May, 1927

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

IS REAL SILK REAL?

Adventure of an E. M. B. A.

HOOSIER EMPLOYER-VIGILANTES

Unionism That Will Organize

British Tories Teach Class War

The Written Word for Workingwomen

Bill Smith at Sherbrooke
What's Wrong with Steel?
Our Criminal Courts
Co. Fear At Lynn

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

MARGARET M. GREEN. Former assistant editor, British NEW LEADER, now engaged in literary work for Labor.

CHIS. A. KERKER. General Organizer, International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers.

WILLIAM SMITH. General Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with United Textile Workers.

The others are all well known to you, from previous contributions to our pages.

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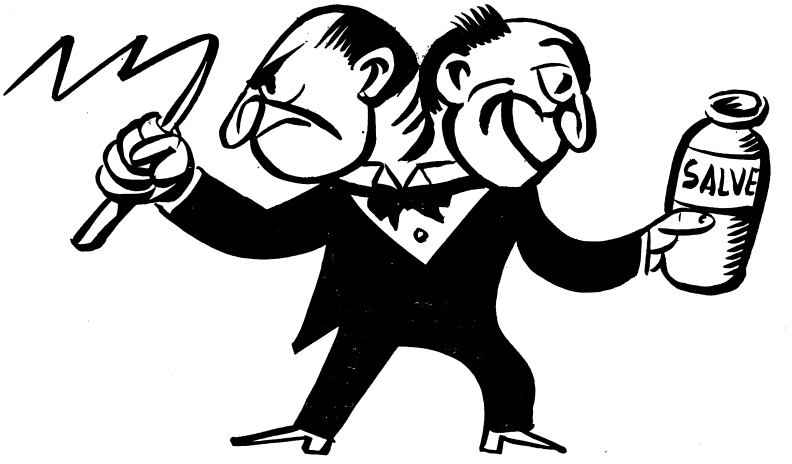
Labor Age
The National Monthly

"Two Faced" Employerdom

And What We Shall Do About It



OUR Rotarian world has risen in righteous indignation. With ridicule heaped upon it, it has cast aside its glad songs and smote back at its tantalizers. None other than the Hon. S. Wade Marr, District Governor of North Carolina, has stepped into the breach to play the hero. At the Roanoke, Va., convention of the Rotarians he classes the numerous criticisms of his brethren as "gibbering utterances of blatant reprobates".

If these soft-faced gentlemen who sit at the pie-counter become so wroth at a wee bit of sarcasm at their expense, what volcanoes of bitterness should come from us and our fellow-workers! Here are we, in this year 1927, robbed of our pocketbooks—in that we are defrauded of the wage we should receive for our increased production; deprived of our liberty and right to think—in that we are rapidly becoming cheap parrots of whatever the employers want us to think or say;—and made to like it!

American Employerdom is in the saddle, good and hard. To the world outside it presents a smiling front. The "London Daily Mail" delegation is persuaded to write down in its report that Capital and Labor have laid down together. It sayeth further that there is no price-cutting for speeding-up anywhere in his broad land, and thinks that this presages an industrial millenium.. Sad to relate, this is a bald-faced lie.. Speed-up everywhere is accompanied by price slashing. But the "Daily Mail" innocents abroad were in the hands of the employers' soft-soapers, necessarily, and heard them spin their wondrous tales. All of which they swallowed—to the nausea, even, of that well-known business organ, the "New York Journal of Commerce".

The Australian delegation comes now, visiting among others the fair city of Schenectady. The Chamber of Commerce and the suave hip-flask artists of the General Electric Company rush forth to the city of Rochester to get the delegation, keep them in the G. E.'s sure possession all through the stay in Schenectady, wine them and dine them, and then send them on their way rejoicing.

Heaps of publicity are poured forth, meantime, on the helpless Americanos telling of the wonders of benevolence these employers are. Within their works, at the same time, the whip cracks and the slave-minded workers go pell-mell to their tasks. The Real Silk Company of Indianapolis, pictured here, is a choice sample of this Two-Faced Monster that we have raised up amongst us. The Associated Employers of Indianapolis, delineated by Mr. Dunn, is one of numberless organizations of the employers formed to prevent their men from organizing! To top it all off, Brother Muste gives us a chart of the things that we can do to kill this Frankenstein of Hypocrisy and Ruthlessness which anti-union Capitalism has spawned. If we have any manhood in us, we will proceed, with no further hem-ing or haw-ing, to the job that CAN be done—the organization of the ever-threatening basic industries.

Is Real Silk Real?

Adventures of a Mid-West Company Union

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

DURING the late lamented visit of Marie of Roumania to American Babbittry, much comment was created in the city of Indianapolis by the gift of a pair of pure-gold hose, to grace the limbs of the Royal Nonesuch. The comment arose from the fact that it was the Real Silk Hosiery Company which was reputed to have made the gift. Mr. J. A. Goodman, president of that company, is a devout and prominent member of the Jewish faith. Marie of Roumania is part and parcel of the most vicious anti-Jewish government on the face of the globe. It was the stab at consistency which had caused the gossip.

This pair of golden hose, however, is symbolic of the "up and at 'em" promotion policy of the Real Silk corporation. The gift to Marie was novel advertising, and novelty is one of the chief things on which the company prides itself. Under the guiding genius of a Mr. Corbin, an exceutive of the company, it launched upon the novel scheme of freezing out the jobbers and retailers in the hosiery business by direct sales to the consumers. From house to house, door to door, over the face of the United States, the Real Silk salesmen wended their way—disposing of the "real" silk hosiery. The very name of the corporation was a novel one, and caused many heartburns among its competitors. They took it to imply that all other hose was not real silk, which would have been, of course, a serious falsehood. Novelty dictated the use of the radio to advise the Mid-West and the world of the merits of Real Silk and of its humane treatment of its "loyal" employes. And novelty brought into being the Employes Mutual Benefit Association—the E. M. B. A., as it is popularly known, and which the executives of the corporation assure you solemly and fervidly is "the only one of its kind in the world."

The Great E. M. B. A.

It is with this E. M. B. A. and its adventures that we are now concerned. Forgetting the quarrels of Real Silk competitors, aired in part before the Federal Trade Commission, we will test the "reality" of Real Silk in its labor policy. Here is an employes' mutual benefit association—so-called—performing many of the functions of a company union, standing out boldly as an attempted substitute for real unions. What are its fruits? What are its achievements? What is its reward for "loyal" employes?

It is at the big Indianapolis plant that the E. M. B. A. flourishes. Three thousand workers are employed there normally, 300 in full-fashioned manufacture and the others in seamless. Originally, this was exclusively a seamless hosiery mill. But the demands of the trade are gradually driving this sort of hosiery from the market. During the war, women of all classes learned the superiority of full fashioned wear, fitting to the form of the limb—and from that moment, the fate of seamless was largely sealed.

The Real Silk Company has felt this pressure. During the past few years they have introduced 136 full fashioned machines into their Indianapolis plant. This represents a great outlay of capital; one full fashioned machine costing around $8,500 while a seamless machine can be procured for from $150 to $250. They also took over a full fashioned plant in Philadelphia from another concern. This plant, organized by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, is scarcely to be considered in this story. It is a small plant in comparison to the Indianapolis development, and has been on the market for sometime. It is very evident that the company's policy is to consolidate its entire manufacturing activities in the Hoosier capital.

Both the full fashioned and seamless workers are covered by the E. M. B. A. Each year they elect what are known as Departmental Directors, who are supposed to represent the workers in each department. In addition, an Executive Board is chosen, consisting of 4 representatives of the management, chosen by the company, and 4 representatives of the workers, elected by them. There is no provision for appeal in case there is a deadlock within this board. There is no written guarantee against discrimination because of union membership. The nearest that the Constitution and By-Laws come to such a guarantee are the vague words, that "no distinction shall be made among the members by reason of nationality, religion, sex, politics, *or other legitimate affiliation.*" The officers of the company contend that no such discrimination would be practised; but despite this assurance, union men have been ""fired" in the most flagrant manner. It is this policy of intimidation that prevents the plant from being 100 per cent union today.

It is indeed amusing to note the opinion that one member of the board, representing the employes, had of his functions, as revealed by a conversation between him and one of the executive officers of the company. Asked by this official, in a burst of E. M. B. A. zeal, what he thought his duties on the board were, this "representative" of the workers replied: "To fire workers." "No, no," answered the executive, "not to fire workers but to protect them. By firing the inefficient and disloyal workers, you protect the efficient and loyal." It was a very difficult matter for this man who had been on the board for two years, to grasp that he had any other function except to fire the workers whom the company wanted fired. And of course, that was exactly what his chief function was. Couched in the diplomatic language of the "new relationship between capital and labor," that is exactly what the verbiage of the executive officer meant.

That "Real Silk Spirit"

That is the way also that it actually works. Three reasons are given by the company for letting out their men and women workers: Lack of punctuality, inefficiency, and lack of "Real Silk spirit." It is this "Real Silk spirit" which is the mystical thing in the business of being fired. No worker knows what it means. I had personal talks with 187 of them, from all departments, and not one knew what this "spirit" actually was or is. The company is equally vague about it. So far as their explanations go, it is something intangible which some folks get and some never get. It takes altogether about two years to acquire it at all.

This indefinable something, which causes workers to lose their jobs, seems to have been particularly prevalent where union men are. It seems to have broken out in a veritable rash in the full fashioned department, where firings have been going on at a great rate. It is, indeed, merely an anti-union spirit, a scab spirit, a spirt of servile subserviency to the company—clothed in this Aimie McPherson terminology.

To confirm this, I need merely to call the roll of the men who have beyond a doubt been relieved of their duties as Real Silk workers because they were so "disloyal" to the company as to be good union men. They are not all those who have been let out in the full fashioned department, but they are those whose cases are clearly cases of discrimination. These men are: Shelby Valodin, William Bowers, James Proxmire and John Applegate. Their affidavits, giving the reasons alleged for their discharge and the occasion for such action, will be printed in subsequent issues. Conclusive proof of their ill-treatment, however, is seen in the fact that they are today efficient and A-1 workers in Milwaukee union mills. It must be a strange "spirit" indeed which can cause experienced knitters to lose their jobs—the same knitters hitting the ball in fine shape as soon as they enter a union plant.

Unionism was transplanted into the Indianapolis mill with these full fashioned workers, when they came from Fort Wayne. The company had purchased the Thieme interests there, and had then sold them in turn to the Munsingwear corporation. Full fashioned knitters of ability are not easy to find, and the Fort Wayne force was transferred in part to Indianapolis as "instructors." The old desire for novelty thereupon launched the company upon a stupid policy of inefficient manufacture, which is probably at the basis of most of the troubles of the workers in all departments ever since. Ordinarily, the 136 machines would be manned by 136 experienced knitters, with perhaps half that many apprentices—to keep the trade supplied with labor as deaths and incapacity made that necessary. In the Real Silk plant there are about 60 knitters, supervising 125 "learners". That cuts the costs initially for the company, but it is a "penny-wise, pound-foolish policy." Efficient production cannot be secured on the same basis as in other mills. The "learners" on their part, are not allowed to acquire many mysteries of the trade, and will never be able to go into other mills and obtain employment therein. Their inefficiency will doom them always to remain compartively low-paid "learners" for the Real Silk Company.

Weaning Away and Weeding Out

The experienced knitters were given the high-sounding title of "instructor" and were made many roseate promises, none of which have been kept. So they say. Many were brought down on the understanding that they would become machine fixers in a short time, but fixers they have never become. The purpose of the highfalutin title was soon disclosed. Scarcely were they in the Indianapolis plant when they were advised: "You are now instructors, not knitters. It is unnecessary to belong to the union any longer. Take out withdrawal cards." A number of them temporized, but some raised their heads and voices against it. One by one they are being weeded out, as per the experiences of Valodin and others.

If conditions be unsatisfactory in the full fashioned department, they are doubly so in the seamless mill. Distrust, discontent and fear are the prevalent feelings among these hitherto unorganized workers. The fear, strangely, seems to center in the personality of Mr. Arthur Zinken, personnel man for the company. Both he and President Goodman are gracious gentlemen to meet, and both have friends who are friends of mine. But no two gentlemen have succeeded in creating more unrest and suspicion among their workers than they. To interview them and hear their descriptions of the "paradise" at their mill, and then to go out and talk to the workers confidentially and find the real thought of these workers about that "paradise", is like having a dash of ice-cold water suddenly thrown into one's face.

This dissatisfaction was voiced by the seamless loopers in going out on strike about a month ago. They had received their third wage cut in six months, and decided to accept such cuts no longer. Over one hundred girls walked out in an unorganized strike, later forming themselves into a local union of the United Textile Workers. Despite all its fine phrases, the company in this instance acted like any other hard-boiled anti-union firm. Playing the old ostrich trick, they contended that there was no strike. Nevertheless, the United States Department of Labor dignified it as such, at least by inference, in sending in Miss Anna Weinstock, conciliator of the department, to attempt settlement of the difficulty.

Distrust—Justified!

Miss Weinstock evidently got a good insight into the attitude of the "progressive" management and into the distrust of that management by the workers. She could not get the executives to agree to arbitration! But she did get them to agree finally to meet a committee of the strikers, which committee happened to be composed of all the officers of the new U. T. W. local. At this meeting an agreement was reached, which, signed by Miss Weinstock, is as follows:

An adjustment of the controversy at the Real Silk Mills was reached in my presence when Mr. Arthur Zinken, representing the Real Silk Company, at his office, and the loopers later on at their meeting, agreed to the following:

1. That all loopers who walked out on March 11th, and who wish to return, may do so as soon as there are machines available. The Company agrees that there will be no discriminations against any of these employes.

2. That all loopers accept the 13½-cent rate unless con-

HEART TO HEART

A Talk With Our Readers

FOR over five years we have been at this job. We have been intent upon stimulation of the organized to action. We have been unceasing in our efforts to educate the unorganized, and to get others to do likewise.

No progress can be made without a strong union movement, shot through with a wider viewpoint than merely the day-by-day gaining of hours and wages. Fire and intelligence are needed, to make the Movement go forward, to fulfill its destiny to the workers.

