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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Thinking Things Through

1. Nothing To Offer?
2. A Good Beginning—What Next?
3. Can Women Be Organized?

BAR'S PEACE PLAN

The Major's Masterpiece

Research—For What?

We Are Challenged

Speed Industrial Unionism!

The Group Mind

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

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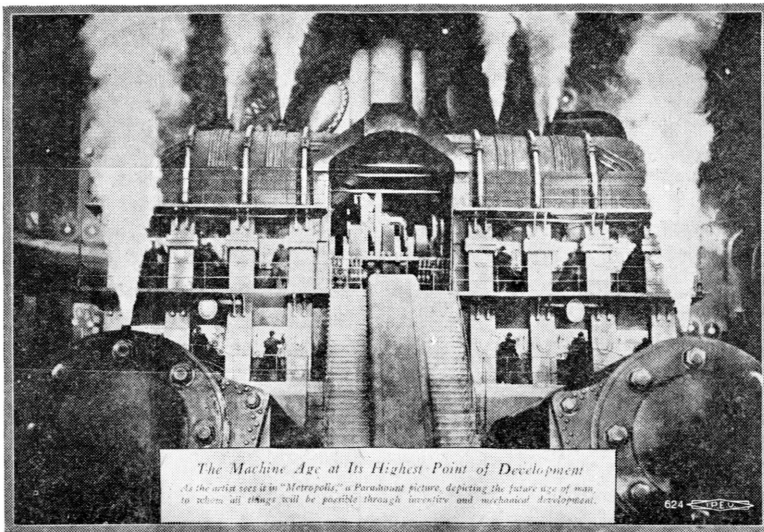
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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Thinking Things Through

To Beat the Machine



The Machine Age at Its Highest Point of Development
*As the artist sees it in "Metropolis," a Paramount picture, depicting the future use of man
to whom all things will be possible through inventive and mechanical development.*

THE crisis approaches. Now, before it engulfs us, is the time to think our problems through. As the machine age comes into its own we face the paradox, which we have frequently foretold, of hungry, unemployed workers in this land of plenty, because they produce in abundance.

Let us see what has happened in industry in just a few years. In 1927 there were 11 per cent fewer workers in American factories than in 1919, yet they produced more by 16 per cent. Comparing the present situation with 1922, 9 per cent fewer workers in manufacturing industries produced 4 per cent more.

Under the direction of Herbert Hoover a committee has begun a study of the extent of unemployment and its causes. This should prove encouraging to those who are out of work, but we doubt it.

It was at the Los Angeles convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1927 that Organized Labor demanded a new deal, a larger share of increased production. Things, however, move rapidly these days, and mechanized industry grinds on, while unfortunately the unorganized workers are not in a position to enforce this demand for a reduction in the hours of work and for an increase in their purchasing power.

No matter how we look at it, a better organized working class could bring about prompt action to solve this major problem. This is why A. J. Muste's article this month is so timely. It answers the employers' false propaganda that the workers do not want to be organized. In their case "the wish is father to the thought". With him we assert that the workers will respond to the proper message of organization.

Thinking things through requires that we look at the young workers who have entered industry—11,000,000 of them—and they are largely unorganized. The women workers, too, must be organized and we must learn how to do this job.

While we are working out our problems, along comes the American Bar Association with a highly press agented proposal to bring peace to industry. But they cry peace where there is no peace. Before the hearings in New York were many hours old the plan collapsed. Company unions, forsooth, were to be given the same recognition as real unions. Lawyers who think labor will walk blindly into a trap that leads to compulsory arbitration have another guess coming. As Brother Budish points out, labor has had to contend with too many injunctions and unfair rulings from our judgocracy to put itself at the mercy of the courts.

Nothing To Offer?

Continuing Brookwood's Organizing Pages

By A. J. MUSTE

WHEN we discuss the question of organizing the unorganized, we are often met with the inquiry, *But what can you promise these people if you do organize them?* Are not their wages good, their hours reasonably short, their conditions a vast improvement over anything they used to have, and over anything that workers in any other nation have at the present time? Don't they have their radios, their flivvers and their bank accounts? If you organize them and demand more wages for them in order to justify your taking their dues, won't the employers forestall you by granting them the increase and depriving them of the excuse for organization? Or, if one of these huge corporations is determined not to grant more wages, determined to prevent organization, then can they not force their workers to fight a desperate battle, probably a losing one, so that it is years before they can expect to get as much tangible gain by organizing as by staying away from the labor movement? Furthermore, employers ask, is it not true that the workers know all this perfectly well, that they don't want to be organized, that you can't organize them today?

When Fear Was Absent

Of this last point we cannot be so sure. When people tell me that workers don't care to be organized, I think, for example, of what happened in the war. Hundreds of thousands, even millions, crowded into the unions. Of course, there were various reasons for this, but certainly one of the most important was the simple fact that people were given to understand, by orders of the War Labor Board and by Secretary McAdoo's famous order for railroad workers, that there would be no discrimination against those joining the unions. As soon as that fear was removed, the workers indicated plainly enough what they wanted. I think also of the terrific opposition that is ordinarily put up by employers against every attempt on the part of the workers to improve their conditions by self-organization. Why, if the workers don't care to be organized, if they have nothing to gain from organization, put up such desperate opposition to it? I think of Passaic last year and of the long months that the Passaic workers were willing to struggle and to suffer, with no other gain in sight save that of the right to be organized in a union. I think of the gigantic battle being fought in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado today, for no other object than the right to retain a union. It really doesn't look as though the workers cared nothing at all about unionism!

But the other point is a serious one. We have to face the fact that in these days we cannot promise the workers any very great immediate material gain as a result of joining a union. We cannot put a quarter into the union slot machine today and pull out a dollar tomorrow. When we undertake to organize, it is not, as is

sometimes popularly supposed, for the sake of a strike. A strike we avoid if it is humanly possible to do so. Sometimes we can perhaps plan our campaign a little more subtly than we have in the past, so as not to have a strike forced upon us in an altogether unfavorable moment. But in the main, we face the fact that practically every attempt at organization will be met by the bitterest opposition; that so far from being able to offer the workers immediate gains, we can often promise nothing but danger and sacrifice.

I can hear some of my friends explain, "That is just the point; it is hopeless; for the present we are up against a stone wall." Being an optimist, and constitutionally averse to admitting that I am up against a stone wall until I have tried smashing my head against it a few times, I still refuse to accept the conclusion. I still think there are arguments that can be presented to the American worker. I suggest a few, not new or original, but perhaps worth refreshing our memories about.

1. We can tell the workers about the great gains that have been obtained by trade unionism in the past, increased wages, shorter hours, vastly improved conditions of work in the shop, safety regulation, sanitation, laws for the protection of women and children in industry, the extension of free education to the children of all the people. These and numerous other gains that we might mention have been achieved by the workers in the past, in the face of constant opposition, and would have been impossible without organization. If, now, this great force of trade unionism is to be weakened or killed off, if the new trustified industries springing up on every hand are to be absolutely unorganized, what security have we that the gains we have made in the past can be held or that any further advance can be made? Do the American workers really believe that what they and their fathers had to fight for in the past is going to be handed to them on a silver platter in the future?

Why This Opposition?

2. Again, we can ask the worker, as has already been suggested, why the terrific opposition against every effort to unionize, if the worker stands to gain nothing and his exploiters stand to lose nothing from unionization? Surely, employers are not going to spend millions upon millions of dollars every year on labor spies, hired thugs, coal and iron police, injunctions, damage suits against unions, the effort to build up company unions, just for the fun of it, just for the sake of preventing the worker from getting something that the worker does not really want and that would not benefit the worker if he got it!

3. The fact is that American capitalism, for all its talk about cooperation and the identity of interest between the worker and the employer, is looking ahead, and therefore is fighting trade unionism, and that the worker would equally fight to the last ditch to maintain and

extend organization if he also were looking ahead and realizing what is in store for him. Capitalism, American imperialism, today is digging the graves of millions of American workers and preparing poverty and distress for us all. The only thing that can prevent this calamity from befalling us, is a strongly organized labor movement that will insist upon having the resources of this fair land used for the benefit of the people and not for the enrichment of a few.

