for one reason or another were unable to be with us. Still, we're a fairly representative bunch—strong contingents from London and Manchester, and ones or twos from Crewe, Cumberland, Sussex, Scotland, South Wales, Chesterfield, Derby and the House of Commons. And more arrive tomorrow and on Monday.

"Sunday, July 5th.—Mass-party walk over the cliff-paths, rather) to Hayburn Wyke. J. F. H. accused of qualifying for a T. U. leaders' job, owing to his partiality for leading his regiment from behind. . . . Bathing parade in the afternoon. Seldom have the grim rocks of Cloughton Wyke served as background to so much feminine grace and beauty, so much manly muscle. (That will do.—ED.) . . . After supper, school opened. Owing to Ellen Wilkinson's regretted indisposition—after a week of all-night sittings at Westminster," the sessions began with a substitute in her place.

And so, on and on—with the recital of the various things discussed and the various problems mulled over by the assembled "Plebs." The Plebs Movement has brought life and light into the Education Movement of Labor in Britain that is thoroughly enjoyable to note. Their summer school has happy features to it that we have begun to duplicate in our own—at Brookwood.

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sit up nights worrying about the future content of workers' education. Unquestionably programs will be influenced by local wants, environments and backgrounds. The miners in Illinois will want something very different from the needle workers of Manhattan and generalizations at this stage are absurd.

Having said which, I will venture on a generalization, namely the old one that "education is something that happens within one's self." It is never successfully imposed from without. The rather naive statement from Britain quoted above is fundamentally sound inasmuch as it takes into consideration the spiritual, emotional and idealistic phases of human nature, and I venture the further generalization that until education, and by that I mean the education of the emotions as well as the mind, has happened inside the teacher, he or she will have little to give the taught. In a previous article in this series I dwelt on the importance of the contribution that the new psychology could make to those who undertake to educate labor. In the technique of this new psychology I find a common meeting ground for both "class strugglers" and "proletcults." Our men of science who go exploring human nature today come back to us with the report that they have found no "splendid isolation" of instinct, emotion, or economic determinism there. Man, they tell us, is not a matter of neat compartments, the worker solely interested in the fortunes of his class, the capitalist in his. It is not as easy as that. There is a vast amount of rubbish to be thrown out from the unconscious of both teacher and taught before any real building can be done. If former college professors undertake to inform Peter Jackson of the Pennsylvania miners that Peter's sole function in life is to make himself obnoxious to his employers, or if on the other hand recent and enthusiastic graduates hurry to Peter with the word that his only concern should be with the absorption of "sweetness and light," Peter is more than likely to chuck the whole business in disgust.

And Peter will be right. If modern anlaysis contributes anything to our sum total of knowledge, it indicates the need for well rounded human beings, in the labor movement and out, with an understanding of the deepness and rickness of life, the sheer fun of the fight as well as the grim reality of it. To this end we must have well rounded teachers, men and women who know that life is neither all struggle nor all aesthetics, but who can put intelligence back of militancy, a new technique behind the old methods of "wages and hours."

Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE ISSUE

ABOVE every other issue for Labor today is the issue of "Industrial Democracy," as raised by the Employing Interests. We reiterate that on every page—to drive it home and stir YOU to action.

Through the columns of the press, in letter-writing, in discussions with your neighbors—spread the message of the FACTS. We are dedicated to meeting this issue—by the answer of Labor's own "Industrial Democracy." The facts on company unionism must be given the widest publicity, and also the knowledge of what unionism itself is doing for the workers' welfare. It is up to YOU to do your part.

NEWARK HITS THE LINE HARD

FOOTBALL is now with us—and a football phrase that is heard far and wide has become an American term of encouragement and praise. "To hit the line hard" means that a man or movement of stamina goes after what it wants to get, and gets it.

One of the most outstanding central bodies in the country is that of Essex County, New Jersey, with its headquarters in Newark. What it is doing and thinking is seen by its meeting of October 2nd, which took place in the Labor Lyceum of the Jersey metropolis.