We have thrown ourselves with all the zeal and energy in our beings into this fight. That is not enough. We need your assistance. We particularly need it, to spread the encouraging message that we have to give. That message is : "The unorganized CAN be organized. The Movement CAN move forward to challenge and throttle Reaction." This is not a pious wish, based on hysteria. It is a reality, based on the facts gathered in the field.

We have received compliments from all quarters. We have received encouraging letters from active men and women, and organizers from all over the country. Now we ask you to back up these good words with the most aggressive cooperation possible. We must extend the group of our readers, that the things we are saying may do the maximum good.

To make this easy we have provided a special prepaid 6-months' subscription card. This our readers can obtain by writin gus. Paying for it in advance, they can then pass it on to a friend or comrade—thus securing his or her subscription.

Let us all do our bit to add as great a number as possible to the circle of LABOR AGE readers, so that our voice may reach the widest group. A special column each month shall contain the names of those who have done their bit in this new crusade.

clusive evidence is produced showing that any other mill, producing similar merchandise and employing approximately seventy-five loopers or more, and where the rest of the labor is paid on a basis favorably comparing with Real Silk. Then the Real Silk Company agrees to reconsider its rates and reach a conclusion upon the basis of the new facts submitted.

This agreement, in its terms, was satisfactory to the striking loopers. But they hesitated, long and loud, in accepting it. They felt that no trust could be put in any promise of the management! Such is the confidence which the "Real Silk spirit" has created in its workers—many of whom are wearing "service pins" evidencing three, four and five years service for the company.

With becoming irony, the ink had no sooner dried on the agreement than the company proceeded cooly to violate it, just as the workers had thought would be the case. No more outrageous breach of faith has been practised in industrial relations than was practised here. Not only were the "learners" put in at looping and retained there; but a worker, who had not been inside the mill for two or three years, was taken back in place of the strikers. When the officers of the union protested to Mr. Zinken, he told them they "had better look for work elsewhere." The idea, of course, was to divide their ranks, make them all anxious to go back individually and not under the agreement. When the gi rls, who are a brave fighting lot, advised him that they would call back the Department of Labor conciliator, he became very angry and expressed his contempt for anything the conciliator might be able to do.

This piece of cheap trickery was the acid test of the company's policy. It gave me the answer to the fear and distrust found so universally in the interviews with the workers. It confirmed the stories of promises made by the management and never kept. It revealed a big plant run on the basis of a New York 6th Avenue "bargain" store, where neither the buyer nor seller can be sure of the honesty of the other in arriving at a "just" price.

Meaning of the Pledge

Viewed in the light of the above experience, the threat against a union person implied in the first two sentences of the E. M. B. A. membership pledge can be understood. These sentences run as follows:

"I will endeavor to measure up to the standard of efficiency, in order that my position here may be permanent and secure. I will endeavor to cooperate with my fellow-workers and the management and contribute, whatever in my power, toward the security of the organization of which I am a part."

Interpreted, this meaneth: My position will be "permanent and secure" if I am a nice boy or girl and do not join a union, and always do all that the company wants me to do. I will contribute to the "security" of the E. M. B. A. by not letting a real union vie with it in my affections.

Of the enormous profits which this policy has created for the company in the part, of the trouble out of it due for the company in the future, and of the beautiful trimmings put on it in order to "sell" it to the workers as a "benevolent" scheme, we will "sing" in our next installment. As an innocent Sir Galahad, going about seeking the Holy Grail of a Company Union which has proved a substitute for Real Unionism, I found myself duly disappointed. The Real Silk E. M. B. A.—like all company unions so far examined—is a fraud upon the workers, to which they are now largely awake. Fear alone prevents them all from expressing themselves upon it as the loopers have done—by a strike of the whole mill. That, we predict, will come in time—unless a miracle occurs and the management pursues an entirely different tack in the future.

Vigilant Vigilantes

Concerning the Associated Employers of Indianapolis

By ROBERT W. DUNN

THIS local association has probably produced more printed matter describing its activities than any other employers' body in the country. Its story has been adequately told in Professor Clarence E. Bonnett's book, "Employers' Associations in the United States" to which the reader of this article is referred for an enlightening picture of a local employers' body at work. Professor Bonnett says that it is perhaps the most active local employers' association in the United States:

"Its opposition to the closed union shop in Indianapolis has been so successful that, with the exceptions of certain branches of the building and printing trades, most of the industries of Indianapolis are conducted on the 'American Plan' or open shop basis."

This association is important also because of its attempt to promote a national federation of open shop organizations in 1920. This attempt failed in spite of the intense efforts of the A. E. I.

The following paragraphs dealing with some specal features of this association are taken from correspondence and documents issued since the appearance of Professor Bonnett's book in 1922.

Writing in answer to a query made in 1926 as to the strength of unionism in Indiapolis, Mr. A. J. Allen, the secretary of the association, says:

"Unionism in Indianapolis is distinguished by its weakness rather than by its strength, because out of a total city population of about 360,000, our information is that only about 6,000 or 7,000 labor unionists are actually represented in the local Central Labor Union, and these are mostly in the building and printing trades, since Indianapolis outside of these particular crafts, is almost 100 per cent open shop in all avenues of employment throughout the city, and as a result of which our working people have become a contented, thrifty, well paid and home-owning population, and they are protected in many ways against the misleadership of professional agitators, who no longer find it easy to persuade them to participate in needless and costly strikes."

The A. E. I. had made similar claims before by way of tooting its own horn and claiming credit for extensive union-liquidation activities. In 1923 after some particularly provocative statements under this head, Mr. Allen's veracity was questioned by Samuel Gompers in a leading editorial in the *American Federationist.* The title of the article was "If Indianapolis is 'Open Shop' Let Us Have More of It." The A. E.I. had claimed that Indianapolis was the most successful open shop city in the country, and that eight unions with international headquarters in that city went elsewhere to do their organizing. "Both of these claims," declared the *Federationist,* "are absolutely untrue," after which Mr. Gompers proceeded to back up this assertion with reports from the various unions in that city and state—building trades bodies, miners, machinists, iron workers, barbers, steam and operating engineers, printers, photo-engravers, and typographical workers. "Only one or two international unions report minor setbacks," wrote Mr. Gompers, and "this destructive, reactionary propaganda organization—the A. E. I.—has completely failed in its purpose."

It should be noted that certain unions, such as the teamsters' union, are not referred to in the Gompers retort. This local union had been broken up and forced to disband in 1923, according to Mr. Allen. Other unions were undoubtedly wiped out of existence through the able union-destroying tactics of the A. E. I. Today, none of the general manufacturing industries of the city is organized. This, however, is true of every city in the United States. The building and printing trades maintain power long after workers in the manufacturing industry have been defeated in their attempt to unionize.

Methods used by the A. E. I. in its anti-union campaigns are described in a "labor problems" paper prepared by a student of De Pauw University and circulated in 1923 by Mr. Allen:

"Several embryo strikes have been headed off by the prompt and fearless action of the Association. Its *intelligence system* (italics ours) and acquaintance with friendly workmen has enabled it to anticipate strikes and to defeat them early."

Referring to the attacks of the A. E. I. on the unions, the same paper points out:

"Much of its activity has been directed against the American Federation of Labor which it charges is seeking control over government, industry, business and labor..... It also contrasts the prosperous condition of open shop communities with the diseased industrial order in cities more thoroughly dominated by unions."

The following observation, suggesting Ku Klux Klan inspiration, appears in the same "labor problems" essay, of the young student:

"It—the A. E. I.—has helped to make Indianapolis a pleasant city in which to live, one free from strikes, a city of homes free of radicalism, a population very free of alien blood, and a community which is growing rapidly and solidly."

In the annual report of the officers of the association in 1923 appeared a ringing appeal for employers' solidarity. A sort of "industrial insurance" at bargain prices is suggested in the following words of the report which was later distributed as a circular by the organization. This "message of organization" for employers should be a lesson to the individual worker in Indianapolis who has been told by the A. E. I. that he had better steer clear of unions and "union agitators". The report argued:

"It is good business and cheap industrial insurance for all employers to pool their moral and financial support in helping some one employer defeat a strike in the effort to

protect the freedom and rights of all employers and of all labor. By extending their collective influence to help some one of their number withstand the onslaught of strike agitation, other employers not involved can effectively keep the strike specter from their own doors. It is equivalent to buying any form of insurance. The small premium employers paid into the association in membership fees constitutes a fund with which to meet and quench the fires of industrial strife before the conflagration becomes so widespread as to affect a greater area of the business and industrial life of the community."

The relation of the A. E. I. to similar bodies in other states and cities is described in the "labor problems" paper above mentioned. This point also carries its lessons for the company unionized, isolated, and estopped from associating with workers in other plants:

"Nationally, the Associated Employers of Indianapolis co-operates and keeps in close touch with about fifteen hundred local, state and national associations in commercial, financial and industrial fields, and Mr. Allen attends meetings of other employers' associations. The Association acts as a clearing house for all employers associations; acts as the organizer and advisor of new employers associatons; and has devoted its energies recently to the attempt to organize a new national association of local employers associations to be called the "National Employers' Association."

Its war on the American Federation of Labor unions has taken chiefly the form of attacks on union organizers described in the same story:

"Especially bitter and intense have been its attacks on 'walking delegates' and radical agitators. It charges that to them is due the friction between capital and labor, contending that their tactics and aims are unfair and immoral, and pointing out that often they provoke trouble to hold their job and strengthen their position with the workers."

Street Car Workers' Case

Some experiences of the street car workers in Indianapolis in 1926 illustrate perfectly the methods of the association in the field of strike breaking and union wrecking.

The workers on the lines of the Indianapolis Street Railway Company were receiving wages ranging from 37 to 42 cents an hour. They decided to organize, even though some of them were already tied to the company with individual or "yellow dog" contracts. The events that followed are described in a letter from Mr. R. L. Reeves, editor of the *Motorman and Conductor*, official organ of the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employes of America:

"Some 30 or 40 of them wrote in to our International President, Mr. W. D. Mahon, for the assistance of an organizer. He dispatched Vice-Presidents Robert B. Armstrong of St. Louis and John M. Parker of Niagara Falls, Ont., to Indianapolis to assist them. Immediately upon their presence becoming known, at the instance of the company and *non-union employers' association*, (italics ours) the police department began to arrest them for vagrancy. They were arrested 54 times before the organization had reached a membership which would warrant the application for an increase in wage, which was done. The company ignored the application and dismissed 64 of the employes for joining the union.... The men recognized that the company would dismiss them all unless there was something done to establish collective agreement relations, and they suspended work July 5. The company immediately went into Federal Court and obtained an injunction restraining Armstrong and Parker from in any way interfering with the master and servant agreement or encouraging a strike."

Armstrong and Parker, and local officers of the union were immediately arrested on contempt charges and spent seven more days in prison before they were released on bail and the case appealed.

The letter from Mr. Reeves continues:

"The entire political situation in Indianapolis and in Indiana appears to be clearly *under the control of the non-union employers 'association*, as the entire civic administration, from the governor down to the mayor, has shown itself to be bitterly opposed to the employes organizing. The president of the company in obtaining this injunction made affidavits that the company held these individual agreements with the employes and that he had sufficient knowledge to believe that it was the intent of Armstrong and Parker to interfere with compliance on the part of the employes with those agreements. The Federal Judge seemed sufficiently friendly to the management of the property to grant the injunction. Armstrong and Parker are convicted of making remarks in the strike meeting held, by report, to have been encouraging the employes to suspend work and violate the contract."

Undercover Man Uncovered

It is clear from the foregoing statement that the A. E. I. was the directing force in the campaign to prevent the organization of the workers into one of the most conservative, respectable and 100 per cent American unions in the A. F. of L. It also appears that the "intelligence system" of the A. E. I. had been hitting on all cylinders —up to a certain point. Here an under-cover operative was brought to light. He testified later in court that, "the company was paying him extra for his services in reporting everything that happened. And that the company had been informed of the entire proceedings so that it could know everything practically before it took place." This spy, it was discovered, had been so clever he had gotten himself elected president of the street car workers' local No. 976. However he had sneaked out of town at the time of the contempt proceedings against the union officials.

Reports in the official organ of the A. E. I. recount the routine assistance given by the association to other open shop firms. Under the heading, "Open Shop Activities," we read in the issue of March, 1924:

"Report made by Secretary Allen, concerning the status of the electrotypers' strike against three member founders; approval was given to the steps that had been taken to assist them, including the request made of members that 'by supporting these employers to the extent of being patient where delays occur during the strike, buyers of electrotypes can help reduce the cost and encourage the management of the struck plants in their effort to run their business free of union domination.' The Skillman Electric

Co. (open shop electrical contractors) and the B. C. Torelle Co. (open shop plumbers) were commended for their mail campaigns in behalf of 'reciprocal patronage relations' among open shop employers and the public generally.'"

Again, in June, 1924, we read, "When placing orders for electrotypes, instruct your printer that you want open shop products." This appears in italics following an editorial which praises the struck employers and which reports on the efficient way in which the chief of police had taken prompt steps to prevent picketing under an anti-picketing ordinance.

In recent years the association has shown a growing interest in what might be loosely termed "workers' education." The employers, of course, call it "employee education" in "sound economics". In the address and joint report of the secretary and president of the association in 1924 this matter was earnestly discussed, and it was suggested that every employer and employers' organization "should institute as a permanent business policy, some plan of educational program among employes in the economics of management, business and industrial relations." They stressed the importance of having the foreman impart to the workers under him "the viewpoint of others and the economic facts upon which industry is conducted." The report urges the employers to take this matter seriously and drives home the argument with a quotation from *Law and Labor*, official organ of the League for Industrial Rights, "Our economic system must be justified to the many who have little, and not to the few who have much."

That the present economic order was endeared to the street car workers of Indianapolis through the "educational" tactics above described appears somewhat doubtful. But the premiership of Indianapolis as an American Plan city cannot be questioned even by the A. F. of L. officials who still contend that the activities of the A. E. I. have had no appreciable effect upon their union membership.

The Kind of Unionism

That Will Organize the Basic Industries

By A. J. MUSTE

AGAIN I venture to lay down six propositions as briefly and directly as possible.