Dying for Imperialism

What precisely do I mean? American workers, with the aid of machinery, are the most efficient in the world. We are producing goods in ever greater abundance. If these goods were turned over to the workers to use, all would be well. Modern efficiency would then mean more wealth for all the people and shorter hours. But we get only a part of what we turn out. The first result of this is the kind of thing that we are witnessing in the coal fields today. The miners mine coal so rapidly and efficiently, they are such good miners, that they mine themselves out of jobs by the tens of thousands. The bankers then take the surplus that does not go to the workers. This surplus they invest in oil, rubber, banana and coffee plantations, railroads and what not, in Mexico, Nicaragua, China, Mesopotamia. There they make huge profits with cheap labor. Labor, mind you, that competes with American labor in the world markets, just as surely as if we were admitting floods of immigrants into the country. Of course, every attempt on the part of these Chinese and Mexicans to organize, in order to put themselves on the same level as American workers, so that there would be no unequal competition, is regarded as revolutionary and is cruelly suppressed. Pretty soon these "backward peoples" cannot stand the oppression any longer and revolt, or our American millionaires fall out with British, French, German, Japanese millionaires in these same backward countries, and then we have a world war on our hands. This war is fought by the workers. When the war is over, the cost of it is paid by the workers in increased cost of living and in taxes. The graves of American workers who are to die in the next great war are already being dug by our imperialism, and poverty and distress are already being prepared for us all. Already, marines are fighting a little private war for Mr. Coolidge in Nicaragua and we are spending millions every year upon marines who are stationed in China. Ostensibly, they are there to protect the lives of American citizens. It seems curious that it should take a little over 10,000 marines to protect the just a little over 10,000 Americans in China. Certainly adequate police protection for once!

In view of this situation, we may well quote the ringing declaration which President Green of the American Federation of Labor recently sent to Chairman Hughes of the American delegation at the Pan American Congress in Havana:

"The working people of the United States are firmly convinced that cordial and friendly relations can be established and maintained between all countries represented in the Pan-American Union through the development of a perfect understanding that the Government of

the United States will not, at any time, interfere in the affairs of any Latin-American Nation and will not, either directly or indirectly, encroach upon their sovereign or territorial rights. Such a guarantee should be absolute, without reservations, and should be made in such a way as to remove all doubt in the minds of all people who reside within all countries represented in the Pan-American Union.

"The working people in the Pan-American countries should be guaranteed the right to organize and to cooperate within their respective countries in the furtherance of their legitimate, social, industrial and economic interests."

Am I to be told that if we were to put our soul into the effort to let the American workers know the facts about imperialism, to organize them against it, we should get no response? Am I to be told that American workers have so little passion left for freedom, so little interest in what happens to their children and their children's children, that they are willing to have American imperialism continue digging the graves of the American working class and preparing poverty and distress for us all?

4. When we talk in these days about not being able to organize people unless we can promise them immediate material changes, we appear to assume that in the past unions have been organized in that way, namely, by promise of immediate material results. But the fact of the matter is, as all of us are well aware, that practically without exception, the early history of every single union has been one of struggle, of sacrifice, of bloodshed, even. Only after the utmost effort and usually after long waiting, have the members obtained tangible results. Furthermore, practically every old-timer in the labor movement with whom you talk about these things, will tell you that in those days the members were more loyal, interested and enthusiastic than today!

We might almost put it that so far from it being impossible to organize workers unless you offer them immediate material rewards, you cannot organize them unless you offer them an ideal, offer them spiritual rewards, regardless of immediate bread and butter gains. For an immediate bread and butter reward no worker will take great risks. Why should he? It is a simple business proposition. But men, especially youth, respond to the call of idealism, struggle and sacrifice. For deliverance from the burden of poverty, from the spectre of insecurity in the face of sickness, accident, old age; for the destruction of militarism and imperialism so that men may dwell in peace upon the earth; for the elimination of profit-takers and wasters from industry; for deliverance from the speed-up and drive of mechanization; for the control of industry by the workers, a government of the people, by the people and for the people, in our economic and political life; for a great brotherhood of the men and women who toil throughout the world—for these truly American, truly working class ideals, American workers can be gotten to struggle and sacrifice.

Labor idealism is what we have to offer the American workers. An honest, militant, courageous labor movement, a movement that will try to gain the recognition of the workers, and not bother too much about being rec-

ognized by the bosses or the bankers, can have their allegiance.

If such a labor movement, offering nothing but toil, struggle, sacrifice, brotherhood to begin with, were to organize the masses of unorganized workers, a strange thing would come to pass, for there is no doubt that such a movement would raise the wages in mills, mines and factories, would shorten hours, would immeasurably improve conditions of work, would provide security against

sickness, accident and old age; in other words, provide bread and butter gains in abundance. In the present state of things, in other words, a movement setting forth only material gains, cannot get up the requisite energy and enthusiasm, and so loses out both materially and spiritually; but a movement starting out primarily to develop labor consciousness, labor idealism, spiritual energy, would have "all these things", food, clothing, shelter, security, "added unto it."

A Good Beginning—What Next?

Concerning Youth and Labor

By EVA SHAFRAN

THE burning question of the working youth in American industry was placed squarely before the labor movement of this country in a two-day Youth Conference, held at Brookwood Labor College on December 30 and 31. For the first time the question was discussed by labor leaders, officials of the A. F. of L., and rank and file members, representing in all 22 unions. The problem was thoroughly debated, its various aspects described, and to the labor movement was referred the big task that remains to be done—organizing the young workers of America in trade unions, and so bringing into the full service of the working class a group which is at present not only indifferent but often antagonistic to its methods and aims.

All over the world the labor youth plays an important role in working class struggles. The labor unions in every European country have special provisions which make it possible for young workers to enter into and be active in the trade unions, and at the same time learn the trade in which they happen to work.

The wages of the young worker are controlled by the trade unions, so that the employer cannot play off the young against the adult worker. Young workers are provided with special economic advantages such as, two weeks vacation with pay, special emphasis on sanitary conditions, limitation of night work, etc.—all those means which lighten the labor conditions of the young worker and make him more useful in the labor movement.

Eleven Million

In the United States there are about eleven million young workers in industry. This is about one quarter of all the workers gainfully employed in the country. These young workers are almost entirely unorganized and so left at the mercy of the employers. In the face of industrial development and the decreasing necessity for skilled work, these young workers are often used by the employers as competitors against the adult workers in times of strike, and on other occasions when the bosses see greater profits involved.

Moreover, these young unorganized workers often belong to such organizations as the boy and girl scouts, the Y. M. C. A., etc., and are, therefore, apt

to be unfriendly to the labor movement, instead of being a useful asset to it.

Out of the conference discussions, two concrete problems presented themselves for consideration.

1. The youth in industry, outside the union, and
2. The youth in the unions.

The first problem is one of organization, of the correct method of approach; the other is, how to maintain the youth in the unions after they are organized, and make them most useful in the organization.

A. Organizing the Youth

We can assume at the outset that the problem of organizing the youth is part of the whole great problem of organizing the unorganized. The important point involved here is the method of approach. Just as there is a special problem of how to approach women workers or Negro workers, there is the question of how to approach the labor youth.

The American young worker is being brought up in an environment fundamentally different from that of the European. The European working-class child is brought up in a workers' atmosphere; he breathes labor from earliest childhood, and often begins work when very young.

The American child, on the other hand, is brought up mainly in an atmosphere of promised "opportunity," with a chance to attend school, and with all sorts of lullabies about American "equality" and "opportunity." By the time the European working class child has learned his lesson from the boss, has acquired a spirit of protest and revolt, and has joined a union, the American young worker, even the one who has been in industry for some time, is devoting himself to foot ball or base ball games, and expending his enthusiasm on prize fights or Black Bottom dances.

In attacking this situation it may be wise to adopt some of the methods that the employers use to blind young workers to their needs. It may be necessary to create an environment for the young workers similar to the one we have been describing. If they are used to sports and dances, the unions that want to organize them must provide these things, of course never forgetting to emphasize their economic needs and the importance of economic organization.

The American young worker, the "Black Bottom dancer," although not having the "European spirit" and experience, will realize his economic conditions when told in his own language—that he gets an average wage of \$15 to \$16 a week, works nine or ten hours a day, and suffers from "slack."

Special efforts will have to be made to bring this message to the young workers in America. The unions will have to open their books and lower the initiation fees; special organization campaigns will have to be launched; special demands which appeal to the economic needs of the young worker must be formulated; special literature, youth organizers and youth committees will have to be provided.

B. Youth in the Unions

This is not an entirely different problem from the one we have been discussing; it is merely a different aspect of the same problem. If the youth within the unions functioned properly, they would be a nucleus for organization work outside, and at the same time would carry along the existing organization.

The first thing necessary is: do away with the paternal or maternal attitude towards the youth. They have to be considered as an equal part of the labor movement, not privileged (although, since the youth is our future, they might well be privileged!) yet not scolded when they don't deserve it.

Second, make the conditions for belonging to the union favorable, so that they may more nearly meet the youth's economic conditions. This would mean, for instance, lowering dues for the young workers, according to their earnings.

Third, take care of the apprentice. Although the apprentice problem in America is not as important as in

other countries, owing to our rapid industrial development, still there is an apprentice problem, and the policy of the union should be equal rights and pay for apprentices and journeymen, in proportion to their production, and regular increases in wages for the apprentice.