The evening was devoted to Workers' Education, the regular central body business being set aside largely in order to concentrate on this particular subject. Louis F. Budenz of LABOR AGE recited the story of what he had seen in the hard coal regions and down West Virginia—where 4,000 miners and their families are fighting for Real Industrial Democracy—and reviewed the Workers' Education Movement over the country. Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun of Brookwood drew a picture of the splendid work of the Brookwood Workers' College. Walter J. Bilder, a local attorney and vice-president of the Newark Labor College, told of that institution's work last year and of its plans for the coming season. "The Organized Labor Movement is based on thought," said Mr. Bilder. "It grew out of the thinking of the workers that it was a necessity. It can meet the new needs of the present day only by stimulation of its thinking, to tackle the new problems."

Workers' Education has made big headway in Newark and vicinity. The delegates testified to this by their pledges of support to the college during the coming year. The Painters' Union reported three new students for the college, and that their interest was shown in the fact that all three of them were present at this meeting of the central body. Henry Wendrich of the Printing Pressmen, vice-president of the Essex Trades and Labor Council, presided, and made a strong plea for the extension of labor education in Northern Jersey. The State Federation has gone on record, he emphasized, in favor of such widespread educational activities. President Adam Zusi and Secretary Henry Hilfers of the Council are heartily in accord with this idea. Evidently Newark is doing the old football stunt of "hitting the line hard."

WHAT THINK YOU OF THIS?

WE have all heard of "Peeping Toms." They annoy ladies at moments when the ladies prefer to be left unannoyed.

Scranton, Pa., is considering the question of destroying the nuisance thereby created—and intends to do so by abolishing picketing! The city, be it known, has a "Peeping Tom" ordinance. But the plea has been made that it should be more drastic. So the bill is drawn up to prevent anyone from being in the vicinity of anybody's premises, day or night, even when on the great free public highway.

The Scranton central body saw the idea—and protested to the Council about it. Council said it would consider the matter. But—and here is the strange thing revealed—no one is allowed to get a copy of the proposed law. It can only be so published broadcast, after the law is passed! Until then, the ordinance is supposed to be the private property of the Council.

Did you ever hear of such a "democratic" method of legislating before? How in the blazes are the people to know what laws are being slipped over on them, if such proposals are not to be printed and given wide publicity prior to passage? But maybe that's what the City Fathers just don't want. At any rate, they said to the labor men that publication "might cause too much of a disturbance." Evidently!

MR. MELLON'S TRUST

N. Y. World

PICKETING BECOMES A CRIME

ONE thing is pretty clear in America today: Judges are thoroughly class-conscious.

Mr. Frank B. Kellogg—our imitation Mussolini—delivered himself of the opinion, in his address to the Interparliamentary Union, that there were no classes in this country. You may have read it in the papers—and wept.

Now, our judges disagree with Mr. Kellogg. They believe that there are classes—and that the working class, of which they are NOT members, should be suppressed by all the power of the law.

To pick one month at random, here is the record of judicial acts against the workers in the 31 days of August—an off-month with the courts:

NEW YORK.—Supreme Court Justice Churchill on August 10th issued a sweeping injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America forbidding picketing or congregating within ten blocks of the plant of the International Tailoring Company.

An injunction against peaceful picketing by members of the Retail Shoe Salesmen's Union of New York City was issued in July by Supreme Court Judge Tierney.

OHIO.—The Butcher Workmen's Union of Cincinnati are appealing to the Ohio Supreme Court against an injunction issued by Judge Roettinger of the Hamilton County Common Pleas Court perpetually enjoining them from picketing. The president and the union were fined $100 each for picketing.

AGAINST THE EMPLOYERS' DRIVE

OCTOBER sees the opening of a real drive of education and information among the labor groups of the country, through the Labor Publication Society, against the Employers' Drive for Company Unionism and fake "Industrial Democracy."

The Board has decided to send the Managing Editor through the country, beginning with the Middle West—and to continue indefinitely a speaking tour in every city of the United States on this vital subject. Opening in Newark on October 2nd, before the Essex Trades and Labor Council, the trip takes him through Oil City, Pa., Toledo, Indianapolis, Paducah, Ky., Cincinnati, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Buffalo and many other cities. At the conclusion of this swing through the Middle West, a campaign in New England begins, opening in New Britain early in November.