1. *The basic industries will be organized by a movement that sets itself deliberately to study and to use the most efficient methods of promotion, publicity, organization and administration.* Much information along this line is in the records of various labor bodies. Still more is in the heads of the men and women who have been doing the practical work of the movement. Somehow all this material must be gotten out and put into such shape that it can be passed on to others. Also, we have to test carefully the various methods we use, so that we may be able to say confidently that they work or do not, that they are expensive or inexpensive in money, in victimized workers and in other ways.

There is also valuable information along all these lines that has been worked up by various businesses and by charitable, educational and other enterprises. Doubtless it would be dangerous to attempt to apply their methods in the labor movement in a mechanical fashion, to attempt to apply the methods of selling insurance mechanically to the problem of "selling" (dreadful word) trade unionism, the technique of a Billy Sunday revival to the job of organizing steel workers, the way in which a textile mill handles its workers to the problem of handling these same workers in a textile union. Nevertheless, there is much of value here if it is rightly adapted to our uses. There are effective ways of approaching human beings and effective ways of making them "sore", and there's no great mystery about them for those who honestly want to learn. If everything under the sun, including millions of dollars worth of worthless and harmful stuff can be sold to American workers, ought we not to be ashamed that we have not learned to win them more effectively to something they need so much as they do the union?

If efficiency in all these matters is not a God Almighty to save American workers from all their woes, neither is it a devil to be shunned at all costs. The haphazard methods of the past won't do in the field of labor any more than in industry itself.

2. *The basic industries will be organized by a labor movement that takes seriously the A. F. of L. declaration on the need for increasing wages and shortening hours.* The demand is a sound one from every point of view. It appeals to the worker. He is willing to fight for the better standard of living implied here if he is helped to organize his effort effectively. It can be proved to him that most of what employers pretend to give him "voluntarily" is a sham. The demand is sound from a "social" viewpoint. The economists all tell us we produce too much in proportion to what we consume. We must have a higher standard of living and more leisure, or we become liable to either of two evils, possibly both: either "over-production" brings on serious business depression, or financial interests invest the surplus abroad and presently plunge us into war with other imperialists or with so-called backward peoples, or both these things overwhelm us. To demand decidedly higher real wages and shorter hours is both intelligently selfish and decently unselfish. It is also a straight trade union issue.

Organizing campaigns based on this issue would have to go to them. If we do not act soon and venturesomely, we shall deserve—well, all that we'll get!

3. *The basic industries will be organized by trade unions that regard their members and their families as human beings and that seek to serve all their varied human needs.* Such unions, or enterprises in more or less direct connection with them, will deal with life insurance,

banking, housing, cooperative purchasing of supplies, workers' education both intellectual and inspirational, various forms of social insurance, recreation and so on. Of course there are evils to be guarded against, so are there in the purest and simplest trade union activities or in the purest and simplest revolutionary enterprises. You may put the label "class-collaboration" on these welfare activities, if you get any fun out of that. It won't change the facts and requirements of the situation in the slightest. The labor movement must engage in these activities and meet the problems and risks involved as they arise, firstly because if we do not use these means to hold the worker to his union and so build up labor morale, the boss will use them to build up company union morale; secondly, because it is socially fundamentally bad to have these services handed to the workers from without or above, and it is sound and necessary that the workers should provide those services for themselves by active cooperation. In the one case you get, at best, well kept slaves, in the other case you get alert, intelligent, socially minded freemen.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to remark that I am not attempting in these articles to deal further with labor political action, partly because it cannot be done satisfactorily in the small space at my disposal, partly because I believe the building of the movement on the economic field is the basic job, the honest attempt ot tackle which must lead to sound dealing with the problem of political action.

4. *The basic industries will be organized by a labor movement that gives its young and rebel spirits a chance and uses them.* In view of the fact that our tempers are apt to be frayed and our judgment hasty in these days, I ought, perhaps, to guard myself against misinterpretation by some readers by observing that I have never been a Communist, and that I am on record in previous issues of LABOR AGE and in plenty of other places as critical of Communist or Left Wing methods and policies. But no movement or institution will last for any length of time that does not have young people coming along and make use of their vitality. Of course, young people are inexperienced, often hasty, unorthodox, critical, rebellious, great nuisances. The good God or Nature, something at any rate that we have no control over, has fixed that. It's no good whining about it. We have simply to accept the situation and deal with it. A movement that does not know how to use its youth and constantly ignores or represses them deserves to have them turn upon it and rend it in pieces, as always happens in some form.

The point is of special importance in connection with our problem of organizing the masses of the unorganized. Experience of the movement in this and other lands, as well as reflection, makes it clear that many of these unorganized are not going to be brought in by the efforts of the existing unions (in some cases there are really no unions having jurisdiction, in others the problem of jurisdiction is hopelessly confused) or at least not by the present officers and leaders of these unions. This can be said without in any way implying that the latter are fakirs. One need simply remember that the present staffs of unions for the most part have their hands full now (this remains true despite the fact that there are lazy exceptions), that their experience and training have not equipped them for many of the tasks now before the movement, and to a great extent organization must be achieved now as in the past from the inside. In an important sense the labor movement cannot organize the unorganized, they must organize themselves.

It follows that there is much work to be done by footloose, courageous, adventuresome, quick-witted young people who are not burdened with heavy responsibilities, and who are not a great expense to any organization. It follows also that organization in many instances will come largely out of a mass movement of workers in some crisis of which advantage is taken by such ardent spirits as we have described. Certainly this has often been the case in the past. Now if young rebels will often be too sure of themselves in such situations, disregard the lessons of the past, be too critical and impatient toward the labor movement or some branch of it, it is equally true that the labor movement and its branches will be tempted to apply too arbitrary standards to these situations, will be too cautious, will discourage or alienate active youngsters rather than encourage, use them, give them the support of the movement as they wrestle in the front-line trenches, guide their work into constructive paths, accept the organizations they build and in a statesmanlike manner make them part of the labor movement as a whole. From this point of view, the problem is not so much what the unions will do to organize the basic industries as what they will do to organization that gets under way—welcome it or freeze it out.

5. *The basic industries will be organized by a labor movement that rightly meets the issue that underlies the controversy that is raging about union-management cooperation, class-collaboration, etc.* For the union to "assume responsibility for production, efficiency, elimination of waste", and so on, is not, I submit, a fundamentally new departure either in a conservative or in a radical direction. It is just our old friend Collective Bargaining| Through the union the worker has said to management: "You give me such and such wages, hours, conditions, control over my job and in return I will give you so much of my time, energy, skill." So he "cooperated", produced goods, built industries, made a living. The method is not so simple and direct when applied to big, mechanized industries under modern conditions as the union-management cooperation plan tries to do, but there is no fundamental difference, tne same sort of bargain is struck.

There is no use fighting against it, kicking about it in bull-headed fashion. Lefts kicked in the same way in other days against introduction of machinery, against efficiency schemes, against collective agreements. They are all still with us. Whatever may be the policy indicated in a specific situation, you cannot go to the workers in general and over a long period of time with a program for making industry inefficient. The workers do not want to tear down their own house about their ears, not as long as it is livable.

That's one side of the picture. There is another. In the first place, we need to pray to be delivered from the

sentimentalists and from those who stumble over words. They are found in the camp of the collaborationists and also in the camp of their foes. To some workers the word cooperation is like the proverbial red rag to the bull, and to others the word class-struggle is the same. They are both good enough words and they stand for real things when rightly used, things that are there in the labor world and that we don't get rid of because we don't like certain words. The trouble is that we pack emotions into the words instead of ideas, and then we passionately love or passionately hate these words, which, of course, in our sober moments we should not attempt to love or hate at all, but only to analyze and to use in signaling to other folks. And again, waging the class-struggle does not mean indulging a glorious emotion and being insulting to the boss; nor does cooperation in industry mean indulging a glorious emotion and pressing the boss to one's bosom. And yet again, there is nothing treasonable about getting something for workers without a strike if you can do it; nor is there anything to be ashamed of in going on strike if need be.

In the second place, it is one thing for workers to cooperate with technical men in order to produce goods more abundantly and at less cost, and quite another thing for workers to cooperate with those whose relation to an industry is that of profit-takers. The former is good unionism in the main, the latter is in the long run impossible. One may believe that the capitalist system was made in heaven and will endure forever, but if he can see straight he will recognize that even so the relation between the man who takes wages out of an industry and the man who takes profits out of it is a competitive, not a cooperative one. At this point, a certain militancy is indispensable. No amount of words will change that in the least. Samuel Gompers, at any rate, did not see any end to the worker's demand for "more and more and more." For steering a straight course it is essential that the movement distinguish between cooperation with the technician and cooperation with the profit-takers, the lords of finance. The worker is not against industry, but that does not necessarily mean that he is for those who control it.

In the third place, in working out union-management cooperation plans we must be true to the fundamentals of collective bargaining. The union in the past demanded certain things in lieu of the worker's "cooperation"—a better standard of living for him, a more secure and honorable status, and for the union more power, more share in control. Today the worker cooperates often under more difficult conditions, he gives finer skill or endures more unnatural strain. He and his union must get decidedly more in return than in the past, or the whole thing is unreal and a tragic sham. If it is a nice tea-party between capital and labor that is wanted the company union can supply that.

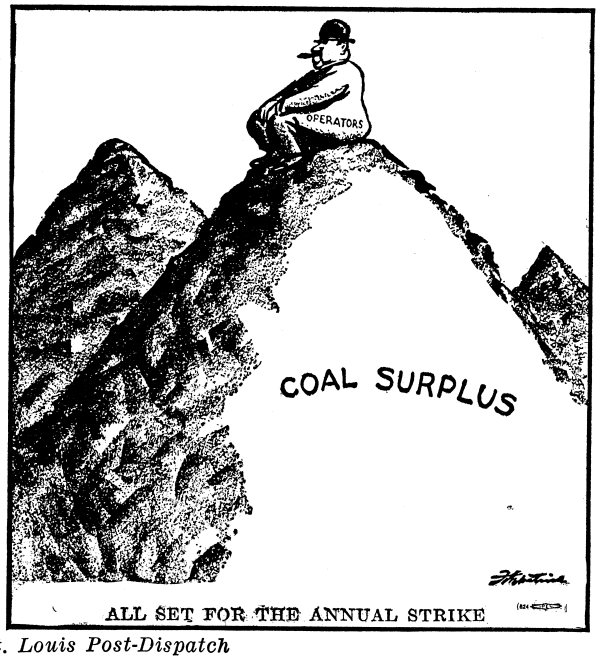
But is it impossible to be both cooperative and militant? If you help to keep industry going are you not helping the boss to get his profits, more profit as likely as not? Paradoxical as it may sound, being both cooperative and militant is the only thing the union can be at least for the present. Beyond certain limits it cannot go either in the direction of withholding its cooperation or in the direction of toning down its militancy, without becoming either a mere propaganda club or a tea-party and losing the mass of workers. It is not certain that given a militant union the boss would continue to take as large a percentage of profit, but doubtless when it comes to ultimate control of money-power there arise problems of taxation, valuation, use of nation's credit, disposition of basic natural resources, with which the union as such is not built to deal. Political action is called for. In the meantime the union is doing its share if it defends the worker from attack, improves his living and his status, develops a complete knowledge of the processes of industry, strengthens its own morale, power and prestige.

6. *Finally, the basic industries will be organized by a labor movement that challenges the American worker, appeals to the soul of him, to his courage, his self-respect, his pride and independence.* After all, it is the ancient American fight for freedom that we are carrying on, freedom under the conditions of this machine age. Today the worker is not free, whatever else he may be. Partly with the opiate of "prosperity", partly by being chained to a monotonous task, partly by a huge machinery of propaganda, partly because life has become vast and complex and he has not been educated to cope with it adequately and fearlessly, he is made passive, apathetic, superficial, sometimes cynical. His elections, his natural resources, his civil rights, are stolen from him, and he lets it all pass. We may quote Father Ryan at this point: "After more than three centuries, there approaches a return to feudalism. The new feudalism is political and industrial. Not improbably it will be more or less benevolent. The lords of industry will realize, at least for a considerable number of years, that their position and profits will be more secure if they refrain from the cruder and coarser forms of injustice, and permit the dependent classes, both urban and rural, to obtain a moderate share of the products of industry. The masses will probably enjoy a slightly higher degree of economic welfare than has ever been within their reach before. But they will enjoy it at the expense of genuine freedom. The mind of the masses will have become a slave mind. Possibly this is the kind of society that we want in this country, but it is not the kind that made and kept American free. It is emphatically not the kind of society that committed the destinies of the country to the custody of Abraham Lincoln."

It is absurd to think that American workers are deeply satisfied with this role of serfdom under the greatest imperialism of history. It is certain that there is that in millions of American workers which might be stirred to revolt against such a condition. Under modern conditions men can be free only by organizaion, cooperatively. They can be free only if all are free. If the labor movement is crushed, freedom and democracy are indeed gone, and no means remain for restoring them. A labor movement with idealism, with a passion that would challenge American workers, with a vision of the serfdom into which they are falling and with the role they might play on earth if they were free, that would dare them not to be lackeys, even for six dollars per an eight-hour day—might organize the basic industries.

Coal, Cal and China

Matthews Service



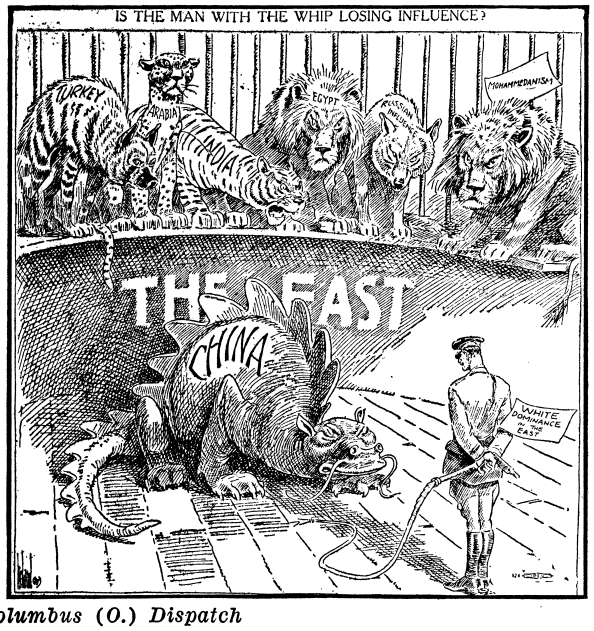
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Conciliation? No. Labor cooperation? No. District agreements? No. Reorganization of industry? No.