Fourth, establish work-schools to train the young workers in the trade. These schools should be controlled by the labor unions, and the industry (the employer) should be responsible for the apprentice's study. This would mean that the one who learns the trade would be paid, according to union wages, for the time he goes to school.

Fifth, and this is very important for the life of the union, "activize" the young workers in the unions—make them useful, make them work. Youth is enthusiastic and has unlimited vitality, which the labor movement sadly lacks; these qualities can be enlisted in the service of the union. Every important union committee should include young members; every strike should make special appeals to the youth, and the opportunities of leadership should be open to them.

The Brookwood youth conference made a good beginning by opening up all these aspects of the problems, but the work needs to be pushed vigorously to secure lasting results. More such conferences all over the country on a broader scale, local and shop conferences of the unorganized young workers, and even national conferences are necessary steps in mobilizing the enormous potential force of the unorganized young workers into the service of the trade union movement.

Are the fruits of this initial effort to be wasted from lack of cultivation and indifference, or will the labor movement accept the grave responsibility of tackling this problem? What will be the next step?

Can Women Be Organized?

Heart Appeal and Common Sense Will Do It

By GENEVA M. MARSH

CAN women be organized? In the face of existing facts the answer to such a question seems obvious. Women have in the past gone into organization with a spirit and initiative which has been nothing short of marvelous. Just take for instance the great suffrage movement. Here was organization conducted by women, which was practically a mass movement. They knew exactly what they wanted; they organized on a stupendous scale and worked until they secured the thing they were after. In the case of the prohibition laws, undoubtedly these laws were largely brought about by the organization of women, notably the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Another striking example is the Young Women's Christian Association. Here is an institution directed solely by and maintained entirely for women. Unquestionably women will organize for the things which interest them.

But can women be organized by the trade union move-

ment? Many attempts to enroll women in trade unions have failed, and perhaps it is time to analyze the causes for these failures and take stock of the methods which have been used and can be used to enlist the support of women for the labor movement.

We cannot start with the assumption that women are a great deal more difficult than men to organize. Here again the facts will not bear out such a theory. Organization even of men is not easy. The first union of men made its appearance in this country just about one hundred years ago. At that time women as a factor in industry were entirely ignored. Even when the labor movement of the time first took up educational problems they were providing for education for the male child and the girl did not enter into their calculations. But despite one hundred years of practically constant effort there are today millions of men in this country who are still completely unorganized.

A New Factor

Women are new to industry. Thirty years ago the fields open to women consisted principally of school teaching, domestic service and dressmaking. The World War really dates the beginning of women in industry in sufficient numbers to become a significant factor. Women are in industry and they are apparently there to stay. In many fields employers have found them equally as efficient as men. They adapt themselves more readily than men to some occupations. So long as employers find them satisfactory there will be jobs waiting for them, and just so long as there are jobs they will fill those jobs.

For this reason alone, it is absolutely essential that women be organized. If they are left uneducated as to the interests of labor as a whole and our dependence on each other in the economic system, they will compete with men; they will accept lower wages and will be used against organized labor in times of industrial strife.

However, despite some of the discouraging experiences in the organizing of women, they have by no means proved themselves hopeless in this respect. There have been some very worth while achievements by women in this line. In Chicago both the bindery women and the waitresses have formed strong and very well conducted organizations. In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union thousands of women have been drawn into the organization. I understand that one local union was made up of about 85 per cent women.

In the theatrical field women have gone into organization on a considerable scale. They are a prominent part of the Actors' Equity as well as of the Chorus' Equity. The Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants is another union which operates in a field now practically closed through their own efforts to non-union workers.

The Women Upholsterers

The most outstanding example of unionization on the part of women is the Women Upholsterers in New York City. The union numbers about 1,200 members. It is practically a closed trade and the conduct of the union itself is an inspiration, not only to women but to men as well. Out of their membership of 1,200 the average attendance at union meetings is about 900. No more alert group can be found in union circles than these hundreds of women who are keenly alive to the issues which face organized labor and anxious to contribute their share in the solution of its problems. It is interesting to note that this organization is made up exclusively of women, its officers are all women and it conducts its business with employers with a business-like efficiency which is to be envied.

These are but a few instances of the things women have done in organizing. There are many more. The milliners have responded readily to the organization idea. The Telephone Operators clung to their organization long after the men connected with telephone work had seceded from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

In surveying the field of successful organization among women there are certain outstanding features which are worthy of attention. In the suffrage movement women were fighting in reality for equality. They

felt that the vote was a step in that direction. The suffrage campaign lasted over a number of years and was organized and managed almost exclusively by women. The Y. W. C. A. seeks to satisfy certain social and educational needs of young women. That, too, has been organized and directed entirely by women. The unions which have been most successful in organizing women and maintaining their organizations have been exclusively women's organizations, officered and controlled entirely by women.

Why Are Not More in Unions?

Naturally we come to the question of why women have been successful in organizing women both outside and inside the trade union movement, while efforts to unite them in trade unions in which men play the dominant part have frequently proved futile. Isn't it possible that there may be some very good reasons why these attempts have not been overly successful?

In the first place we must remember that there was a tendency on the part of men to be hostile to the entrance of women into industry. This attitude of hostility was not entirely dissipated when attempts were made to organize the women in trades where men were already organized. They were not particularly keen about women taking an active part in the unions. They wanted them organized because it was to their own economic interest to have them so. But once in they preferred that the women have very little to say.

Men have not been willing that women should share in the management of the union. Perhaps there were reasons for this attitude. Women were new to organization. They were not always willing to accept conditions as they found them. They asked embarrassing questions. They wanted to know why this was done and why that was not done. In other words, they upset the apple cart. The fact remains that men considered themselves by right the directors of the destiny of the organization.

The result has too often been that women have felt they had no share in the union management. They were asked to pay dues to and work for an organization where they were more or less looked down upon. Remember always that the suffrage movement was carried on by women in order to defeat just this attitude.

The worst feature of the failure to give women a share in the management of the trade unions was that at the same time the unions failed to educate them in the philosophy and needs of the labor movement. Union meetings are usually rather dull affairs where much routine business is conducted. The best informed individual is the one who takes an active part in the organization. After all, it is only natural that women soon became bored and lost interest in a movement in which they were not encouraged to take an active part.

Half Hearted Campaigns

Another outcome of this apathetic attitude on the part of men in labor unions has been the half-hearted conduct of organization campaigns among women. Organization is a slow process and the building of a labor union requires long and arduous labor as well as the expenditure of considerable sums of money if it is to be a lasting thing.

The following instance gives a perfect example of how in some cases these organization campaigns have

BLIND MEN



"The Illiterate Man is a Blind Man."

(Drawn by J.F.H. from a Russian 'Education Poster.') 624 ←



"The Literate Man is often a Blind Man, too!" 624 ←

J. F. Horrabin in The Plebs magazine (London, England), presents an exceedingly worthwhile idea in these cartoons. The Daily Mail has its counterpart in our American dailies, with their continued false propoganda concerning prosperity and the benevolence of open shop employers.

More than ever is there the necessity for workers to secure the facts in the Labor press and to gain inspiration to carry on the fight.

been conducted. Very recently an organization made up of men undertook to organize the women affiliated with their trade. Thousands of dollars were spent upon such a campaign and the time and effort of a woman organizer was given to the union. The women in the trade did respond. There can be no question about that. They formed a branch of the union in question.

But certain internal political difficulties arose within the men's union. Their interest centered on their own troubles. Here was a group of women who had shown splendid potentialities as a functioning labor union, but they were new to the union field; they knew little about it. They needed guidance and assistance until they could learn and could put their union on a firm foundation. They were left high and dry because interest in them had abated. After such an experience, we may assume that another organization appeal to these girls when interest in them is revived will meet with a cool reception.

Women Will Organize

Certain reasons for the difficulties experienced in organizing women are always cited. These are that women

are not permanent in the industrial field and that they look forward to their own homes and therefore are not interested in bettering their economic conditions. We must admit that there is some force to these arguments. On the other hand it is quite probable that too much stress has been laid on these factors and not enough effort has been spent in educational work. With changing conditions women are becoming more permanent in the industrial field and increasing numbers of them are continuing at their trades after marriage.

We must look farther than such surface reasons as these for the answer to our problem. There are too many successful unions and organizations among women to show that these obstacles have been overcome by the proper appeal. It has been clearly demonstrated that women will organize. But women must be given something to organize for. They are practical as a rule and they want to know that organization will benefit them and that they are not being used as tools to further the ambitions of others. A new technique is necessary which will appeal both to the heart and to common sense, if women are to be enlisted in the labor movement.

Research--For What?

Technicians' Aid to Labor

By ESTHER LOWELL

WHAT is organized labor doing to adjust itself to the technological revolution which is sweeping through industry today? Are trade unionists studying the problem of their displacement by more and more automatic processes? Whole groups of skilled workers, on whose craft control the American Federation of Labor was based, are now being wiped out. Industry is spending millions to hasten the change. What must intelligent workers do?