The biggest challenge to Organized Labor today is the spread of the works councils of the Employing Interests, under the sham title of "Democracy." We mean to meet it on its own ground—out through the country, tell the facts about it, and assist in the effort to put it on the run.

WEST VIRGINIA.—Van A. Bittner, organizer, and a number of officials of the United Mine Workers of America, were served notice of a permanent injunction which had been issued in 1924 restraining their union from organizing in Logan County, on their arrival there on August 25th. Later they were ordered to leave town by a Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Judge E. C. Newcomb of Scranton, in issuing an injunction recently restraining Meat Cutters and Butchers' Union No. 111 and E. F. Grady, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, from picketing the market of Frank Carr, defined the attempt to unionize a plant as "an unlawful purpose."

This is the report as given by the American Civil Liberties Union. The only bright light of the month was the decision of Judge Hugo Parn of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, upholding the recently enacted anti-injunction act of the State. He refused a blanket anti-picketing injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, asked by the International Tailoring Company of Chicago.

It's a sad record—and one that makes our Coolidgian America a nip-and-tuck rival of Mr. Horthy and Mr. Mussolini. According to the decree of Judge Doyle of Oklahoma, we're still allowed to pray! The miners won that "right."

OUR OWN "PROPAGANDA"

NEVER has Union Labor been treated to such an attack through the channels of "refined propaganda" as during this year 1925.

All through the small town newspapers runs a chorus of praise for the "Industrial Democracy" schemes and "Popular Ownership" bunk of the Employing Interests. The so-called standard magazines re-echo the idea.

A unique conference of trade union representatives duly selected by their unions, took place on the evening of September 23rd in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union building in New York City. It was called to discuss the ways and means of carrying on our own answer to the Employing Interests. Out of the discussion came the resolve that the co-operatively-owned monthly magazine LABOR AGE—doing this specific job, should have the widest support and backing of the trade unions. In that way can Labor give its answer to the "Industrial Democracy" drive of the Employers effectively.

Rennie Smith, British Labor Member of Parliament, gave the conference an eloquent account of the long struggle in Great Britain to build up a labor press. It was one of the most heart-rending efforts in which British Labor has engaged. But it was also one of the most important, he said. Without instruments for presenting their own views, the workers found themselves handicapped in the industrial and political struggle. "A labor editor," Mr. Smith said, "is the real martyr of the Labor Movement. He must sacrifice fortune, ambition and even his family, to carry through this necessary aid to the workers' fight."

Brothers James McGuire of Lighter Captains Union Local 996; H. W. Sullivan of the Paper Mill Workers, Aaron Chizinsky of the Children's Clothing Workers Joint Board, and A. W. Josephson of the Hebrew-American Typographical Union, particularly emphasized the fact that Labor is lost without an organ to present its progressive steps forward. Suggestions were made as to how LABOR AGE itself could increase its effectiveness in giving the Labor viewpoint.

Fannia M. Cohn of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union spoke on the close connection between a magazine of this character and the success of the Workers' Education Movement; and she and Brother Max D. Danish of that organization recited the story of the four years' work of the magazine to push forward a knowledge of the militant and intelligent new steps that Labor is taking and must take to progress.

Here is a living answer to the reaction rampant in America today, it was agreed—and the New York unions present pledged themselves to spread its work among their membership. It was an auspicious beginning to a New Year of aggressive effort on our part.

TOM JEFFERSON IN JAIL

And the High Jinks of the Peter Pans

A GREAT hullaballoo is going on, in various and sundry places, concerning Monticello's Sage, the Third President of the United States, the author of the Declaration of Independence.

Tom Jefferson's house is to be bought and kept as a National Museum. In a Museum or in Jail would Tom Jefferson belong, were he now to dare return to this Land of Coolidge, Volstead and Bryan. Jefferson's great plea was for freedom—particularly free speech. Today he would be greeted by the anti-evolution law of Tennessee and the Supreme Court decision in the Gitlow case.