Such are the answers given the Miners by the majority of soft-coal operators. Sitting on their surplus coal piles, their declaration is: "War to the death, and no quarter!" Encouraged by the Interstate Commerce Commission discrimination in favor of non-union fields in freight rates, they now want to go ahead and make all the fields non-union. The government was a partner to the Jacksonville agreement. Nevertheless, it has lifted not a hand to enforce it or to bring order out of chaos now. Definitely, it has shown its anti-union animus. Without wishing it, it has thereby, perhaps, only speeded the day of that complete reorganization which soft coal must undergo.

If it has not acted in Coal, the government has acted good and plenty in foreign affairs.. Out of such action has come the snow-storm of protest and peace sentiment pictured above. Never was there a more unanimous demand voiced than that the U. S. A. keep its hands out of Mexico, Nicaraugua and China. Cal and Kellogg are wondering at it still.

As to China: The "Columbus Dispatch" cartoon is partly false and partly true. China is no mere animal, brutishly seeking to crush intelligent guidance. It is a newly aroused people, awakening to the injustice of foreign oppression. In that awakening, much blundering may result. But the nation must be allowed—as President Green of the A. F. of L. has said—to work out its own destiny. In doing that, it may also set an example to the other oppressed peoples of Asia and the world.



Columbus (O.) Dispatch

The 5-Day Week

2. *Objections Over-ruled!*

By SOLON DE LEON

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

Our second brief article on the 5-day week, furnished by the editor of the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, is run herewith. We invite questions on further facts, which can be used in your local newspaper, in debates or in statements of action for a shorter work-week in any locality. The important question is, Brothers: What are you doing to make the 5-day work week a fact? What are you doing to make it a popular issue through the country?

THE A. F. of L. did not discuss the five-day week again until 1926. Then, faced by the gigantic treadmills of the Detroit automobile works, the delegates once more pointed to the enormous productive capacity of modern industry, as well as to its strain upon the workers because of "the high tension of machine operation and the specialization which forces thousands to perform the same meaningless operation thousands of times per day." Again they instructed the Executive Council to promote a campaign for a short week.

Two months later President Green of the A. F. of L. addressed the New York Building Congress on the subject.

"The working people of the country," he said, "believe that we have reached that period in the economic life of our nation when industry can methodically change from the five and one-half and six-day work week to the five-day work week. . . .

"The exhausting effect of long periods of human labor can only be overcome by rest. Five consecutive days of constant toil make a heavy demand on the strength and vitality of the worker. He must have time for recuperation. This is specially true when the work done is of a repetitive or monotonous nature. . . .

"No industrial reform would be more welcome or acceptable to working men and women than the universal inauguration of the shorter work week. . . . The development of the mind, the artistic and spiritual part of life, depends upon recreational, educational, and intellectual opportunities. The shorter work week will help to provide those opportunities."

President Green declared his belief that "any premature attempt to impose such a vital change might defeat its purpose," and advocated a flexible policy. He practically promised the employers that production would be as high with the five as with the six-day week.

At its 1926 convention in Montreal, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers again adopted a resolution that the organization "bend every effort for the establishment of the 40-hour week in the clothing industry." James O'Connell, president of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., asked the Navy Wage Board to set up a shorter week for navy yard employees. "The five-day week is not philanthropy," he said, "but a cold-blooded business proposition."

The Ford Plan

How cold-blooded a proposition the five-day week may become is illustrated by Henry Ford's introduction of it in his own plants.

"The country is ready for the five-day week," announced Ford. "It is bound to come through all industry. The short week is bound to come because without it the country will not be able to absorb its production and stay prosperous. . . . The harder we crowd business for time, the more efficient it becomes. The more well-paid leisure workmen get, the greater become their wants. The industry of the country could not long exist if factories generally went back to the 10-hour day, because the people would not have time to consume the goods produced. . . . Just as the eight-hour day opened our way to prosperity, so the five-day week will open our way to greater prosperity."

It should be observed, however, that in introducing the five-day week, Ford cut off also the sixth day's pay. Only when the men speed themselves up so as to produce as much in five days as they used to in six, will they receive a full week's wages again. This, Ford declares, has already taken place in a number of his plants. A more cleverly calculated device for driving still harder an army of men already driven almost beyond endurance, it would be hard to conceive.

Employers' Objections

Profitable as it may be for him, Ford stands almost alone among large employers in advocating the five-day week. Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation; James A. Emery, counsel to the National Association of Manufacturers; A. W. Dickson, executive secretary of the National Association of Building Trades Employers; William H. Barr, former president of the National Metal Trades Council—he who sounded the attack on war-time wages within a few days after the armistice—and many others of lesser prominence have roundly denounced the plan. The "Pocket Bulletin," the monthly organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, published the opinions of about 30 manufacturers in various industries

in different parts of the country. Among the arguments there advanced were:

The employer cannot afford to pay existing wages for a shorter work week.

The five day week is impracticable for all industries.

Competition with European industry would be impossible.

It would artificially increase the present shortage of labor.

It would increase the cost of goods.

Industry could not supply enough goods to meet the demand.

It would lead to demands for increased wages in order properly to enjoy the new leisure.

"Idle hours breed mischief."

It is "sowing the seed of unrest in the structure of our entire industrial machinery."

"A trend toward the arena. Rome did that, and Rome died."

"The men of our country are becoming a race of softies and mollycoddles."

"Any man demanding the 40-hour week should be ashamed to claim citizenship in this great country."

The large investments in factories cannot afford to be used only 40 hours a week.

"A universal five-day week is illogical and unreasonable."

"Six days shalt thou labor."

No Real Obstacle

A glance at this time-honored host of employers' objections shows how threadbare they have been worn. From the argument of impracticability to that of irreligion, from the allegation of mollycoddling to that of making competition with less developed countries impossible, not one of them but has been trotted out a thousand times before to block every forward move attempted by labor. Higher wages, more humane hours, restriction of child labor, protection for working women, safety and health rules, trade unionism itself, have all had to fight their way against just such specious pleas.

There is no real obstacle to the five-day week except the employers' insistence on an undiminished flow of profits. Least of all is there any need for fear that such a reduction of the working week will result in inability to produce all the goods the world needs.

Lord Leverhulme who received a baronetcy from the British crown for his distinguished services as the world's leading soap manufacturer, knows a thing or two about industry. He is authority for the statement that,

"We might, with the means science has already placed at our disposal, and which are all within our knowledge, provide for all the wants of each of us in food, shelter, and clothing, by one hour's work per week for each of us from school-age to dotage."

Lighted by the possibility of such an inspiring "efficiency of life," the conquest of the five-dav week seems to be a foregone conclusion.

Bill Smith in Sherbrooke

Thrilling Adventure in the "Wilds" of Canada

By WILLIAM SMITH

BILL SMITH had a letter in his pocket. It was the cause of his venturing across the Canadian border, to the little town of Sherbrooke, in the province of Quebec.

Only a letter of that sort would take an officer of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers into the quiet-enough-looking town, at the confluence of the rivers Magog and St. Francis. It was not so long ago that Carl Holderman of Passaic and Charles L. Reed of Salem, Mass., had found themselves and certain union-inclined workers surrounded by thugs in that jolly place. A wide chase to shake off the thugs, out into the "pleasant" country-side, had proved unavailing. Holderman and Reed had shaken the dust of Sherbrooke from their feet, knowing that such brazen intimidation would frighten the workers and penalize them if they tried organization.

Bill, however, had that letter. It had come out of the correspondence on unionism which the Federation continued to carry on with as many workers as it could locate. A certain H. Thibault had written. He expressed a fervid zeal to organize his fellow-workers. What was needed, in his opinion, was a man on the ground who understood and spoke the French-Canadian lingo. And he was that man!

Bill wrote to Thibault that he would come to confer upon the matter. Thus it was that on the morning of March 22nd, in this Year of Our Lord, Bill and the letter neared Sherbrooke, on the over-night train from Boston. A Canadian custom official awoke him to examine his luggage. That, of course, was according to Hoyle and international law. But shortly afterward he was confronted by another official, who proceeded to give him a grand inquisition. His identification, his business, and the length of time he intended to remain in Canada were all duly looked into. Thereupon, events happened in quick order, as per the affidavit which he has made for this publication:

From the Affidavit

I advised him that I was an accredited representative of the American Federation of Labor, that I was to meet a man by the name of H. Thibault, No. 44 St. Edward Street, in the Frontenac Hotel, and that I intended to leave on the first train out of Sherbrooke. He then requested me to show my A. F. of L. commission which I d'd. He claimed that they must be careful that I was not someone just coming in to take money from some workers and then run off, never to be heard of again.

As the train slowed up he further questioned me as to

what workers we intended to attempt to organize, and I again was very frank in telling him "hosiery workers".

He then suggested that I go along with him to the station for a few minutes, when the train stopped, which I readily agreed to do. At the station he used the telephone several times and on one of these occasions when he came over to where I was sitting, I said "I hope you are not calling up the employers, as once before when two of our representatives came here they were chased all over this town by thugs and were threatened with bodily harm if they did not clear out." To this he replied that he would not do anything like that, and that I would be taken care of should anyone attempt violence. After being held in the station for about three-quarters of an hour, I was told I could go to the hotel and that he would call me there,

Framed-Up!

Proceeding to the hotel, I breakfasted. When I was finished and again entered the lobby of the Hotel Frontenac, I was confronted by two men. One, whose name was given me as Muetzler or Muchler, the superintendent of the Kayser Silk Hosiery Company, and one who introduced himself as Thibault, who claimed to be the night foreman of the same concern. Almost immediately I was told that I was going to be arrested for using the name Thibault to gain admission into Canada. At first these people were very sarcastic, but later admitted there must be some mistake and after politely keeping me company for two and one-half hours they decided to leave. As they were about to go, lo and behold! who walks into the lobby of the hotel but, Mr. Ray Hubler, the superintendent of the Canadian Silk Products Company. Immediately it dawned upon me that I was framed and that I must be careful or these people would get me into trouble.

I asked "Muchler" what the idea was and while he claimed Hubler was unknown to him, he told me that the Canadian Customs Official had warned the Kayser Company that I was in town and it depended entirely upon their say-so as to whether or not I was to be allowed my freedom. At about this time, the clerk informed me that I was wanted on the phone and over the wires I was advised that I was permitted to remain in Canada for twelve hours and that he hoped I enjoyed my stay while there. "MY FRIEND" the customs official!

Mr. Muchler and Mr. Thibault then bade me "good bye." Thereupon, Mr. Hubler sauntered past me and I said to him, "Well, Ray, I guess you want to see me now." His reply being, "You're G—— D—— right I want to see you, get your hat and coat and come outside to settle this score I have with you." On walking to the hotel window and gazing out, I noticed two rough looking characters waiting on the sidewalk. Not caring to commit suicide on foreign soil, I decided that I had better not accept the invitation of Hubler. After taking many insults from this man and receiving many threats from him of bodily harm, I decided to call up the American Consul for protection, which I felt was within my rights as an American Citizen.

"Zeal" of the American Consul

From someone who answered as the American Consul, I was advised that he could not do anything for me and that I should call the Chief of Police of Sherbrooke and explain my predicament to him. This I did and was advised by him to get out of the hotel, that I had no business there. I explained to him what might happen if I did that and he answered that that was my lookout and not his.

I then approached the hotel clerk and explained my predicament and that I was entirely at the mercy of the hotel. He very kindly offered me their hospitality and assured me that no harm would befall me while I remained there.

For an excuse, Hubler turned the argument into a personal one and after standing for these insults for three hours or more I asked him point blank what he wanted of me. Under duress I signed a statement claiming that I did not authorize a letter which went from my office to the effect that he deserted his wife and family and run off with the wife of a minister, which he actually did and we are prepared to prove it by affidavits.

Shadowed

Finally he left me and I then made my way unmolested to the railroad station where I purchased a ticket for Boston, Mass. At the station I felt that I would be safe and be protected by the railroad, as it was useless to appeal to the American Consul or the Chief of Police.

After remaining in the station for more than an hour, and feeling weary, I walked to the end of the station platform. There one of the men I had seen hanging around the hotel at the time Hubler was there, made sure that I saw him and I again went back to the station. Later I went to the other end of the platform and the other man instantly put in an appearance. I returned to the station again, where I was forced to wait until the train pulled out that night at 9:10, there being but one train in and one train out each day.

I arrived at about 7:30 A. M. in the morning of the 22nd and left at 9:10 at night.

Gunmen Desired

So Bill departed from Sherbrooke, even as Reed and Holderman had done. Hubler, be it known, is a noted scab and strikebreaker from Philadelphia, of no mean physical prowess but with a checkered sexual career. His position as superintendent is due to the ease with which he can hammer the poor French-Canadians into submission. It is upstanding, noble, American characters of this sort that the Canadian Government welcomes within its borders, apparently. American citizens and freemen of the type of Holderman, Reed, and Smith must take the first train out or risk their necks and lives. The Kayser Company, an American concern, and its gunmen received the full protection of Canadian "law and order" in enslaving and exploiting the Godforsaken French-Canadian.

You need not go to the Canadian Northwest, so long dramatized in play and novel, to get thrills. Just dive into the Province of Quebec, with a union mission, and you will think yourself in "Darkest Africa."

Drawn by J. F. Anderson for LABOR AGE

THE ELECTRICAL JANUS

Two-Facedness is particularly the distinguishing mark of the General Electic Co. Salve for the "Public", the lash for the workers—is their program.

British Tories Teach Class War

The Forces Behind the Anti-Trade Union Bill

By MARGARET M. GREEN

THE year before last we in Great Britain celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Act which definitely and expressly established the right of collective bargaining, and set Trade Unionism well on the path to freedom and power. Did we rejoice too soon? Already reaction was in full swing, and the new Trade Disputes Bill is a ruthless declaration of the class war by the Tory Government on the workers' organizations.

The national strike of May, 1925—it was never anything approaching a general strike—is the ostensible occasion of this Panic Bill. Attempts were made to manipulate the existing law; it was argued that the strike was illegal because its aim was to coerce the Government; efforts were later made to drive miners back to the pits on the employers' terms by prosecuting them for failing to support their families when work was available. But the existing law was not a good enough weapon of enslavement; a better is being forged.