Today 67 workers do the work 100 did just 25 years ago. This is a general average found by the National Industrial Conference Board, a research agency maintained by the biggest corporations of the United States.

More specific facts are found in *Power* magazine for August 9, 1927. Figures gathered by Arthur Huntington for Iowa State Board of Education contrast the daily output per worker in 1890 with that of 1927 in various industries:

	1890	1927
Coal	½ ton	4 tons
Lumber	100 square feet	750 square feet
Shoes	¼ pair	10 pair
Paper	20 square feet	20,000 square feet
Glass	55 square feet	3,000 square feet
Nails	5 pounds	500 pounds

Cigarettes—Now and Then

Anyone in New York City can easily see the change for himself in one industry—cigarette making. Down in the East Side on Avenue B near Tompkins Square there is a tiny dark shop where a worker labors frantically fast poking bits of tobacco into little paper tubes. Slowly the pile of finished smokes accumulates.

Up on the Great White Way of Broadway in the Forties is a Lucky Strike demonstration shop. Shiny machines grind away during the hours the theatrical crowds are thickest. At one end is the hopper of shredded tobacco which drops the material down on rollers. At the other end comes out the finished package of cigarettes ready to be gathered in dozen lots for further packing. The machine rolls the cigarette, seals it, drops the right number into the tinfoil and label cover it has folded together, seals the package with a revenue stamp, puts waxed paper around it, and there you are! Now quickly the packages accumulate and are taken away by one of the workers. Of course the number kept at the demonstration is larger than the number of workers handling the machines in the real factories, but even then the difference between the Lucky Strike production and the Avenue B shop is startling.

Goodbye Glass Blowers

Another industry where technology is eliminating most of the workers is sheet glass. By the Coburn pro-

cess the liquid glass is forced out in a long ribbon, smooth and shining and ready to be cut, packed and shipped. The old glass blower who used to blow the hot liquid into long cylinders which had to be laid out and cut, flattened again and polished, is gone forever from a modern glass plant. Henry Ford is making plate glass for his new Model A cars by a somewhat similar process, pushing the glass out of the furnace in sheets ready for cutting and polishing.

Technologists tell us that they could get rid of practically all the hard dirty work of the world and give us all more hours of leisure than of labor. But to do this under our present business management of industry is impossible. It would be utterly unprofitable to those who collect the big dividends now. Too many vested interests would be hit.

Industrial research, paid for by big business, is naturally not concerned directly with improving the world for the most of us. Improvement in our living conditions comes more or less incidentally. Industrial research today is trying mainly to find new ways of making money grow money—to find new kinds of products to sell. Not to find better products to sell—shoes that would fit better, be waterproof and last longer as well as look handsome. But to find products that will wear out reasonably fast so that frequently they will have to be replaced. Sales are expected to make profits; more sales, more profits.

Big Wastes Go On

That's what some of this elimination of waste means. Finding new sale products in present wasted materials. But the big social waste of making flimsy shoes goes on, despite industrial research, because it is profitable. The researchers may attack, sometimes with labor cooperation, the little wastes of motion, power and materials or time in the individual plant or department. The big waste of producing shoddy products for quick sale goes unchecked.

Look at the coal industry. In both anthracite and bituminous efficiency campaigns are on. Little wastes of production in the individual mine are attacked. Machine loaders or mechanical cutters are put in or an attempt is made to make miners do double work. The big waste of burning raw coal and wasting by-products goes on profitably for the operators. Socially the loss is incalculable. Coal is valuable for power primarily, heat and by-products secondarily. But power can be produced from coal far more efficiently than by shipping the raw fuel to distant factories or homes, burning it as is and letting by-products go up in smoke which darkens our cities and makes their air a burden to our lungs.

"About \$200,000,000 annually is being spent in the United States for industrial research by industrial cor-

porations and by the federal government," says the National Industrial Conference Board. Undoubtedly besides researching to boost sales, some of this industrial research is misnamed for investigations into new speed-up schemes, more anti-labor devices like the company union, yellow dog contract and injunction. The Conference Board includes some of these in its researches. This is the "industrial research" which builds "scientific management" under "efficiency engineers." Its material is personnel—labor in relation to the individual machine or part of production—rather than the industrial process which is the flow of raw resources (coal, iron, etc.) through their conversion into end products (power, heat, steel rails, tc.).

Where Is Labor's Research?

Organized labor in the United States has no official research body. Some of the international unions have research departments—electrical workers, pressmen, hosiery workers, etc. These are small and specialized and to some extent a duplication of effort which a national labor research body could eliminate.

The American Federationist, organ of the American Federation of Labor, in the December 1927 issue, called attention to the new "index of labor's share" which it has run for several months. This is a statistical indication of how much of the value of manufactured articles is paid labor in wages. It gives also the fluctuation in purchasing power of wages as related to retail prices of articles. This index and the A. F. of L. pamphlets are the result of research work of a kind. Besides the A. F. of L. sets up a special committee of international union officers to make special studies, as for instance when the Union Labor Life Insurance Co. was projected.

Definite recommendation that the A. F. of L. establish a research bureau was made by Morris L. Cooke, consulting engineer and president of the Taylor Society, in the August 1927 Federationist. Cooke suggested a 2c yearly per capita tax to endow a national labor research agency and information clearing house.

Cooke proposed joint research committees established by unions in agreements with employers, to work on problems of piece-rate pay systems, relief from monotony and drudgery of work, 5-day week, protection against accident, sickness, unemployment and old age, etc. The A. F. of L. research bureau would cooperate with these committees, said Cooke. Organized labor would thus participate in efficiency, or management engineering.

It would not be the primary function of such research bodies to study the changing technology of industry but rather the existing processes toward simplification and standardization of motions, development of relief periods, and possibly even to work for private industrial insurance instead of state social insurance against the hazards of workers' lives.

Local labor research work is undertaken by several Labor Colleges. Philadelphia Labor College, under E. J. Lever and now under Israel Mufson, developed research work of value to unions participating. Seattle Labor College, under William Kennedy, is doing the same and would undertake broader studies of the basic industries of lumber and shipping if funds were forthcoming.

Research and Research

Brookwood Labor College has a labor research endowment fund which enables some of its faculty to prepare valuable studies. Arthur Calhoun's *A Worker Looks At Government* and David Saposs' *Readings in American Trade Unionism* are products of this fund. Saposs sees little hope for more fundamental labor research backed by trade unions until there is a militant labor movement demanding and supporting it.

For six and a half years the Labor Bureau, Inc., has operated on a business basis as a research agency for labor. Many A. F. of L. unions (locals of typographical, textile, pressmen, railway shop crafts, machinists, miners, etc., and several central bodies) have utilized the research services of this Bureau, as have several independent organizations—Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Shoe Workers Protective unions. While it is not designed as a profit-making institution, it maintains its services at a professional rate for research work. This means often a cost to labor that is "high in proportion to the union's ability to pay," as Alfred Bernheim of the Bureau phrased it.

"If we had three times as much work from unions, we could cut costs to them perhaps in half," Bernheim estimated roughly. The Labor Bureau helps maintain its staff, in addition to research jobs, by auditing union books. Its members also do special writing, editing and other supplementary work. Bernheim, Evans Clark, David Saposs, and George Soule started the Bureau. Stuart Chase and Otto Beyer Jr., promoter of the B. & O. union-management cooperation plan, joined later. Two formerly affiliated Bureaus, Middle West Labor Bureau in Chicago and Pacific Coast Labor Bureau in San Francisco, still operate in cooperation with the original organization.

Garland Fund Helps

Some duplication of function exists between the Labor Bureau and Rand School Research Department, now under Solon De Leon. Before the Labor Bureau existed, in 1915, the Rand School Department (then under Alexander Trachtenberg) did research studies on the cost of living for Big 6, New York's typographical union, and for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Lately it has done an interpretation of the agreement between the International Pocketbook Makers' Union and the employing group and compared the adjustment of various unions to the introduction of new machinery. Its charges for such studies are usually not so high as the Labor Bureau's but it has done fewer of them.

The Rand School Research Department is a ready reference bureau for unions or workers' fraternal and political organizations. It answers hundreds of inquiries, usually without charge or with only a suggestion to contribute payment. It puts out an annual labor year book, maintains a research library for unionists and labor students, and occasionally prepares special studies. For the past year it has issued a valuable Index to Labor Periodicals and Publications, most of which are not classified in other published indices. Its research staff con-

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sists of Solon De Leon, Nathan Fine and Anna Rochester. Its main financial backing has come from the American Fund for Public Service but it hopes to become self-supporting.