By either one of these laws and decisions would he himself be put behind the bars. His Declaration of Independence had much more dynamite in it than anything that Gitlow might say or do.

The harmlessness of the Gitlows and Co., to the U. S. A. is made clear in Ben Stolberg's PETER PANS OF COMMUNISM in the current CENTURY. They have now petered down to chattering disputants about the pros and cons of "Trotskyism" and the interpretation of the Marxian Book of Books. To certain unions they are much more harmful than to any government that Reaction might rig up.

But the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER expresses the opinion of every "red blooded" and calf-brained American when it says:

"We need have no fear that freedom of speech in the real and proper meaning of the phrase will be abridged in this country. Our danger will be in showing too much consideration to the unwashed pests of radicalism."

Justices Holmes and Brandeis, more happily than in the Debs case, thought differently. Theirs was a dissent in favor of American Freedom and of Tom Jefferson.

IN EUROPE

SCARBOROUGH AND LIVERPOOL

Britain's Unions and Labor Party Outline Policies

FROM the LONDON DAILY HERALD, British Labor's daily, we quote: "Emphatically and with a great shout of 'Agreed,' the Trades Union Congress yesterday endorsed the action of its General Council in seeking to create one International, which would include the Russian workers."

Thus, from the meeting at Scarborough in September. Fred Bramley, Secretary of the Congress, is quoted as having said in asking endorsement for that position, that "We consider it our duty to stand by the Russian workers." The Labor paper represents "the Capitalist press representatives" as being astounded. Looking for a split where there was none, they went out and wrote about a "Red Victory."

While thus ordering its General Council to "work for World Trade Union Unity," as they put it, the Congress refused to act radically in domestic questions. The proposal to give the General Council power to call general strikes was defeated overwhelmingly. But the victory in the recent coal crisis made the delegates leave in its hands all measures for future emergencies of that sort. The Congress was much more moderate in tone and action than represented by the daily press. The temper of the Trade Unions, nevertheless, is more impatient than at any time in their history. This was shown by the general feeling of a desire of more independence from the Labor Party, which many delegates regarded as too "statesmanlike" in its action.

When the Labor Party itself met at Liverpool some weeks later, it produced the "Red Reverse" that had been talked about in the daily papers for some time. By large votes, Macdonald's resolution barring Communists from office in the party and membership therein was confirmed. In every way possible, the Labor Party meeting sought to disassociate itself from the Communists. While the Trades Union Congress slapped British Imperialism, the Labor Party resolutions were much more moderate than in the past—rather looking toward a Labor Family of British Nations than to an anti-imperialistic and dismembering policy.

Meanwhile, the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam has sent a warning to the British unionists, that they are almost approaching the breaking point of "loyalty" to that body. What is evidenly referred to is not merely the resolutions of the British favoring an unconditional conference with the Russion unions. There is also the magazine TRADE UNION UNITY, headed by A. A. Purcell, himself president of the Amsterdam International, which takes occasion in cartoons and articles to attack the policy of the continental unions and of Amsterdam. The idea of the International itself is, that the Russian unions can come in, if they consent to join Amsterdam and agree to its principles. Otherwise, they must stay out.

FRANK FRENCH DISCUSSIONS

SUMMERTIME has been Parliament-time in the Labor World of Europe. A procession of Trade Union Congresses has passed on the Labor History stage.

The French Confederation of Labor celebrated its 30th year of existence by facing the question: "Shall we or shall we not forgive and forget—Moscow's past?" International trade union unity—much talked about these days in Europe—was the central theme. The proposal was to hold a joint conference with the Communist Federation—meeting at the same time. A telegram from Tomski, head of the Red Trade Union International, had also suggested a joint labor delegation to Soviet Russia.

After discussions such as the French alone can have, it was decided to receive a delegation from the Communist Federation. But the Communist request for "unity" was overwhelmingly rejected, on the ground that the only unity could come through merger in the one "genuine" trade union movement and through that movement, with the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. Tomski's invitation was declined unanimously.