A first clause, all the more sweeping for its vagueness, attempts a definition of illegal strikes. A strike is illegal if it has "any object beside the furtherance within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged", if it is "designed or calculated to coerce the Government, or to intimidate the community, or any substantial portion of the community." Now strikes in certain important services will always frighten a substantial number of people, especially those who read the scare press. This clause may, therefore, be taken as prohibiting sympathetic strikes in a number of important industries and services. But a dozen different juries might interpret the clause in a dozen different ways. Its very vagueness puts wide and undefined powers into the hands of the authorities, and, since its validity is unaffected by any question of breach of contract, it makes the workers in those services serfs in effect, who cannot give notice to terminate their contracts in the mass.

Protecting a Blackleg from "Contempt"

A further clause is designed to prevent intimidation—in itself an excellent thing, since tyranny is no class monopoly, and when men are risking their livelihood, feeling cannot but run high. But what is intimidation under this Tory Bill? It includes any action causing apprehension "of exposure to hatred, ridicule, or contempt". Can all the laws and all the coercion in Christendom prevent a blackleg from knowing that he is the object of "hatred, ridicule, or contempt"?

Under the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 "peaceful persuasion" is allowed in a strike, and the Unions are immune from any action for inducing persons to break their contract of employment; they are also relieved from liability for wrongful actions by their agents. Under the new Bill these immunities are withdrawn in the case of an illegal strike. Even the London TIMES—which defends the Bill as just—points out that this may cripple the Friendly Society activities of the Unions. For who will put his savings in the care of a body which may well be sued for vast and unknown damages?

In last year's strike the number of Civil Servants who came out was negligible. The Trades Union Council did not call them out, knowing that by so doing it would complicate its task and evoke opposition out of all proportion to the advantage gained. Nevertheless, the Civil Service Unions are to be brought under a stricter regiment. They may no longer affiliate with non-Civil Service bodies; they are to be cut off, that is, from the Trade Union Congress. Nor may these Unions have political objects, nor be associated with any political party or organization. But the larger Civil Service Unions—the Post Office Union, for instance—have their representatives in Parliament. Under the new Bill, that will be impossible. The industrialists who make—and adulterate—our vital necessities, bread and milk and sugar, may send representatives to support their interests in Parliament, but not the men and women who sort and carry our letters, and administer our public services.

Latterly, certain public authorities with Labor majorities have made Trade Union membership a condition of employment in their service. Under the new Bill that will be illegal. But there is no provision against the victimization and exclusion of Trade Unionists.

The Trade Union Levy

The most interesting and most debatable clause is that dealing with the Trade Union levy. The political funds of the Unions are kept separately, and at present any member may "contract out" and claim exemption from the levy. Under the new Bill he will have to "contract in", if he wants to pay. There is much discussion as to how this will affect Labor politics and Labor power. Some think that it will mean a very small falling off of contributions—public opinion within the Unions will expect men to "contract in", and they will do so.

If this is so, then the only complaint against the clause —quite a genuine complaint—is that it will add to the clerical work of the Unions. But it may be that under the new system only convinced and politically-minded Labor supporters will pay. That will mean financial loss. But it will free the Labor Party from a deadweight of quasi-supporters who join their Unions for the sake of the individual advantage of Union protection, and have no clear political convictions at all, but who never take the trouble and risk the odium of "contracting out". This inert mass is the bane of the Labor Party. It rarely votes or takes an active part in the life of the Union or the Party. But it can be whipped up occasionally—say in time of war—to support reactionary policies, and it can be used when the class struggle is fierce as proof that the active, pioneering minority do not represent the mass of Labor opinion. Financial loss would strike a blow at headquarters organization, at the officialdom of

Labor. But the gain in clarity of will and purpose might, in fact, more than compensate the loss, though we may be sure that that is not the object of the framers of the Bill.

Division Desired?

There is a further interesting problem arising from this clause. At present the Labor Party is fed by large Trade Union affiliations. It has individual members who pay individual subscriptions, but they are not its financial mainstay. The Independent Labor Party, on the other hand, depends on individual subscriptions and donations. Its membership, therefore, is entirely one of politically keen and politically conscious men and women—though I hardly dare say of politically trained minds. It is an older body than the Labor Party, but it is smaller, and is affiliated to the Labor Party.

It is, in fact, an organized Left Wing. If the Labor Party is freed of the intertia arising from its weight of non-political, automatic, Trade Union support, and comes to depend on the individual contributions of keen political thinkers and workers, it may well become indistinguishable, in structure and outlook, from the Independent Labor Party. Will the two fuse? Will there be a fight to the death, till one goes under? Will the change bring clarity and logic to the haphazard historical growth of our Labor movement? Or will it bring cleavage and strife?

A Ruthless Attack

These are far-ahead problems. For the moment, Labor is aghast at the ruthlessness of this Tory onslaught. The moderates, who talked glibly of peace in industry under capitalist rule, realize that this is indeed the class war, whether they will or no. Labor will fight the Bill, clause by clause and line by line in the House, by protest and demonstration in the country. The abler minds in the capitalist camp are uneasy. One great industrialist summed the Bill up in a single word—"unworkable". The serious capitalist press deprecates the vagueness and consequent sweeping powers conferred by the Bll. But one thing we all know: the stage is set for the greatest struggle in our life-time between the battalions of Labor and the forces of coercion and tyranny.

Open Shoppery in Bread

Serious Food for Thought

By CHRIS A. KERKER

OVER-EATING is sure to bring on bad health. Over-profiting has much the same effect. But in over-profiting it is scarcely ever the profiteer who pays the bill. It is the worker who is thrown out of work because of over-production.

We see that at the present moment. There is much talk of falling prices and falling markets, and certainly there is falling work. It can't be otherwise as long as the workers are deprived of enough wages to buy the stuff that is in the market.

That problem—of low-waged, open-shop slaves — is still particularly prevalent in the baking industry. For years the organized bakery workers have fought for better conditions in the industry. They put all their weight against insanitary and filthy bakeshops. They destroyed the boarding-in system, whereby the bakery worker was compelled to live in the rear of the shop cellar and be ready for action at the master's call. They wiped out the seven-day work-week and the unlimited hours of work.

Citizenship Challenged

But, having secured these rights of industrial citizenship for the men, the union finds itself challenged today by mightier forces than ever before. The Ward Baking Company continues to operate under open-shop conditions, together with its understudies—the Continental and General Baking Companies, the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and the American Grocery Sales Company. There is, last but not least, the Freihofer Baking Co., denying that it is a member of the "Bread Combine"—a "Trust in itself".

In their shops, despite high profits reported for the last year as well as for other years, low wages prevail, the speed-up is in vogue and unskilled workers break their health in a vain effort to turn out a palatable product.

We are making another drive against these "penance factories", as they have come to be known in the trade. In that fight we need the cooperation of all who believe in the things which the Bakery and Confectionary Workers have accomplished and for which they stand. It is a small matter, after all, to demand union-made bread. But that demand, if multiplied many-fold by members of Organized Labor and by those who believe in common justice, will aid materially to win our fight. Union-made bread is recognized by the union label affixed to it. We think that all men and women of good will should wish their daily bread to be the product of free men, of healthy men, of well-paid men. In other words: of union men, who have battled so hard for decent and hygienic conditions in their industry.

COMPANY FEAR AT WEST LYNN

About the Case That Hasn't Come Off the Table

This is what might be called an intermission number. Next month we shall sketch out in some detail other features of the General Electric company union at West Lynn, than those we have touched on in the previous articles. This little account is so enlightening as to the way that Company Unionism does NOT *work that we hope it will receive especial attention.*

FEAR is not a monopoly of the workers at West Lynn. By no means. The company officials are in a great state of hysteria and terror at almost any and all occasions. Just why this should be may be something of a mystery to the uninformed.

The workers have their jobs at stake, such as these are. They have seen discrimination of the most ruthless sort practised in the plants. They have seen Mr. Cox fuming and fretting and firing and they know that Mr. Cox is but an outward sign of Mr. Darling's real policy.

But the management? Why are they so disturbed? This little series of articles in LABOR AGE has moved them to all sort of amusing excitement and concern. Mr. Kenneth Bradley grew white with anger, when he heard that we had requested the right to analyze the "great" plan in the English High School at Lynn. Mr. Bradley is one of the army of rah-rah boys which the General Electric has ever at hand—to talk to a school, sing sweet music to labor men, or clasp the hand of the "public" in unconcealed delight. Mr. Stanley Ringer is another. Of his noteworthy career we shall say some few words in our next issue. But why this anger on the part of Mr. Bradley? Freedom of speech is a very well-established American right. Why not be willing to take tit for tat? Mr. Bradley was the gentleman who gave the students at the high school the glimpse of Darling's "paradise". Why should we not be privileged to show that it is, from the workers' viewpoint, only a few steps this side of Hell?

There is only one answer possible. The company fears the facts to come to light. They want to keep them concealed. This is borne out by the little story we now want to tell you, as we get it from the "fortunate" workers at West Lynn. It further illustrates how well the company has fixed up the rules of this great Fraud—the company union—so that it will never be hurt. Even if some of the company men on the various committees slip up at sometime and vote in favor of the workers!

The Case in Building 63

The scene is in Building 63 of the "River Works". One of the workers there is laid off or fired. He claims discrimination. As is required, he takes his case up with the shop committee in his section. This committee considers the matter, and by a majority vote decides upon re-instatement. This means that some of the management's men voted with the employes' representatives. Under the old rules, the case would end here, and the man be put back to work. Not now!

Sometime ago the Rules and Procedure Committee changed the rule. Every decision of a shop committee that is by majority vote must now go to the Rules Committee. That committee is charged with the task of checking up to see if all the technicalities have been complied with. As reason for this change, the company argued that otherwise a shop committee might set some "dangerous precedent" sometime or other. The real reason is, of course, two-fold: To prevent action being taken by shop committees on any point of importance, against the company, and to prevent cases from being sent to the management for decision. In that way, the plan is not only kept "safe and sane", but all odium is removed from the management for too many bad decisions. The Rules Committee takes care of that for Mr. Darling!

Now when this case arrived before the sacred Rules Committee, the company's men necessarily found a flaw in it. Some rule or other had been violated. Down it went, and again the shop committee's verdict was for the man. Up it then returned, papers and all, to be again reviewed. New flaw being found, down it must go once more. All of this time the poor man in the case had been out of work, something over a month—and in despair and disgust he found a job in a shoe factory.

They Want the Case Again!

The shop committee itself became disgusted. Since the man was at work, they tabled the whole case, refusing to try it further. Now, however, the company's side of the Rules Committee—fearful that LABOR AGE will uncover this case (as lo and behold, we have done!)—frantically requests the shop committee to send the case up again. They want to straighten it out. But the shop committee—God bless 'em—stubbornly refuse to do any such thing.

It is small wonder that grievances are no longer taken up on any large scale within the company union. Confidence in it is gone. It is no wonder that the management can advertise so widely that few cases go to the management for settlement. Enough soft cushions have been provided, between management and workers, where the case can fall and stay. The Rules and Procedure Committee is the softest cushion of them all.

Workingwomen and the Written Word

Will They Read Labor's Message?

By FANNIA M. COHN

IN the organization of women workers, the first appeal must be made to the union. For trade unions are, as a result of their historic development, men's organizations. They were brought to being by men, who gave greatly of time and effort. Men have led them and still continue, to a very great extent, to lead them; their policies, principles and purposes are shaped by masculine attitudes. So men must be convinced of the desirability and possibility of organizing women, if the ranks of trades unions are to be opened to women, and their institution shaped to the interests of this new industrial group.

Fortunately, men are coming more and more to recognize the fact that the problems faced by women are similar to their own, that only by working together can they be solved. More, they are coming to understand the power women workers possess to maintain or break down standards hard won by organization.

The number of women in industry increases each year. Some indication of this is given by the United States Census figures for women over 16 gainfully employed. In 1880, there were 2,647,157; in 1890, 4,-005,532; in 1900, 5,319, 397; in 1910, 8,075,772; in 1920, 8, 549,511. The comparatively slight increase in the last decade can be attributed to two causes. In the first place the date of the census was changed from July —the height of the agricultural season—to January—its lowest ebb. More important, the Census of 1920 was taken during a business depression when the number of women employed was naturally reduced by hard times. There is good reason to believe that the number of women actually engaged in industry is much greater than the figures of the 1920 Census show.

The number of women remaining permanently in industry is similarly increasing—more and more remain in industry even after they are married. But even those individuals who remain only temporarily create a permanent labor force which comes into competition with masculine labor and forces down the earnings of the men.

Thus, self-preservation alone gives warrant enough to the labor movement to spare no effort, time or money in the great task of organizing women workers. More and more trade unionists are coming to see this, to recognize the fact that they must help women to grow economically powerful enough to demand equal pay for equal work, to assist them in their struggles for higher wages. To leave the workingwoman at the mercy of her employer, they see, may be as bad for men as for women, since the employers will use women to batter down men's wages. Women's present low wages are due largely to their lack of organization. Where they are organized, their wages rise. Men trade unionists, increasingly aware of this, are rallying to the cause of organization for women.

But not alone on grounds of self-preservation can the organization of women be urged on men workers. Not only because women are workers and present a claim to organization equal to that of any other group must men rouse themselves. Women have much to contribute. They can bring to the labor movement, the freshness, earnestness and optimism which mark the entrance of any new group into a social movement.

The organization of women workers may have even more far-reaching results which the labor movement should be farsighted enough to discern. The influence of women extends beyond the mill, factory or office into the home. The working woman becomes in most cases the mother of future workers. She will be able to create in her children an attitude either friendly or antagonistic to the labor movement. Her power for good or harm to the movement in this way cannot be overestimated. If during her years in industry she has created in her an understanding of and a sympathy with the movement, she is more likely to throw her influence on its side.

Honest and well meaning men and women, however, still feel that women are not organizable. Women. they say, stay in industry only a short time and never look forward to remaining in it. Their confinement to the home and their limited experience in the social world have made them more individualistic and self-centered. For both these reasons, the task cannot be accomplished.