Single labor research projects have received aid from the American (Garland) Fund, e. g., the Workers' Health Bureau study of dye workers' hazards in Paterson, N. J. Some research studies published by Vanguard Press (itself set up by the American Fund) have been made possible by the Fund—Charles Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States*; the series on Soviet Russia; and Robert Dunn's excellent study of *Company Unions*, which LABOR AGE backed in distribution. Leland Olds' widely read economic research for Federated Press likewise has been facilitated by the Fund.

Labor Age Research

Labor Age Service Bureau aims to be a research agency for trade unions. Editor Louis Budenz's work for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers indicates part of what he wants this group to do. Budenz organized the campaign to unionize Real Silk Hosiery Co. of Indianapolis. He not only directed publicity, dug for useful facts about the opponent, and served as general adviser to the union on tactics, but actually went into the field to direct operations, make his own contacts and develop his own organizing technique. He is doing a similar job now for the union in Kenosha, Wis.

Research work of the League for Industrial Democracy, whose membership is of college students or graduates, is often useful to unionists. The study three Yale Liberal Club members made of the New Haven neckwear makers' situation, published by the L. I. D., is distinctly valuable to the unions involved.

Technical Alliance

Fundamentally different from any research body now existing and of value to labor was the Technical Alliance. It was an organization of technical men of the highest standing in various fields of engineering—chemical, mechanical, electrical, etc. Howard Scott, chief technologist of the U. S. government's Air Nitrates Corp., Plant No. 2, at Muscle Shoals (and later consulting engineer for the state of New York), was the far-seeing mind promoting the Alliance. Charles P. Steinmetz and Bassett Jones, consulting engineer, both then employed by General Electric, were members. Dr. Richard Tolman, professor of physics at California Institute of Technology, and technicians from the federal bureau of standards, department of agriculture, and other divisions, belonged. Thorstein Veblen was one of the few economists with them and Stuart Chase, now of the Labor Bureau, Inc., worked with the Alliance.

Organized labor's aid was sought by the Technical Alliance in collecting industrial information. Service to labor was offered, when sufficient information could be collected, in pointing out the strategic position in industry of any union, and the technical trend of the union's part of industry in the whole. Because of the short life of the Technical Alliance (winter 1920-21), few unions profited by its work. It was interested in having workers organized industrially along the lines of their function,—each worker to represent his specific function in the

HORSE POWER AND HORSE SENSE

Readers of LABOR AGE may look forward with interest to an article in the April issue entitled "Horse Power and Horse Sense," written in his own vivid style by Managing Editor Louis Francis Budenz. It will be based upon a study of what the machine is doing to industry and will suggest what can be done about it.

Another article relating his experiences with young hosiery workers on strike at Buffalo N. Y., and Kenosha, Wis., will also prove interesting reading.

union and be responsible for information about his section.

Preparing a "design of coordinated industry" was the idea of the Technical Alliance. This would be the production of all we need and supplying of essential services with the least expenditure of energy possible in the long run,—operation of industry on a balanced load. It would be real elimination of waste. Autos and shoes that wear out too soon would no longer be made but products that would serve us with the maximum of scientific efficiency.

Design a scientific social order, proposed the Technical Alliance. Goodbye all this crazy competition, overproduction and underconsumption, advertising, duplication of effort on all sides, and efficiency schemes that mean speeding up the worker. "Any merely repetitive motion in industry can be done better by the machine than by the worker," Scott said.

Scientific Social Order?

Human activities in the United States were sifted down to 90 socially necessary functions by the Technical Alliance. Each function was given a department of design, of construction, of operation and of maintenance.

"It was a whale of an exciting adventure for awhile," says Stuart Chase. But it was "a long ways ahead of its time," he thinks. Such an ambitious program as the Technical Alliance had could be carried out only with the support of a great endowment (like Russell Sage or Rockefeller Foundations), says Chase, or of a militant labor movement.

Scott, however, asserted that it is necessary to design a unified, scientific social order for survival. The business order cannot be scientifically designed because it is based on the production of goods for sale not for use. The business order is cutting our natural resources, said Scott, to a point beyond which it cannot operate. The design of a scientific order to take its place is necessary, or even what resources are left will not supply many of us the necessities of life. The Technical Alliance would have enlisted labor's cooperation now toward designing the future, aiding unions in making readjustments to changing processes, and would give labor the idea of what a rich life with a minimum of toil the technologists could produce for us if given the chance.

Labor is becoming more interested in research. Whether it will follow the lead of a Cooke into the mazes of efficiency engineering or whether it will seek the assistance of technologists such as those the Technical Alliance drew is a problem for unionists to consider. For what sort of way out is labor looking?

The Major's Masterpiece

In the Attempt to Frame-up LaFollette

By JACOB NOSOVITSKY

This is the third installment of an exposé which began in the January issue of Labor Age.

Major Charles E. Russell presented the following report to enemies of the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, who wanted proof that he was a "Red".

Part III. MAJOR RUSSELL'S FAMOUS REPORT

Gentlemen:

I realize that what I am about to disclose to you means the ruin of a man who is aspiring to the highest office within the gift of the American people. I also well know that if I attempted to carry through any misrepresentation, I would not only be quickly detected by you, gentlemen, but what to me is of far greater importance, I would be sacrificing the years of work I have put in and my hopes for the future.

With a deep realization of all that it means and the seriousness of the accusations I am about to make, I am going to place before you evidence which will not only convince you, gentlemen, that Senator La Follette is not the proper man to have as our President, but also that he is willing to stoop to any deceit in order to accomplish his election. He is so unscrupulous in his methods that he has not hesitated to make secret agreements with different branches of the radicals in this country and possibly abroad. He has agreed to do certain things which if known and when known to the American Federation of Labor leaders will forever damn him in their eyes.

So that you may know how I happen to be the one who has discovered this double-dealing, I am going to ask your indulgence for a moment until I explain the manner of the work I have been engaged in for the past few years.

FOR years I have been waging a lone fight against the reds in this country. While I have been studying them, I have been building and organizing a group of my own against the day when men like you would awake to the fact that there is a real and serious movement within the United States to force Bolshevism upon us. I have carefully worked my way upward in the red movement until today I occupy a confidential post within their ranks. (A bald-faced lie. Russell never had a group of his own for the purpose of fighting the radical movement. He has only a superficial knowledge of the movement and can hardly tell the difference between a Socialist and a Communist. He was never a member of any radical organization. He never held any post within radical or labor ranks.—Jacob Nosovitsky.)

2. During the latter part of July of this year, I heard there had been a secret agreement between La Follette and certain radical leaders in regard to the campaign. At about this time I also heard from Russia that the Soviet leaders there were taking a lively interest in the attempt to elect La Follette and that they were referring to it as "the first Soviet Revolution in the United States." This was enough

to cause me to order an investigation. My assistants were ordered to drop all else and find out what this secret agreement was. The first reports came to me full of the meeting between certain leaders of the radical movement and Robert La Follette, Jr. Naturally, this only served to start us more in earnest on the hunt. For some time I searched for someone who was present who could be bent to my will to uncover what took place at the meeting. Finally, I found such a man in the person of Harry Molner. Molner is a man well-known in the movement, a man who has been closely associated with the red movement for 15 years as a lecturer, author, organizer, and is a member of the Ohio La Follette organization. For two days I worked upon this man before I finally broke his resistance to the point where I could mold him to do my bidding. (More lies. There was no secret agreement between "Young Bob" La Follette and any radicals anywhere. The story about Molner is bunk from beginning to end. Molner never was in the Socialist or Communist Party. Much less was he ever lecturer, author or organizer for the radical movement. He was an ex-private detective—that's all. *Molner received \$500.00 for signing the baseless statement on which Russell's report was founded—J. N.*)

3. From Molner I learned that the meeting did take place as reported, who were present, the purpose of it, and the promises made in the name of Senator La Follette as a price for the endorsement of the left wing of the Socialist Party. (Equally false as the other fabrications. No promises whatever were made by La Follette as a "price" for Socialist endorsement. The Senator was very independent about the matter and let it be clearly understood that if the Socialists should endorse him, they would have to do so with the explicit understanding that he did not accept their platform or political and economic views, even if he did accept their support.—J. N.)

To The Rescue!

ON July 2 and 3 groups of the leading radicals gathered in Cleveland for their meeting and convention.

Revolt spread and Hillquit, sensing the danger, wired for Robert La Follette, Jr., to hurry to that city. He arrived in Cleveland on the morning of July 4. He registered on page 4 of the Statler register and was assigned to room 1186, and it was in this room that the meeting took place shortly after his arrival. (This is merely one of several distortions of the facts that had no radical significance whatever. The date of the gathering is correct, but there was no revolt among the delegates at any time. Hillquit did not wire La Follette, Jr., to come to Cleveland. The younger La Follette came because of the inability of his father to be present.—J. N.)