The Confederation is gradually struggling out of its financial difficulties, which grew up with the after-war period and through the Communist defections. In 1920 the organization was at the height of its power. It had 2,000,000 members organized in 5,000 unions. Then, came the great railroad strike, during which the courts declared the railwaymen an illegal organization—and threw thousands of industrial workers into jail. Following this came the Communist agitation, the split off into the Communist Federation and the consequent loss in membership. Reports show that this is now being gained back, slowly but surely.

Now the old Confederation's answer to the Communist cry of "Unity" is the request to return to the fold, and repent for past disunity.

BRESLAU—AND ANOTHER "TRIPLE ALLIANCE"

NOR are the Germans to be outdone. Over in Frederick the Great's city on the Oder, they have been having a talk-fest and action-fest.

Politically, devotion to the Weimar Constitution of the Republic; industrially, a recognition of the inevitability of amalgamation, but as the matter of slow growth; in legislation, determination to secure a set social legislative code, and to curb the Arbitra-

tion Courts in their interference with industrial action. These were the outstanding features of the 12th Congress of the General German Trade Union Federation.

Contrary to expectation, the Congress moved very smoothly. The question of industrial unionism, which had been widely and sometimes hotly discussed in the trade union press, was acted upon quietly through compromise. It was decided that it should work itself out, but that in the meantime no trade union should formulate demands in a particular industry, without first attempting to come to an agreement with the other unions in the industry.

In contrast to the Leipsic Congress of 1912, when 88 Communist delegates were in attendance, there were but three at the present Congress. Numerically, the German unions are beginning to move upward again, after a fall from 8,000,000 in 1922 to 4,000,000 in 1924.

While all this was going on at Breslau, a German "Triple Alliance" was being cemented. It consists of the unions connected with the state and municipal service. The purpose is to devise a method of action which will allow the unions to work out their legislative demands together, and also any industrial action that they may find it necessary to take. The alliance includes the National Union of Railwaymen, the German Transport Federation and the Union of Municipal and State Workers.

BLACK-COATED STRIKERS

NOTHING surprises, these days. Most anything is expected, at almost any time.

In the matter of speed, it is only a hundred years ago that solemn prophecies were made that any machine of transportation that would attempt to carry passengers on rails at a velocity of over ten miles per hour "was extremely improbable." Today we talk of the possibility of "holding the sun level with his stride"—or of going at a speed of 1,037 miles per hour, sometime in the near future.

But even to the most sophisticated, one event must seem a miracle of miracles: the organized action of white collar workers in their own behalf. Those who know the cowardice of the clerk class have long set it down as "impossible" that they should ever stir in group revolt.

France has now shown us that even this "impossible" thing can be. The French bank clerks struck. The French bank clerks fought through weeks of a bitterly contested strike . The French bank clerks won.

"Hunger," in the words of Grin, the Assistant Secretary of the Federation of Bank Clerks, was the cause of the strike. With wages ranging around $25 to $35 per month, their "wretched starving condition" is readily seen. The three groups of unions—"free," Catholic and Communist—united in the fight.

"The whole workers movement," said the International Federation of Trade Unions during the strike, "has the greatest sympathy for its black-coated comrades—a sympathy to which the French Trade Union Center and the Paris Trade Council have given practical expression by giving financial aid. Public opinion is also on the side of the strikers in the stand they have quite justifiably taken. Two Paris theaters have even given performances at very low prices for the benefit of the bank clerks possessing strike cards."

Thus have the white collared of France taught their brothers of other countries something of value. And while the bank clerks show their strength, the French National Union of Teachers—comprising 80,000 of the 100,000 teachers of France, decides to throw its fortunes in with that of the manual workers' movement. By 180 to 6, it voted to join the General Federation of Trade Unions.

PEACE IN THE BUILDING TRADES

ONE curse of the Labor Movement, as at present organized, is the jurisdictional dispute. It tears unions apart, weakens their effectiveness, and irritates those outside the union movement who do not understand the issues and who suffer by them.