Such reasoning seems outworn to many of us, eager to see women organized. It makes no attempt to get at the root of the problem and consequently can contribute little to its solution. We regard the organization of women of such importance to all workers that we feel it deserves a closer analysis.

During the last few years, the labor movement has come into closer sympathy with our position. It has realized what a profound effect the organization of women would have. It has shown its interest in the problem by calling several conferences since 1924. These conferences, the subsequent decisions of the A. F. of L. Conventions, and the first steps made towards organizing—principles in other fields. We can lay down no hard and fast regulations for organization. It is especially difficult to make any such declarations with regard to women, because our knowledge about how to organize women workers is limited. But some methods have been shown to be most uniformly successful. Many of these methods appeal to people in general rather than to

women alone—such as in literature the use of effective language, plain presentation of the facts and careful arrangement. Other organizing methods which I will discuss apply to women only.

In the preparation of pamphlets, for instance, the experienced organizer has found the question form with answers given where necessary decidedly the most useful. By giving the reader an opportunity to answer questions out of her own experience and thus giving room for thought, the pamphlets stimulate to independent activity.

In fixing a meeting place for women workers, for instance, the organizer keeps in mind certain very important things. Men may be but little disturbed by either the location or the attractiveness of a meeting hall—it will matter much to women. A meeting hall to be used in an organizing campaign among women workers we know, is preferably centrally located to avoid a long walk from the factories; it is near the transit lines; it has a presentable entrance and a clean, cheerful cozy and attractively decorated meeting room. (Finding the dust of the meeting room chair on her dress may mar the memory of the meeting to many a woman.) These seemingly little things all work together to create a proper atmosphere, to bring the women into a friendly, receptive mood. And the organizer knows, too, that a speaker can be more convincing, more inspiring in speaking of how organization can help workers to more of the beautiful things of life, if he is undistracted by ugly surroundings.

Another very important consideration of which the experienced organizer is aware is the length of the meeting. After a day's work, everyone is eager to be home on time for dinner and to get ready for an evening's amusement. For a number of fairly obvious reasons, this is even more true of women workers. The organizer thus knows that it is essential that the organization meeting be short.

In their eagerness to impress workers with the need of organization, some organizers abuse their audience's patience. Carried away by their desire to win over the group to their ideals—they think they must accomplish all this at one meeting. Frequently, of course, the audience gives notice to the speaker by disappearing one by one from the hall before the speech is finished. But even if the speakers are eloquent and interesting enough to keep the audience so entranced that they forget the passage of time, such a long meeting has discouraging results. On their way home, annoyed by an empty stomach and thoughts of a mother's probable alarm, these girls, but an hour before members of an inspired audience, now freed from the spell, decide not to attend the next meeting.

An intelligent organizer knows that the organization campaign should have two phases—the general and the specific. In the preparation of literature, for instance, the problems with which all working women are confronted should be touched on as well as those in the specific industry being invaded. The general appeal tends to overcome time-honored prejudices of women and their families against organization, and to show not only the importance to women of trade unions, but the possibility of building them up. The specific appeal, dealing as it does with conditions in a particular industry, and the possibility of improving them, comes much closer to home.

Every organizer knows that, in addition, local shop problems must be touched on. But unless a plant is very large, an organizer may find it impossible to prepare special literature for it. If he cannot distribute special literature to the shop, he distributes the general literature only. After he has found out all about conditions in the shop, he has well informed committees approach the workers and call them to a shop meeting. Nothing is so impressive to workers as a knowledge of conditions in a shop. Exaggerations defeat their own aims.

It is appreciated nowadays that it is very difficult to plan an effective and successful organizing campaign among workinwomen without the aid of women organizers. I have dwelt upon this in previous articles, but I regard it as so important that I believe it cannot be overemphasized.

These concrete methods of attack, the product of experimentation in organizing, should prove most effective if they are used in organizing along with the general attitude, likewise determined by experiment to be most successful. This approach, as those who have tried to organize women, and particularly young women, have found, should be one of sympathetic understanding.

But this sympathy must never be overdone, so as to become sentimental. The organizer must not speak as if to immature people or try to be funny—I distinguish here between being funny and being humorous. For women, we know, respond most cordially to a serious and earnest appeal. They desire above all to be met on equal grounds, even by organizers who are older and more experienced. The truth of that is shown in our colleges, for it is well known that those professors who treat their students seriously are not only most popular but most successful. Young people now want to be regarded earnestly and taken into confidence by their elders.

Women can be most successfully appealed to through their desire for respect from their menfolk. Many of us women know that though it is difficult, it is not impossible to convince them that by joining trade unions and fighting for their rights and to improve their conditions, they will gain that respect—from father, brother and men friends. Much can be done by impressing upon them the fact that men will welcome them as equals when they, as well as the men in their circle, join the labor movement. They will eventually realize that recognition will come to them only when they have assumed their responsibilities as members of our economic, social and political sphere, and have in consequence become a social force in our modern society, working for the necessary constructive changes in our social life that will help us to reach a fuller and richer life.

The Drama of American History

A New Series of "Brookwood Pages"

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

VI. A New Coat of Arms

IN the generation following the Civil War, the United States was so busy consolidating industry and completing the occupation of the agricultural West that there was little time to deal either in deals or in world rivalries. Government was honeycombed with the graft and rottenness attendant on big deals such as Pacific Railways, and the business system developed ruthlessly, with the grinding of Labor. In 1877, for the first time, embattled workers and federal troops faced each other, wth Pittsburg for days in the hands of a mob. For the first time, American capitalism indulged in a wholesale massacre of protesting toilers, when the Haymarket victims went to the scaffold in a parody of justice. For the first time the injunction swooped upon the scene and signalized the marshalling of the powers of the courts against the strivings of the workers.

The preoccupation of ruling interests with internal affairs is reflected in the total absence of a navy for twenty years after the Civil War and in the reduction of the army to the vanishing point. So far as Europe was concerned, the United States was significant chiefly as a refuge for immigrants, and in the eighties the new migration from southern and eastern Europe set in and rapidly assumed volume and color. So little demand was there for foreign expansion that President Grant's scheme for the annexation of San Domingo fell through, and President Cleveland squelched the project for the annexation of Hawaii. Seward had managed to take in Alaska, but the acquisition was stigmatized as "Seward's Folly." On the western front, the immigration of Chinese was stopped, but the counter offensive in the Pacific went no further than the acquisition of a few small islands.

The great event in the generation following the Civil War was the final occupation of all the good agriculutral area, which culminated in the Oklahoma rush in the latter Eighties. Farms were planted faster than the city market could consume the product. Railroads were rushed across the plains faster than they could develop profitable traffic. The result was a furious political war in the states between the farmers and the railroads, the result of which was the establishment of the federal Interstate Commerce Commission, which has proved a necessary alternative to chaotic interference by the states with the course of transportation. The farmers' insurrection went on, however, into the organization of the Populist Party—the first formidable menace to private ownership. With the farmers stood certain middle-class elements and part of the workers, and in 1892 the new party captured several states, acquired a formidable representation in Congress, and threatened to turn the political scenery upside down.

There was reason why the workers should be looking for political expression. The train of governmental aggressions against Labor culminated for the moment in the Pullman affair of 1894, in which the federal governmen wilfully and maliciously created pretexts for intervention by court process and the federal army, and furnished final proof that the United States government has to be counted as the Supreme Enemy of American Labor. The workers had not, however, learned their lesson. No more had the farmers. The promising Populist Party was sold out to the Democrats in 1896 and the wave of petty middle-class insurgency spent itself in the Bryan campaign. Capitalism had won its decisive triumph on the political field, a triumph natural enough in view of the rapid massing of invested wealth and the portentious massing of trust formation ready to break all bounds as soon as the horizons were cleared.

Thus the United States was ready for a new chapter. The railroad net was virtually complete. The good free land was all taken. Small business was on its way to suppression at the hands of aggregated capital. Labor was but feebly squirming in the infantile pains or organization. What more natural than that the men of finance should look afar for worlds to conquer! Not that there was any immediate urgency for foreign expansion. If American capitalism had been sober and prosaic it could have found adequate profits for generations to come in the barely scratched resources of the United States, but trade romanticism and investment lures beckoned abroad. Thus a quarrel was picked with Spain in 1898, and though Spain conceded everything that the United States asked, her concessions were brushed aside and the war was on.

This step afield meant a final abandonment of the ancient idealism. No more idea that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." With the Filipino Republic ruthlessly crushed by American troops, it became apparent that "governments derive their just powers from the efficiency of their administration" and the United States set out to vie with Britain, France, and Germany in the colonial sphere. From such a beginning the United States has in a quarter century become the master power of the world. Virtually the whole western hemisphere is hers—not by political or military conquest but by the subtle penetration of investment imperialism.

But such a supremacy was not to come by mere accretion. Soon after the European powers plunged into the World War, a prominent American capitalist voiced the idea that "now that our worst rivals are hopelessly crippled it is time to jump in and get possession of the world market." Meanwhile, however, it was necessary to help cripple the foremost rival, even though there was a risk of adding to the prestige of the others. Thus the United States proceeded to wipe from the checkerboard of world trade the German competition which was by all odds the most formidable. Incident-

WHEN "PROSPERITY" ENDS

Speed-Up Already Sacrifices 150,000 Jobs

COMMONPLACE events sometimes surprise us the most. Many of us of late have been trying hard to convince ourselves that all that goes up stays up. Now, as a matter of fact, much that goes up comes down.

Carl Snyder, economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, gently warns us during the past month of this obvious development. Rising costs of living in cities are ahead, for 1927 and 1928. Relative wages will go down accordingly. "Friendly relations" between capital and labor will come to a sad, sad end.

All of which may possibly come to be. Our far-heralded "prosperity", after all, is builded much on the sands of Europe's after-the-war ill fortunes. International Bankerdom, having decided to bring Europe back to life—as per Mr. Morgan's earnest ambition for free trade—our eternal "prosperity", or much of it, may slip away. Which moves the venerable NEW YORK TIMES to hope that the workers will go far toward sharing the depression, as they have shared the "prosperity".

If they were actually to share the depression in the same proportion as they have actually shared the "good times", then things might not stack up so illy for them. For the sake of argument, let us forecast the hard, cold fact that their increased production has not been rewarded by proportionally increased wages and that the installment plan speaks eloquently in confirmation of that. There is much more to add. We find, for instance, that loss of jobs is the actual outcome of higher output. The United States Department of Labor announces that 150,000 factory jobs have been done away with during the past year alone by introduction of the speed-up system.

Now, that is a most interesting discovery. When it is coupled with the added news, in the same report, that the average factory wage comes to about $1343 per year, it is an astounding discovery. Increased production has been the talisman which was to have brought us all clear into Paradise. It was the wondrous thing praised by divers commissions which came to us from afar. "Hurry up" has been the battle-cry of America's Big Business. We see that it has merely cut jobs and diminished 1920's wages. (In that year, the average factory worker's wage was $1460).

It is particularly interesting and astounding, because it reveals what these workers will have to face when "prosperity" ends. They will be unprepared. They cannot be otherwise.

We can see but one lesson in the whole outlook. That is, for these unorganized workers to sever "friendly relatoins" with their employers now. Wait not for the fatal day when you will be severed from the payroll, anyway. For the organized, it is a challenge to go out into the highways and the byways, and raise the standard of union revolt among the unorganized afresh. What other answer can there be to the fool's state of mind in which many of us have been existing?

ally it was possible to reduce to subserviency most of the world, even though the United States thereby isolated herself and came close to meriting the title of "the enemy of the human race."

If the ancient prophets were alive today, they would hail the United States (as they did Assyria) as the rod in God's hand to chastise the nations for their sins. As it is, the United States has become definitely an empire. The Supreme Court first ruled that the constitution does not apply to conquered colonies. Then the courts decide that the constitution does apply at home in such a way as to prevent all federal social legislation and to render labor organizations liable to punishment without trial and to confiscation of their treasuries.

It is in such a fix that the American working-class finds itself. On the one hand it has the opportunity to accept material comfort and sordid ease under capitalist paternalism. On the other hand it can choose to take the desperate chance of declaring war on American capitalism in behalf of the workers of the world. So far as can be seen, American Labor has bartered the birthright for a mess of pottage. It has wilfully cut itself off from the world labor movement. It has refused to raise the standard for a Labor Party. It has neglected to start a drive for the organization of the unorganized. Nothing that objectors say or do seems capable of budging the movement from this path.

Thus the United States has a new coat of arms and American Labor has a new coat of arms. The Declaration of Independence has been superseded by secret diplomacy and the Liberty Bell by espionage and censorship. The challenge to a labor struggle has been replaced by the slogan of co-operation, and the trade union struggles to become an efficiency engineer. The Drama of American History approaches its climax in the tears and shrieks and writhings and cursings of a staggering world, and on the shoulders of the American working class must rest this responsibility.*

*Thus ends the present series of Brookwood Pages. It is to be hoped that they will be followed by other pages more representative of Brookwood and more in harmony with the spirit of the American Labor movement.—A. W. C.

OUR CRIMINAL COURTS

Sacco-Vanzetti Case Symbol of Putrid System

Judges in general contrive matters so, that their day of sitting shall also be their day of ill-humor, in order that they may always have some one upon whom to vent it conveniently, in the name of the king and the law.—*Victor Hugo* in NOTRE DAME.

WE have no king. But we have the "law", so-called, still with us. It is this "law" and its administration which is on trial in Governor Fuller's office on this first of May.

Sacco and Vanzetti are no longer on trial. They have long ago been declared innocent by the conscience of the working people of the world. Their case has been set down for the benefit of other men and women of good will in Felix Frankfurter's book on the case. Written by such an eminent student of the law, it has won the attention and changed the attitude of even reactionary minds. Many are now coming forward to declare that "conservatism" will receive a mighty blow if its innocent victims go to the electric chair.

What think you of these things called the courts? Judge Webster Thayer is a fair flower of our judicial system. He is a welcome attendant at country clubs and rich men's salons. In the face of the confession of Madeiros, he would nevertheless send Sacco and Vanzetti to the chair—merely for being radicals. If that be not murder, then we will have to invent a new definition for the word. After seven years of "deliberation", it is trebly so.

The Massachusetts case is but a symbol of the increasing putridity of our judicial system.