5. I am now going to read to you a statement given me by one of the men who were present at the meeting. Follow it closely and you will see the reason for all this secrecy. (This is the statement prepared by Russell and sign-

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ed by Molner. It claims that Senator La Follette made the following pledge to the radicals in case of his election to the Presidency: "To admit all into this country, irrespective of race, color or creed. To abolish injunctions against labor. To promote a basis for the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth in the United States." This is another lie manufactured out of a whole cloth.)

6. Upon the strength of these promises, the endorsement was given to Senator La Follette, although many of the rank and file, not knowing of the secret meeting and promises, attempted to revolt, but the discipline within the red ranks was so strong that all opposition disappeared. To put the final damper upon such revolt, La Follette, Jr., was allowed to take the floor during the convention and by carefully worded phrases he convinced his hearers that his father stood for exactly the same things that they did. (Pure falsehoods. When young La Follette spoke at the Cleveland convention, he simply stated precisely what the Senator had said over and over again about his position on public matters—a distinctly Progressive position, and advocating the retention of the capitalist system and pointing to certain reforms under it which, in Senator La Follette's opinion, would suffice to remove the causes of social discontent.—J. N.)

7. When this was disclosed to me, I realized the seriousness of it, and at once back-tracked to check up the matter. From other sources I found that the meeting did take place and that those who were supposed to be present were seen to go into the room. (Russell could not back-track to check up the matter, for there was nothing of the kind to check up.—J. N.) Gentlemen, this is all true. Senator La Follette, in order to wreck the Republican Party and elect himself, has sold out the American Federation of Labor. They would never vote for a man who has pledged himself to admit all into this country irrespective of race, color or creed.

"Red" Johnston

WITH the above information in my possession, I at once checked up on the others connected with La Follette's campaign. I found that the men running on his various state tickets are reds, that William H. Johnston, one of his managers, is a personal friend of William Z. Foster, the open and acknowledged leader of Sovietism in this country, and that the two plan on reaping substantial results for Sovietism if La Follette is elected. I found out that Jim Dunne, the American member of the executive board of the Third International of Moscow, Russia, has just returned with \$50,000.00 for red campaign purposes. I also learned that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an organization that renders homage first of all to Soviet Russia, an organization that is working hand-in-hand with that red movement, with a million-dollar factory established with American money in Moscow had contributed \$50,000.00 to La Follette's campaign. Why? I ask you. Gentlemen, it is more than Robert La Follette that you are fighting today. It is the most powerful secret organization in the world, the Third International of Moscow, Russia. La Follette is merely a cog in their world-wide plans. By destroying or discrediting La Follette you are striking a sound blow at the greater snake in the grass.

If it were only a question of Senator La Follette himself, I am frank to say to you, gentlemen, that I would not be here, for I am not interested in pulling political chestnuts out of the fire, but what I do see is an opportunity to hit back at the vaster issue—Bolshevism. In addition to all this, we can prove by documentary evidence that more than one of La Follette's campaign managers are actual recognized reds. Raymond Robbins, La Follette's running mate on the Illinois state ticket, is an open and avowed red. He has written many books lauding the Soviet movement and explaining the creed. The Communist leaders consider Robbins one of their ablest advocates of revolution in this country. At the time when Martens was Soviet Ambassador here, Robbins and Evans Clarke, another of La Follette's followers, were confidential advisers to Martens, and the two were transmitting reports to the heads of the movement in Russia. (This paragraph is crammed with the grossest misstatements and the veriest nonsense. Johnston, a Progressive and a friend of Samuel Gompers, is and has all along been an uncompromising opponent of Communism. Talk of a deal between him and William Z. Foster, then Communist candidate for President who was savagely assailing La Follette and trying to divert votes for him, is asinine. There is no evidence that William F. Dunne—Russell in his ignorance of the movement had Dunne's first name wrong—brought \$50,000 or any other sum from Russia. If he did, it certainly did not go into the La Follette campaign fund, but into Foster's. Moreover, as I have repeatedly stated, the Communists had been slapped in the face by La Follette at the Farmer-Labor convention, and had therefore put their own ticket in the field. Russell's characterization of La Follette as a cog in the world-wide plans of the Third International is a sample of the absurd stuff swallowed by capitalists and others who are so often duped by professional "anti-reds." The Communist International in Moscow has a definite, dogmatic plan of action to which all parties affiliated with it have to subscribe. They demand unequivocal obedience from those they support. Even militant Socialists like Eugene V. Debs rebelled at the iron discipline of the Communists. La Follette had, let me say again, not only denounced the tactics of Communism, but rebuffed the Communists and humiliated them to such a degree that they had abandoned their original hopes of cooperation with him and become his vindictive enemies. Raymond Robbins never advocated "revolution" in the United States, never was a radical, and simply favored recognition of Soviet Russia in a diplomatic way, as Senator Borah and others have done and do.—J. N.)

9. Last night one of my associates arrived in New York from Mexico. He has with him a man whom I have for years known as the official courier between Mexico and Moscow. This man has in his possession two letters which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that J. J. Fineran, La Follette's campaign manager in Louisiana, is not only working in close cooperation with the Soviet leaders, but is a red himself. One of the letters covers a deal for some ships which Fineran has agreed to purchase for the movement and turn them over to the leaders in Mexico. In it there is one significant paragraph. It states: "We can both have funds with which to pay for placing the truth before the masses." And this letter was sent to a man who since has been tried and found guilty of not only

being in the pay of the Soviet Government in Russia, but also as a draft dodger. (Still further distortions of facts. No associate of Russell arrived from Mexico. The facts are these! I, using then the name of James Norsen, was in Mexico in the early months of 1921 to produce proof for certain American capitalists of the existence of a "Red Army" below the border. As I have described in detail in my "Confessions of an International Spy," published in the Hearst papers in the fall of 1925, I "produced the proof" and it was eventually turned over to Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes. In order to lend creditability to my "produced documents" concerning Mexico, I spent some time in Mexico City ingratiating myself into the confidence of the Communists there, among them Linn A. E. Gale, formerly of New York and then publisher of Gale's International Monthly, (a Communist Magazine?), and Enrique H. Rodriguez, national secretary of the party. I obtained from them various bona fide documents of the Mexican Communist movement which I carefully included with the "produced papers" that I turned over to certain American capitalists, who were very much interested in Mexico. Among the genuine documents was a letter from J. P. Fineran, then of the Gulf Steamship Agency of New Orleans, to Gale in Mexico City. Fineran had written Gale when the latter was publishing his magazine in the Mexican capital, asking if Gale could sell to the Mexican government some second-hand steamers which Fineran wanted to dispose of. Fineran offered Gale a commission and made the remark which Russell quotes, that if the sales are made, "we can both have funds with which to pay for placing the truth before the masses." Fineran was a mild Socialist and might have given something to the Socialist movement. Gale would, naturally, have used his commission in extending the circulation of his magazine. The letter was written in 1920. The deal was, however, never consummated. When I left Mexico in the early spring of 1921, the local Communists, believing me to be a bona fide member of the movement, gave me several letters of introduction; one was to Fineran, who, although not one of them, was friendly toward labor, and who, they thought, might help me in leaving the United States, being in the shipping business. The letter from Fineran to Gale I succeeded in obtaining from Gale himself along with some other papers, and I had kept it all this time. I had never called on Fineran and so still had the letter of introduction to him, also. After I went to work for Russell, I turned over to him the letter of Fineran to Gale, and the letter of introduction to Fineran, telling him they might be of some use in fastening the "Red" label to one of La Follette's lieutenants, for Fineran was then Progressive State Chairman in Louisiana. I explained to Russell that it was ridiculous to try to make people believe La Follette was a radical, but that he might possibly brand some La Follette supporter as a "Red," and that these letters would probably be of some help. They were bona fide and quite different from the fishy tale of Molner about Young Bob La Follette. Russell kept the two letters and included photostats of them with this report. The alleged "official courier between Mexico and Moscow" was myself. I had made numerous trips to and from Europe, posing as a Communist and getting information about the Communist movement, while actually in the pay of Scotland Yard, the American Department of Justice and large financial interests.

So much for the "official courier" story. Russell's assertion that Gale was convicted of being in the pay of the Soviet Government in Russia is on par with some of his other yarns. He was convicted of nothing of the kind. He was court-martialed in October 1921 and found guilty of publishing 9 articles and poems denouncing the World War, and calling Woodrow Wilson a "hypocrite," and assailing Burleson, Palmer and others in the Wilson cabinet. He was also convicted of violating the draft law.—J. N.)