President William Green has signalized his entry as President of the American Federation of Labor by bringing to a happy close a dispute of this character that threatened to be of great damage to the name of Organized Labor. On the eve of the A. F. of L. convention, he brought about the signing of a peace pact between the plasterers and the bricklayers, thus ending a difference that had thrown building operations into confusion all over the country.

A HARVEST DRIVE

IN one field of labor, at least, the Industrial Workers of the World have not taken the part of a dual union—and in that field they have been by far the most successful.

This has been in the job of organizing agricultural workers—where they have played much the same role as the Agricultural Workers Union of Great Britain. All through the Northwest, their agitation has brought about a bettered wage and improved conditions for the itinerant farm laborers.

Now, we learn with the new harvest, that another drive of organization is on—and that a demand for a minimum wage of $6 a day is being made. It is in North Dakota in particular that the wave of organization has made most effect. In Kansas and further South, organization with improved conditions is re-

ported; and the movement has been northward, with the harvest.

The prospective wheat crop gained 22,000,000 bushels, according to government figures, and over 17,000,000 of this gain was in North Dakota. Rust has appeared, but it is not regarded as dangerous. So, the floating farm laborer has a good season before him—and will probably make the most of it.

"UNSTEADY LIES," ETC., ETC., ETC.

PITY 'tis, 'tis, 'tis true. Or something like that. Shakespeare could well have used that phrase, touching the muddle in which Blundering Baldwin of Britain discovers himself.

Oft in the stilly night must Baldwin awake, troubled by the dreams that haunt his pillow. The Tory Party looks straight ahead, into—disaster. With the most unwieldy majority, almost, that any party ever had, it can neither go forward nor backward.

Factions split it up—Moderates, Agrarians, Industrialists, Die-Hards, Protectionists, Free Traders—some pulling this way, some that, some the other. Its own papers are deserting it, using their spleen and ink to attack the Party of which they are the organs!

Confusion could not be worse confounded. And to this deplorable impasse must be added the big and pressing problems which the bankrupt party is called upon to face. Some of them are in the order of their pressure on the brain of Baldwin:

1. The coming clash in the coal fields and on the railways. Miracles alone will halt a runction here; and Baldwin hasn't made much headway as a "Miracle Man."

2. The rise of unemployment and the progressive depression of industry. This is enough to give any Premier a headache. Unemployment, stemmed for a breath during the Labor regime, is mounting by leaps and bounds. "Prosperity"—the magic word that pulled the Tories into office—is a badly damaged piece of the vocabulary by now.

3. The spectre of China, with possible strife with Russia in the background thereof. Nothing too soothing in that, no matter how you look at it.

Under the strain of these devilish difficulties the Tory machine is cracking and breaking. Ill-nature is creeping into the discussions between party men. Sir Robert Horne, who has had an axe out for Baldwin for a long time, is aiding and abetting the revolt in the Tory ranks. But Sir Robert is a weaker sister than Baldwin, for any attempt at unity.

The big test is hurrying toward the Premier. It lies in the coal crisis, coming to a head this month. Baldwin hopes to sidestep it, with a subsidy to the coal industry. Will his Party let him? There are many indications that many members will not—if they can help it. Unsteady, to say the least, is Mr. Baldwin's tenure of office.

ELSIE WINS A POINT

(*Continued from page* 9)

teachers who are members of the Teachers' Union, a trade union affiliated with the A. F. of L. The second is that we have in Manumit our own demonstration school at Pawling, N. Y., where they can go and see for themselves, if they like, just what we mean by "modern education for the children of workers." As a demonstration school, Manumit means not only a place where forty odd children, boys and girls from nine to eighteen years of age, from the fifth grade up through high school, get the very best modern education under the most healthy conditions of country life, entirely free from any propaganda, but also, it becomes one of the most potent influences Labor can possibly exert toward the winning back of the Public School to the cause for which it first established the system, namely: free education for the children of workers.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, Of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1925, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Leonard Bright, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 3 W. 16th St., New York City.
Editor—Louis F. Budenz, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.
Managing Editor—Louis F. Budenz, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.
Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of September, 1925.

ERNEST BOHM,
[SEAL] (My commission expires March 30, 1927)

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