In the Stonecutters' decision by the Supreme Court, we have another reminder of this fact. In face of legislation to the contrary, the court has calmly taken away one of labor's chief means of carrying on what is at the best largely a one-sided fight. Justice Louis Brandeis, in disagreeing with the majority opinion, rightly declared that this decision came near to restoring "involuntary servitude".

For Sacco and Vanzetti, efforts should be unceasing. These men must not merely be saved from the electric chair. They must be freed.

Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has voted for a stoppage of work for a time as a protest against their sentence. Under the leadership of Luigi Antonini, this decision will shortly be carried out. The same thought was voiced at the large mass meeting in Union Square during the past month. Other unions will undoubtedly adopt a like course. Still others will follow the example of the I. L. G. W. U. in demanding action from Governor Fuller. Everything that can be done should be done immediately. Time is passing. July 10th, the day set for execution, will soon be here. Suppose it were yourself who was the victim of this decaying judicial system!

WHAT'S WRONG WITH STEEL?

The Challenge of Company Unionism

GRANITE City, Ill., has been on the labor map in more ways than one this past month. It has just elected a Socialist mayor, with the aid of union labor. It has also been the scene of the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

That convention should have been a memorable one in the history of the steel workers. Whether it will be so or not remains yet to be seen. One resolution, filled with possibilities, was adopted by that gathering. It deals with the company unions and reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The company unions in the big unorganized steel mills are a menace to our organization; and

"WHEREAS, The workers in many of these company union plants are beginning to realize that these 'unions' are of no real value to them; and

"WHEREAS, Present indications in the plants are that the workers employed are seeking the way to break away from the company unions and to organize bona fide unions of the men; and

"WHEREAS, These workers should belong to our organization;

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention find ways and means to find out the sentiments of the workers towards our Association and arrange to have them join in our ranks."

That resolution sounds encouraging. If it be pursued to its logical conclusion, it will bring about an inventory of company unionism in Steel. The studies of LABOR AGE have already shown how the men feel under these company unions, at least in one center. We are making other studies of other centers. In the near future the outcome of these investigations will appear in our pages.

The action that the Amalgamated Association will take, in view of this resolution, will be an acid test as to whether it can meet the company union issue. We want to say, from what we have seen, that the job CAN be done. Not in big strikes at present. Not in half-prepared walk-outs. But in secret organization and education within the company unions.

We will therefore have, before the year is out, some answer to the question: "What's Wrong with Steel?" Our own continued studies will help to produce helpful facts. The resolution quoted will serve to bring things to a head. The need in Steel is INTELLIGENT ACTION to make the company union a center for real unionization. We will look forward with no uncertain interest to the outcome of the business. The end of 1927 should serve to give some idea of what's what.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:
To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

A PLEA FOR INSANITY

Postscript to "A Winning Program"

EVERY non-union center, no matter how small, is a menace to good conditions and to progress in unionized localities.

Out of that one bad apple, if it be allowed to lay and rot, may spread an infection of Open Shoppery that will make an entire industry the prey of anti-union maggots.

These are cardinal principles in the unceasing contest with reactionary Employerdom, that unionism must observe if it means to preserve itself and go forward.

Last month we indicated, from the programs of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and the Boston Building Trades, what can be done by way of Intelligence in this little game of freedom. Intelligence is needed, if at any time, at this particular period. The employers have set themselves to taking up every scheme that shrewd personnel salesmen can invent for the befuddlement of the workers. The programs sketched out in the last issue are beginnings of what should be on foot everywhere.

Intelligence, nevertheless, is not enough. Fire and belief in the workers' cause are necessary supplements. It is that alone that can move the mass of the unorganized to walk out, to join organizations in spite of blacklist and police, to become militant and permanent members of the unions. It is this fire that will take organizers to union gates, that will create union shop papers to offset the plant organs of the employers, that will hammer within company unions and without until their strength is broken down and the way paved for unionization.

Insanity is, after all, a good thing—at the right time. It is insane men who do the impossible. It is the man who does the impossible who makes the real organizer in this period of canned prosperity. It is the man who can create the right phrase, who can strike the right note in the mass, who can arouse the workers even sometimes in spite of themselves—who is needed today. When he has done his task, then it is the time for the quiet negotiator to step into the foreground and arrange for the necessary truce.

The postscript to the winning program must be:

1. **Local central bodies and their affiliated unions must be encouraged to carry on, constantly, local mass meetings of a public character—at which the union message can be delivered in a vigorous way to the unorganized, both at the meeting and through the consequent press notices.**

2. **Literature distribution, particularly in the form of a local workers' shop organ—under union auspices—should be gotten out regularly, at the factory gates. This will keep alive the union spirit within the plant. It should deal with the abuses within the plant, with which the workers are familiar. Thus, will they gradually see the folly of Open Shoppery or of Company Unionism, as the case may be.**

3. **The central bodies might well stimulate all their affiliated unions to cooperate in campaigns of this sort, as all will benefit by the spreading of the value of unionism.**

Two great assets in the campaign for unionism are not being used as they should be: The daily press—through effective reports of local open labor meetings; and the printed word at the factory gate—through union shop organs! This is a plea for the furtherance of these two methods—a plea for that insanity which is within reason!

THE NORTHWEST LABORERS

They Progress—With No Race or Creed Discrimination

"Trust the people—the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad—with the gravest questions, and in the end you educate the race."—*Wendell Phillips.*

THIS quotation, appearing in the April NORTHWESTERN LABORER, expresses the spirit of that publication and of the Northwest Conference of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, of which it is the monthly organ. It is encouraging, brothers, to note the unity, militancy and intelligence in the cause of unionism with which these unions have embarked upon their job of organizing the laborers of that far-Western section.

Quarterly conferences are held through the year, the next to take place in Portland, Ore., on June 18th. We are particularly pleased to note that "no discrimination in racial, religious or sexual lines" is proclaimed as the first tenet of the building laborers, though of course women will not likely enter the industry because of the nature of the work. The publication points to the fact that Negro workers are readily admitted into the organizations, and form a considerable proportion of the membership. We also learn that a concentrated drive to organize Mexicans has begun in Los Angeles, the services of an American of Mexican descent being secured for that purpose.

Congratulations are due Brothers Robert Buchanan, N. E. Williams and George W. Lish of the Publication Committee for the zeal with which they have taken up this work. If that sort of effort is prosecuted continuously, the wages of laborers will not only go up at the rate they have been advancing the last six years but much more rapidly.

GEORGE F. SAYS——

"Just Think How Lucky You Are"

ENDICOTT, lying on the outskirts of Binghamton, N. Y., is supposedly a free American city. The supposition is, however, a very violent one. Endicott in reality is the vassal town of the good King George. Boot and shoes are made there—all for the glory of George. The workers march once a year, with large banners displayed, proclaiming the virtues of George. While the faithful serfs toil for 40 cents an hour, amid the foul air of the tannery. George disports himself in Seabreeze, Florida, and other fair-air spots.

George is George F. Johnson, and every day in the Binghamton paper which he controls, he runs a special section, containing a wise saying by himself. "George F. says" is its heading, and it always contains some sage advice to the working class from the master of anti-union shoes. For Endicott-Johnson is anti-union and glories in its shame.

To veneer the low wages which the company has handed out to its poor boot and shoe workers, a bonus is presented every year—presumably out of profits. Every year it has run around $200—but this year, alas, with Prosperity upon us, it has fallen to exactly $30.68 per man and woman working there. Of the sayings of George F., none is more profound than his announcement of the smaller bonus, to wit, as follows:

Seabreeze, Fla.

To the workers:

Your profit sharing this year will disappoint some of you; but it will be because you do not understand. We have had a very close, hard year. Shoes have been sold at a low price. We have built up a strong position, however, and we will show better this year, providing we all do our part.

The profit could have been increased by reduction of wages. We preferred to maintain the wage scale; which, after all, is the best we have for the workers. Steady work and good big wages, is much more important than any other feature of distributing profits.

Now let's go to work, and see if we can't increase and improve our results so that next year we shall feel much happier.

Your friend,

GEO. F. JOHNSON.

What think you of that gem of wisdom? "The profit could have been increased by reduction of wages." As though the workers do not understand that this is merely robbing Peter to pay Paul. They must understand that in it there is a threat, that if the mass are too much "disappointed" and seek to express such disappointment too openly, a real wage cut may obtain.

Indeed, a mimeographed sheet—the ENDICOTT-JOHNSON WORKERS VOICE—appeared suddenly in different parts of the factory. Where it came from, no one knew. But it encouraged a number of workers to speak up a bit. We find that that place—heralded in the SYSTEM magazine and other like quarters, as an example of Capital's dealing with Labor—described by those who know it as a "hell hole", as worse by far than working in a coal mine, "because of the stink", with other like pleasant descriptions. We hope to God that the revolt, thus expressed, will continue.

George F.'s letter stands as a masterpiece of the bunk which Benevolent Capital imagines the workers will fall for, forever and forever, Amen.

LISTEN, GIRLS!

"To Be a Clubfello Is to Be a Goodfello"

PRAY, don't take it too much to heart! Girls will be girls, it has been said. What if M. Wile and Co. of Buffalo does think that that means that "girls will be babies"? We have often heard that quaint phrase, "Some baby" used to describe an alluring member of the gentler sex.

Unhappily, M. Wile's thought seems to refer to the baby-minds of the ladies who work in his establishment. To guard them from the curse of good wages and a union, the firm has hit upon the great stunt of forming a Clubfello Association. M. Wile makes Club Clothes, you see—strictly non-union, strictly low-waged. The fare that is dished out to the girls in return may be gauged from their magazine, the CLUBFELLO. In the April, 1927 issue—with little bunnies on the cover—the March meeting

is summarized in part as follows: "In writing about a meeting the business part usually gives way to the description of the social part as to whether the entertainment was good, the dancing enjoyed, etc. . . . The entertainment part of the program consisted of dancing, the presentation of a play, also a magician who really and truly mystified."

Three pages of the magazine are given over to the boosting of Wile stock, which the company wants very badly to thrust into the hands of the workers. Ten pages are devoted to this sort of stuff—known as "News Flashes":

"Stanley P., what kind of a lip-stick do you use, strawberry or kiss-proof?

"Stella Smith is just as fast in getting the boys as she is with her work. Did you see her at the dance? Hot socks. Some sheiks. Oh, Stella!

"The most handsome man is Margaret W.'s friend. Where did you find him?

"Girls, watch the Clubfello next month for interpretation of your dreams."

These bits of bunk are relied on to take the workers' minds far from the real dreams they should be having—of decent wages and of a decent foreman system. Most of the girls are Polish-American, and it is worth recording that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have decided to do a little "dream interpretation" of their own through Miss Julia Lesniak, Polish-American herself. In cooperation with Organizers Lacosta and Shainock, she will bring the message of unionism to the girls at Wile's—in order that they may think less of "hot socks" and "some sheiks" and more of a wage on which they can become better fitted to enjoy themselves in a healthy, independent way, and not through the "charity" of their employers.

We have, in the Wile experiment, a tabloid example of the petty lengths to which present-day employerdom will go to wring a cheap wage out of its "baby-minded" working force.

A JOB WELL DONE

Reading, Pa., Looks At Itself

FOR some years a something like calm dread, approaching paralysis, has lain upon many of our local central bodies. There is no use dodging the fact, for it is there. With the employers setting on foot new strategems and schemes, the union workers seemed utterly unable to meet and conquer the situation.

Now, from here and there, a new attitude is to be observed in the ranks of Organized labor. Local bodies are beginning, slowly, to look themselves and their communities in the face. Many things will be learned thereby—and out of the learning will come—revolt.

Reading, Pa., we are pleased to state, has decided to sit up and take notice, with a vengeance. The Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers have conducted a local radio broadcasting there, reaching the homes of the men and women in the unorganized Berkshire mills. Thus ably backing up the excellent local labor paper, the READING LABOR ADVOCATE, the radio has given new life to the central body. Attendance at its meetings has jumped three and four fold.

More important still, Reading labor has decided to look itself full in the face. The result has been startling. The investigations of John P. Troxell, educational director for the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, show that Reading is one of the lowest wage centers in the country. Not only that: But these bad conditions have been purchased through unwieldy dividends for the corporations operating in that city and vicinity. The Berkshire Mill, the American Chain Co., the Carpenter Steel Co., and all the rest have flourished out of all proportion to decency. The union wages in Reading were found to be lower than in most other centers. As to the non-union wages, this little summary of a few gives the whole story:

Non-Union Wage Rates in Reading Compared with Union Rates Elsewhere

Occupation	Reading Non-Union	Elsewhere Organized
Street Car Men	$ .54	$ .64
Book Binders	.87	1.02
Sheet Metal	.70	1.25
Bakers (Bench)	.51	.55

Women workers are particularly exploited. The average for girl factory workers in Reading is $13 for a 54 hour work-week. In Philadelphia a few miles away, the girls in the garment industries make $33 for a 44 hour work week.

Out of these facts, the Federated Trades Council decided to carry on a campaign to show the people of their city how vital it is that higher wages be the goal of public effort. That is the way to do the job, we can say wihout hesitation. President J. Henry Stump of the Council and its other members have begun a real piece of effective work in securing the aid of Mr. Troxell, in bringing out the facts, and in setting on foot action that will lead to organization. May we have more of that in Pennsylvania and throughout the country!

Reading's beginning is a challenge to local bodies everywhere.

WILL BOTANY NEVER LEARN?

PASSAIC'S big Botany Mills is playing with fire. On April 4th announcement was made that the loss of that company for 1926 was a mere $4,485,458. This—in contrast with a profit of $398,100 for 1925—gives a glimpse of the cost of industrial warfare to short-sighted Employerdom. This $4,000,000 dollars could have paid the 10 per cent wage demand over and over. The demand had to be met anyway, at the end, and the union recognized as in existence. But Botany seems determined to make Passaic the permanent home of the agitator. It is now seeking to establish a company union, on the ruins of its "open shop". If Botany persists in that, we predict a further loss of profits year by year—until there is no Botany left!

In Other Lands

A MAY DAY SLOGAN: "WAR AGAINST WAR!"

MAY Day is Europe's Labor Day. It is a time of workers' rejoicing and of hope. Through the mire and the fog of the present system, they peer forward toward the era when they will rule the earth.