"Escape to South Africa"

THE other letter proves beyond question that Fineran has been using his official position as head of the Gulf Shipping Agency to pass Soviet couriers in and out of this country without the formality of their securing passports. There can be no question about these letters and if properly used, they will ruin the man's chances and be an additional proof of La Follette's radical connections. In order to secure these two letters it will be necessary for me to pledge protection to the man who by turning them over to us kills himself in the movement. The publication of them will mean that the man will be marked for execution by the reds, and he must be financed so that he can quickly escape to South Africa to hide himself. (An outlandish falsehood. The letter did not prove that Fineran helped Soviet couriers. It did request him to help one who was supposed to be a bona fide Communist—myself, for I had made Gale and the other Mexican Communists think I was also a Communist—but the request was never granted, nor was the letter of introduction ever delivered by me to Fineran. The mysterious stranger who, according to Russell, was in mortal danger for having turned over the letters to the Major, never existed. As I have stated, it was I who let Russell take the two letters. However, he wanted to impress on his employer that he had obtained documentary evidence of great value at fearful risk, and it suited his purpose to tell the lie that a radical, just arriving from Mexico, had given him the two letters, and that this radical was now in danger of assassination and must be spirited away to South Africa. This is another evidence how gullible some people are when told crazy fabrications about the "desperate reds!" On the strength of these two letters and the pretense that the imaginary Red from Mexico must be gotten out of the country to save his life, Russell received \$10,000 more from his clients.—J. N.)

11. We are also working to secure from the Moscow files copies of any letters which La Follette may have written. We are also endeavoring to secure Scotland Yard's detailed report of La Follette's activities while he was in Russia in 1923. (Of course, Russell knew he could never have penetrated the files of the Third International in Moscow, much less those of Scotland Yard. This lie was intended to convince his clients that he had a vast and resourceful investigating organization that could obtain alleged documents in foreign lands, and it was calculated to pave the way for incurring tremendous additional expenses.—J. N.)

I would indeed be an alarmist if I came to you with just actual facts and did not offer a solution of the difficulty. In my opinion, based on years of study of the psychology of union men, the following will be the best way to accomplish the desired results:

WORSHIPPING A NEW GOD



"The True Religion of the Masses of This Age is the Religion of the Machine."

Men of various races worship at the shrine of the Machine, as depicted by the New York Times in this cartoon. Uncontrolled it becomes a destroying moloch

The Group That Would Jump

AT the present time in Cleveland I have, through my assistants, organized an American Federation of Labor group amounting to over 2,000 men. The head and guiding spirit of this group is one of my assistants. In order that the exposure shall not have a taint of capitalism, I have had this group come out in the open for La Follette and the meetings have been held with this in view. At a predetermined time my assistant who heads this group will call a special meeting, the call issued to state that very urgent business is to come before the meeting. At the same time the meeting will be thrown open to the general public and many more will attend. The meeting will open with remarks from the leader in which he will state that he has called this meeting because he has absolute evidence that La Follette has sold out the laboring classes for the Socialist and radical vote. Then this man will present Harry Molner, a man they all know. Molner will then in open meeting denounce La Follette and will give full details of the secret meeting. He will give as his reasons for denouncing the man that the secret agreement will injure the American working man, for it will allow Chinese as well as Japanese to come in and that it will play directly into the hands of the man who exploits labor. Molner will give facts and dates with hotel numbers, as I have given them to you today, and there is no doubt but it will prove the biggest kind of a sensation. As soon as he is through, another of my assistants will then take the floor and have a resolution passed that this group repudiate La Follette and publish a leaflet to be sent broadcast, giving the reasons thereof. In advance we will have the leaflet printed and ready for mailing to each labor organization in the United States. (Russell's clients never checked up on this story about the "labor group" in Cleveland. Of course, he had no such group, but the men "higher up" took the report as gospel truth —J. N.)

13. At this meeting I will have one of the editorial writers from the Daily Worker, the most rabid of the labor groups of papers, present. This man will, at my direction,

write up the whole story and will have it placed with big scare-headlines in his paper. The other labor papers will copy it. This man will come out in the open and defy La Follette to prove him wrong, and will not hesitate to call the Senator a double-crosser, not only against labor, but also as playing the capitalist game of exploiting the working man. All of your campaign speakers should be given full details of this exposure in advance with instructions not to use it until after the meeting. A flash can be sent from Cleveland to use it and they can at once denounce La Follette in the open by referring to the revolt of the workers started in Cleveland. It will be your part to arrange with the Associated Press to have this meeting covered so that it will spread throughout the country. Make it a big sensation and your cause is won. It will also be your duty to arrange for either the New York Sun or Herald to have a special correspondent on the ground to wire full details of the meeting as soon as it is over. Let this paper scoop the others and then you will have the others copying it in detail and hunting for the leaders who put this across.

At the present time you have certain labor leaders who are working for President Coolidge. Have them ready for the exposure and scandal, and they will in turn make good use of it among the working classes, showing how this man has double-crossed them all. If this plan is followed out, there is no doubt that the revolt against La Follette started by the men in Cleveland will spread like wildfire by its own force. This, in addition to what we plan to do, will kill the man politically. We cannot fail. If La Follette denies that his son ever made such a promise or says that he had no right to make such a deal, then he will be repudiated by the radicals with whom he has made the deal, and this will cost him millions of votes.

On the other hand, if he admits that the promise was made and tries to explain it away, the American Federation of Labor will knife him. He loses either way. When the western papers learn that he secretly agreed to admit the Chinese and Japanese, they will swing for Coolidge. We cannot lose; it is bound to work either way.

To be Continued.

American Bar's Peace Plan

Brings Neither Peace Nor Goodwill

By J. M. BUDISH

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the American Bar Association made public a tentative general statement concerning a proposed policy and legislation to encourage "peaceable adjustment and prevention of industrial controversy." The committee also held a public hearing on February 16th, 17th and 18th, which shed some light upon the rather general statement of the sub-committee of the Bar Association, and upon the attitude of the various interested social groups. It was a relief to find that the propaganda reports of the general press that labor is backing the plan, were to say the least premature.

President Wm. Green of the American Federation of Labor was very careful in his statements at the hearing to dispel any unwarranted impression about the alleged commitment of organized labor towards this delusive plan. President Green praised the efforts of the Bar Association in attempting to analyse and explore the problems of industrial relations. He expressed himself ready to cooperate in such exploration and analysis. He emphasized however that he is "not prepared to express any definite opinion with regard to any of the suggestions made" by the committee, and that he was not prepared to assure the committee "that the Federation was ready to accept any part of its plan."

President Green's Statement

The wary attitude of President Green is fully justified by the nature of the proposed policy and plan of the Bar Association. A careful study of the plan, in the light of the additional information and interpretation supplied by the public hearing, would indeed justify a much stronger and more drastic attitude on the part of organized labor. There is little in that policy and plan which might be of any benefit to labor; but there is a great deal in it which is distinctly harmful and contains germs of a very serious menace to the labor movement. In its barest outline as given out by the sub-committee of the Bar Association, the plan contains the following three general propositions:

The Plan

That it be the policy of the United States to promote the peaceful adjustment and prevention of industrial controversy by encouraging the conclusion of agreements containing provisions for conciliation or arbitration between responsible organizations and employers and responsible organizations of working people.

That such contracts when freely and voluntarily entered into, shall be valid and enforceable by law; and

That a national industrial council be instituted for the investigation and ascertainment of all true facts involved in any industrial dispute.

. The professed purpose of the Bar Association is not merely to prevent wasteful interruption of industry, but also "to promote good will" between capital and labor.

Assuming the best intentions on the part of the committee, careful consideration shows that these intentions pave the way to . . . a plan which is neither new nor promising of any good will. The only suggestion of any consideration for the vital interests and rights of the organized workers, is contained in the statement of the plan referring to the encouragement of agreements between *responsible* organizations of workers and employers. To be sure this statement is in the nature of a general expression, a kind of *obiter dictum* or preamble to the law which at best would amount to no more than a good wish. But at the public hearing even this indefinite expression of good will was ruthlessly swept away. The open shop lawyer, Mr. Mervin K. Hart, expressed at the public hearing the apprehension that the statement about encouraging agreements between responsible organizations of workers and employers may impress the public mind that the organization of workers deserves encouragement. The chairman immediately dissipated all such apprehensions. He definitely retracted that part of the statement which suggested that "before there can be law there must be policy." "I tried to make it clear," said the chairman at the public hearing, "we, the Bar Association, could do nothing on social or economic policies." The chairman went a step further. He also retracted the original suggestion that the encouragement be limited to *responsible* organisations only.

Company Unions Included

Anxious to allay any fear that the plan may perhaps stimulate organization, the chairman very frankly suggested that if the plan would stimulate any organization it would stimulate the organization of company unions rather than regular unions. If in the South, the chairman asked, the A. F. of L. is unable to form unions, why should not the employers be able to form Company Unions, enter into agreements for conciliation and arbitration with such company unions and have these agreements protected by law? During the discussion at the public hearing the chairman and Mr. Davis, another member of the committee, several times stated that if the plan as proposed by their committee should be enacted into law, it would protect and make legally binding the company-made agreements between employers and their home made company unions to the same degree as agreements resulting from real collective bargaining.