May Day, 1927, is clouded with somber forebodings. The workers have had to bear the tragic burden of the war. The meaning of "Dawesization" and "stabilization" has largely been "Slavery". Now they see before them the promise of future conflicts. Twelve years have scarcely passed since the great war began. The memory of the eternal peace sworn at Versailles still lingers. The disarmament of Germany was to free the world from military terror for evermore.

Alas! The dream is shattered. Europe today sits on a powder-keg, as does the world. Imperialist greed, which went to such lengths years ago as to force the helpless Chinese to raise the bars against opium to enrich Britain's coffers, is weaving the same nets of intrigue and murder that it weaved in the days of old.

The May Day slogan of the International Federation of Trade Unions is, "War against War!" Let us take it up and shout it from the housetops—from every meeting place and forum, as a warning to the Imperialists that they must not go too far.

COOPERATION STRIDES FORWARD

If political and industrial progress in Western Europe seems to proceed with leaden feet, such cannot be said of the great cooperative movement. We now have at hand the report of the British Cooperative Wholesale Society for the year 1926. Although the miners' lockout naturally affected its sales, the decrease was not so large as might have been expected. Beyond that, even in the face of this handicap, the membership of the shareholding societies continued to grow—rising to a total of 3,877,000 during 1926, a gain of 102,000. The retail societies also continued to march forward—51 new branches being opened, with new departments in hair-dressing, millinery, tobacco, confectionery and the like appearing in many local centers. The program for 1927 calls for an even more widespread extension of these ventures. With all the difficulties of the past year, the Wholesale Society's total sales came to almost $380,000,000. It is a sign of hope—that the Profit System can eventually be abolished.

THE FASCIST IRON FIST

"Remember that a Fascista, and especially a militiaman, must not believe in perpetual peace.... Your musket and your uniform are given to you not to spoil in idleness, but to keep ready for war."

These two sentences from the Fascist "decalogue", issued this past month, reveal the foul barbarism and imperialism which have now spread themselves not only over Italy but over Hungary, the Balkans and Poland and into Spain. Fascism is the enemy of the workers everywhere. In Poland it is seeking, under the direction of Pilsudski, to crush the White Russians. Five deputies, representing the White Russian workers and Peasant Party, have been thrown into jail. School teachers, managers of cooperative banks, and trade unionists have been arrested in this drive; the banks and schools have been closed. In the Ukraine and in other sections the Polish dictator is carrying on a campaign of suppression equal to the terrorism of the Czars.

Not to be outdone, Primo de Rivera has at last succeeded in putting through his decree in Spain, similar to that of Mussolini, declaring all strikes illegal. Military censorship prevents the publication of any article attacking the decree. It is to be regretted that the trade unions are divided and confused on the issue, and have not presented a united front against it.

In Roumania the terror continues—not only against trade unionists of all stripes and against radicals, but also against any member of a religion other than the state religion. The brutal "law of escape" prevails—a young writer Kahana being its latest victim. He was shot down "while trying to escape", a revival of an old and brutal custom long since thought buried.

The rotten, stark-naked fact is that these Fascist Governments are being upheld in their brutality by the Wall Street powers of the United States and by the soft, Machiavellian hand of Tory Britain.

BANKRUPTCY OF BALDWINISM

With powder and balls enough to bombard helpless Chinese cities, and with money enough to hurry 20,000 troops to Shanghai and other ports, the wisdom of Britain is as yet unable to provide work for its ever-increasing horde of unemployed. The April Monthly Circular of the Labor Research Department advises us that there were 1,375,000 of such out-of-works in Britain in January of this year. These figures—taken from the report of the Ministry of Labor—indicate that "unemployment is becoming stabilized at a high figure."

That all would not be peace and joy under these circumstances is quite clear. That the Baldwin Government would seek to make for "industrial peace" in the hindsight way that it is doing is almost incredible. Firstly, it has decided to play the so-called ostrich act, by attempting

to cut off thousands from the unemployment benefits—under the recommendations of its Blanesburgh Committee. As if not paying benefits will get work for the men! Secondly, it has sought to strangle the trade unions and hamper the Labor Party by the new anti-union law, reviewed in an article in this issue. As if the legal hamstringing of the unions and of the Labor Party would prevent unrest! Even independent Tory organs have come out in dissent from such a policy.

As though in warning, 8 of the recent by-elections have gone Labor, and but one Tory and one Liberal. Sir John Simon, the Liberal lawyer who attacked the legality of the "General Strike", sees which way the wind is blowing and draws back from endorsement of the Tory proposal. But Baldwin, widely heralded as a meek and peaceful man, goes full steam ahead—into bankruptcy. The Die-Hards now have him in their grip, and will ride him on the rocks before they are through.

NEW AFRICAN SLAVERY

Baldwin, blundering, hopes to stop the unstoppable by suppressing the workers' organizations; his colleagues in South Africa, with equal madness, try to turn back the hand of time and re-introduce slavery there. Forced labor is the new lot of the African workers. To make assurance doubly sure, the officers of the Industrial and Commercial Union, appealing to black workers, are prevented by law from moving freely from province to province. This great international union of the blacks extends over the borderlines of South Africa into Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and Nyassaland—and hopes eventually to rally the negro workers of all Africa. By halting its work, the South African government seeks to "make Africa safe for forced labor".

Will it be able to do this so easily, think you? Or, is it preparing—as the International Federation of Trade Unions hints—for as great an explosion eventually as is now beheld in China?

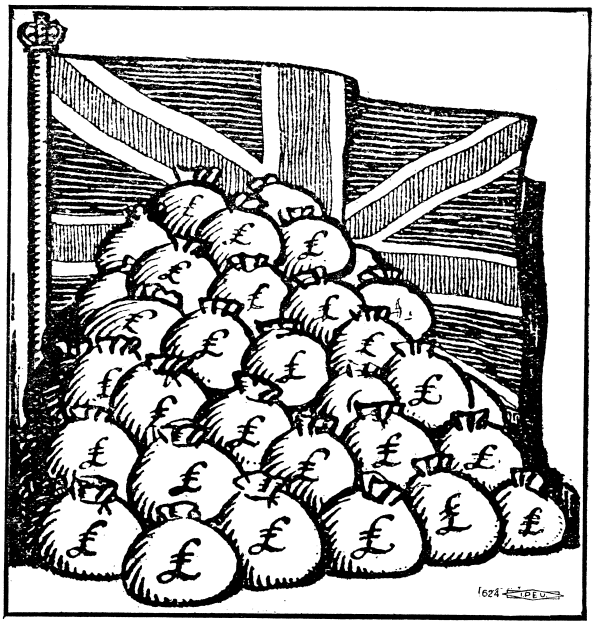
AUSTRALIA STILL AT IT

Malapert Bruce, Tory Premier of Australia, returning home from London Town, finds himself sorely beset on several sides. The ex-Laborites in his party, led by former Premier Hughes—kicked out of the Labor Party during the war—are threatening revolt within the Tory ranks. This affords no ill feelings to the Labor group, now in control of five of the six Australian provinces and aiming any day to take over Federal control.

To make the workers' hopes even higher, the Federal Arbitration Court has decided, finally, in favor of the 44-hour week, for the Amalgamated Engineering Union. A great hulla-baloo was set up in the Island Continent some time ago when the Federal Court sought to make the 48-hour week predominant, even over 44-hour rulings by state courts. By referendum vote, as we all now know, the people clipped the wings of the Federal body. Now, it seems well tamed and responsive to popular will. The Australian Workers' Unions request for a change in the "basic wage rate" has been rejected, however, in another award by the Board of Trade and Arbitration. The Board rather endorsed the idea of child endowment now being urged by the Labor forces in Australia, particularly in New South Wales. Despite the militancy of the Australian workers, the more we look at their wage and hour regulation by courts, the less do we like it.

BRITISH "INTEREST" IN CHINA

As pictured by "Plebs", British labor magazine.



WORLD CONFERENCE

May 3rd will see the opening of a World Economic Conference at Geneva. Not only nation-members of the League of Nations, but also the outsiders—Russia, Turkey and the United States—will be represented there. Chambers of Commerce, Employers' groups and Labor Union Movements will have their delegates at the conference. A great game of barter and sale will go on, openly or behind the scenes. Oil may again be prominent. M. Loucheur's suggestion for a "United States of Europe" certainly will. High tariff walls are not working so well—and free trade on the European continent in all probability will come to the front of the discussion.

TELL IT TO THE NEWSPAPERS!

A Challenge to You, Brothers

OF what avail are all the facts which Labor has on its side of the bitter fight with Employerdom, if we do not get them out to an ever-wider group? The high-pressure publicity men of the Employers, as we have stated endlessly, are ever at it, hammering at the organized workers, seeking to break down their morale, seeking to intimidate the unorganized. They use the daily newspaper to its limit. Local labor men do not. We want to challenge every one of our readers to DO it. If difficulties arise, get in touch with us and we will aid to get "it" in the newspapers.

"Say It With Books"

WHAT OF AMERICAN LABOR?

Is It Challenging Capitalism in the Political Field?

HAS American Labor made the most of its opportunities in the field of politics, to challenge the increasing power of capitalistic agencies in our country?

That is a question which has been debated for many years of our industrial history. It has led to great political movements of protest, in which Labor in whole or in part has joined or been joined up from time to time. Even today, it is a query which will cause many a man to grow red in the face, and to become much heated on one side or the other.

We are indebted to William English Walling for a sympathetic statement of this question, from the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor. His newly issued study, AMERICAN LABOR AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, published by Harpers and Brothers, gives a valuable review of the development of the non-partisan policy in the political field, up to the La Follette movement and beyond. It does more than that. It also gives due emphasis to the program of the A. F. of L. for the future, including the declaration for "Industrial Democracy" at the Portland convention.

The answer of Mr. Walling to the question we have asked, and which he asks and answers, is: "Beyond doubt, yes." All through the book runs an unqualified approval of the program of the A. F. of L. toward politics and government. It is perhaps the ablest apologia for the Federation's past and present policies, that has yet been written.

The author, we think, makes a fundamental error, however, in implying that the American Labor Movement will never make war on the Profit System as a whole and will never enter upon the field of independent political action. His own review shows that the policy of the Federation has shifted somewhat in the course of time. The almost syndicalist attitude of pre-1906 days has given way to "rewarding friends and punishing enemies". In turn that was modified to a degree in the LaFollette campaign. It takes no remarkable gift of prophecy to foretell that the memory of that near-united drive will be a bridge for the further independent action of a Labor Party in time to come.

The lack of a critical attitude has led Mr. Walling into another and smaller mistake, but one that reflects itself in the lack of union militancy within certain sections of the Movement. In pointing to the reluctance of certain labor men to follow the Federation in an endorsement of La Follette, he blames the Socialists for provoking this action. In all fairness, it must be said that this was largely due to the fact that these labor men were beholden to one or the other of the old parties. They were holding petty political offices, and to that extent the Movement in their eyes was a tail to an old-party political kite. They had to think of the wife and kiddies!

The growing use of mass production will cause the Movement to challenge more and more sharply the Profit System which lies back of it. That is, if it hopes to retain and extend its influence over that great mass of workers toiling in the factory and basic industries. The Portland convention resolution pointed in that direction. But the resolution is still so vague that it requires further development, as to its exact meaning.

LABOR AGE was the first agency to point to the significance of that declaration, and we agree with Mr. Walling in stressing it. We also agree that he is on the correct track in stating that "management" is not so much divorced from finance as many folks lately have been trying to make out. In view of that latter fact, we do think that the Portland declaration requires much further definition and explanation. Its implications are not understood by the Movement at the present time—not down among the rank and file, out through the country.

Upon that further definition and explanation depend the possibilities of an effective challenge to Capitalism in the future. Up to the present moment the entire governmental program of the Movement has been largely based on pragmatic grounds. The growing anti-unionism of the courts and of the Government itself in the hands of men like Mr. Coolidge makes for a quickening of labor action to chalenge such a situation. It is pretty clear that the fundamental basis of such action lies in the industrial field. It is only a Movement strongly entrenched in the basic industries that can gain respect for its political power—in an industrial parliament as proposed or in the Halls of Congress.

A LIGHT THAT FAILED

"Industrial Democracy" That Threw Money Away

ONE fine day in 1923 the newspapers carried the story of the strange actions of Mr. George Bliss MacCollum. Head of four large hosiery mills, he had suddenly appeared on successive days at a window in each one of them—in Philadelphia, Northampton and Florence, Mass., and in Providence, R. I.—and thrown twenty-dollar gold pieces and silver dollars out the window.

Quite a considerable sum was tossed away in this fashion. Then, turning to the assembled workers in each plant, Mr. MacCollum said: "We are throwing money away like this every day—in inefficiency and lack of cooperation. When you throw one dollar away in the process, I am losing twenty. The whole situation can be remedied by 'Industrial Democracy.'"

In this dramatic fashion, so-called "Industrial Democracy" was introduced into the MacCollum mills. Under the guiding hand of John Leitch, author of the idea, it began to function. The workers in the mills had always been union, were committed 100 per cent to the union program, and remained so under the plan. A House of Representatives, Senate and Cabinet, however, were set up to act as plant control committees, in addition to the union.

Educational pamphlets were issued to the workers, in order that they would understand the beauties of the plan offered them. Odd to relate, they did not seem to enthuse about the thing so much as might be expected. In a short time, the "Industrial Democracy" had made the plant a Bedlam of conflicting suspicions. One set of workers were set against the other—and the previous difficulties which the management had experienced seemed trivial compared with the chaos now gradually unloosed. Money was being thrown away, faster than ever before. After less than a year of fighting over this and fighting over that, with several attempts to censor the management for lack of efficiency, the workers decided that the whole experimnt wasn't worth the trouble of conducting it. The management agreed, with a sigh of relief. "Industrial Democracy" was buried, without a tear.

In this instance, we had a genuine attempt to find a substitute for trade unionism merely on its merits. It failed—as it will always fail, when intimidation is not used to bolster it up.

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 April 1, 1927, 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 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—Lonis Francis Budenz, 3 W. 16th St. New York City.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 West 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.)

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 430 North St., Harrisburg Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

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.

4. The two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security hoders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1927.

(Seal) ERNEST BOHM,
Notary Public.

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