The sop presumably thrown to labor in the original statement about encouraging collective relations between employers and *responsible* organizations of workers which might have been interpreted as a hint favoring the recognition of regular unions, was withdrawn at the public hearing. The plan then resolves itself into the enactment of a law which will make for the legal enforcement of arbitration agreements in labor cases and for the estab-

lishment of a national agency with authority to investigate the causes of pending industrial disputes and make public the results of the investigation.

Commercial Arbitration Law

Now this proposal is not new. Repeated attempts have been made to entangle labor organizations into some such legislation which will give the courts still greater rein over the unions. As was brought out at the hearing all the purposes of the Bar Association plan would be in effect right now under the existing U. S. Arbitration Law but for Clause I of the Law which definitely exempts labor cases from its operation. That Law was also framed by the American Bar Association, and as originally introduced it extended to industrial disputes. But the vigorous protest of organized labor, especially of the Seamen's Union led to the insertion of an amendment in the first clause of that Law, specifying that it does not extend to disputes between employers and workers. It might also be added that the Arbitration Law of the State of New York does not contain such an expressed exemption for labor cases, and that the courts are divided in the interpretation of that law. Decisions were mentioned holding that the New York State Arbitration Law covers also labor cases, while other decisions were to the effect that it extends to commercial arbitration only. Organized labor of the State of New York has been so concerned about this possible extension of the law to include labor cases and they considered such extension as such a serious danger, that the N. Y. State Federation of Labor has introduced an amendment to the law to the same effect as that contained in the first clause of the U. S. Arbitration Law, namely, definitely exempting all labor cases from the operation of the State Arbitration Law.

This vigorous opposition of organized labor against making collective agreements subject to litigation in the courts is based on all its experience with the courts and on the most sound reasoning. In all cases in which conciliation, mediation and arbitration machinery has proven itself successful in practice, it has always been purely voluntary machinery not subject to any legal enforcement and depending entirely upon the mutual readiness and ability of both parties to stand by their agreements. The best known cases of successful conciliatory machinery come from the needle trades. And as the impartial chairmen of these trades testified before the committee, their success was largely a result of the fact that they were not bound by any rules of legal evidence and that they mostly act as mediators rather than arbitrators.

Testimony of Impartial Chairman

Mr. Raymond Ingersoll, the chairman of the Board of Adjustment in the Cloak and Dress industry stated that it is foreign to the psychology of both sides to take their cases into the courts. Of even greater importance is the fact that in the needle trades *all major standards* of working conditions, hours of labor, division of work, etc., are settled thru collective bargaining and are fixed in a detailed *written* agreement which serves as the statute law. This leaves to the conciliation and arbitration machinery the settlement only of minor issues or infractions of the agreement by individuals among the workers or manufacturers. On the basis of his own experience, Mr. Ingersoll

had no hesitation to emphatically declare so. Such stabilization as has been accomplished in the industry with which he is associated thru the impartial machinery would have been impossible without having a well organized Union and a well organized Association of manufacturers, or without a detailed collective agreement determining all basic and major conditions and standards. This agreement was reached *not* thru the action of any arbitrator but as a result of collective bargaining leading sometimes to strikes. The adjustment machinery is only in operation during the life of the agreement so reached.

Students of impartial machinery operating under collective agreements know that one of the reasons of the comparative success of such machinery during the life of the agreement is a result of the fact that the only way in which the impartial chairman can enforce his decision is by having both sides accept them or at least acquiesce in them in good faith. Because of this knowledge the impartial chairman cannot possibly make arbitrary decisions. Because of it he mostly prefers to act as a mediator. Of the 3,000 cases docketed with Mr. Ingersoll only 150 came for a decision by the chairman while the others were settled by mutual agreement between the parties. Even in those cases that came up for decision the chairman acted in consultation with representatives of both parties. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the needle trades the decision of the Impartial Chairman is practically in all cases nothing more than the expressed or silent agreement of the interested parties.

Amounts to Compulsory Arbitration

The situation changes radically if arbitration agreements are subject to legal enforcement. In that case arbitrators will be less carefully selected to meet the views of both parties. Now, unless both parties agree, no arbitrator can be appointed. But with legally enforceable arbitration failure of agreeing upon the arbitrator or any vacancy in the office of arbitrator would merely bring the case into court. And then the court or any other agency specified in the law will have the authority to appoint such an arbitrator. All of us who have had experiences with the courts appointing referees in injunction suits know how little labor can depend upon such appointees to show any degree of fairness towards labor. What is more, such appointed arbitrator will not have to rely upon the good will of both sides to enforce his decisions. He will be able to look to the law for such enforcement. Under such conditions the arbitration process would really be a process not of voluntary arbitration but rather *compulsory arbitration*.

All experiences with compulsory arbitration in any country proved to be a disastrous failure and a menace to organized labor. We need not enter into a discussion of this phase of the question. The vigorous opposition of the American Federation of Labor to any form of compulsory arbitration is a well established tradition of our labor movement, no modification of which is to our knowledge offered from any labor source.

Experience of Miners

As to the proposition to establish a National Industrial Council for the investigation of pending industrial disputes, organized labor had enough sad experience with compulsory investigation under the Canadian Trade Dis-

putes Act. Let us quote an editorial of the United Mine Workers Journal, September 7, 1916:

"Our experience with the Canadian Law has been that it is generally effective in curbing the workers from exercising their economic power thru organized resistance, while it is utterly helpless to curb the employers when they seek to oppress, even by denying the fundamental rights of the workers."

The delay that is forced by compulsory investigation before any action can be taken works always in favor of the employer and against the interests of the worker. Experience has shown that compulsory investigation under present conditions amounts to loading the scales in favor of even the most unscrupulous employer. The opinion of that veteran of the American labor movement, President Andrew Fureseth of the Seamen's Union, as reported by the Federated Press, is to the effect that when the A. F. of L. agrees to any legislation like the Canadian Law calling for compulsory delay of strikes, then it is good-bye to trade unionism. This is putting it strongly but not more strongly than all labor experience justifies.

Menacing Attitude of Courts

The greatest menace however, of this proposition lies in the fact that it would make the courts the ultimate arbiters of any agreements between unions and employers. Once such agreements are enforceable under the law, they must naturally be subject to interpretation by the courts. What is more, they must be subject to the writ of injunction for the prevention of their infringement. It can easily be imagined how wide it will open the doors for the unrestrained and arbitrary rule of the courts over the very life of the working people. Keeping in mind that under the plan of the Bar Association, "company-unions" would have the same standing under the law as regular unions, it can easily be seen that any chance organized labor may now have to fight for the legal right to organize the I. R. T. employes, or other workers similarly situated would be swept away.

Let us face the facts, however unpleasant they may be, and however much they may hurt us. The courts thruout their entire history culminating in the Dred Scott decision before the Civil War and in such decisions as the Child Labor Law, the Minimum Wage Law, the Bedford Stone Cut Decision and many others of recent days, too numerous to mention, have shown themselves unworthy of labor confidence. We cannot enter here into a detailed consideration of the continuous denial of justice which the workers have suffered at the hands of the courts. A more or less complete record is given in the final report of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, Vol. I, pp. 38-68. The evidence accumulated in that report that the workers have been denied justice in the interpretation and adjudication of law, that the very laws that have been enacted with the definite declared purpose of protecting the workers have been either annulled or interpreted by the courts in a way to oppress them and to place obstacles in the way of any organized effort on their part to improve their conditions, is indeed overwhelming. Even Chief Justice Taft had to admit that under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, the poor man has not an equal opportunity with the rich man in the courts.

POWER TRUST WINS



St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Not a Senate Committee but the Federal Trade Commission, known to be friendly to the Electric Power Interests, will carry on an investigation of public utilities—the result of expert, highly paid lobbying

Since that report has been published the record of this continual denial of justice by the courts to the workers has grown by leaps and bounds. The abuse of injunctions assumed unprecedented almost incomprehensible proportions, and the annulment of any law for the protection of labor, no matter how greatly favored by practically the unanimous opinion of the nation, as was for instance the case in the Child Labor Law and the Minimum Wage Law, has shown the real bias of the courts. As Justices Holmes and Brandeis have expressed themselves in a recent minority opinion—the effect of certain decisions is to impose something very much akin to involuntary servitude upon labor.

The entire record shows that the courts have always acted as if they have largely accepted the theory which found expression in a statement of Judge Van Sicklen in the case of Schwartz and Jaffee v. Hillman, 189 N. Y. supplement 21, declaring:

"The courts cannot find the balancing point by boxing the compass of judicial opinion from extreme radicalism to ultra-conservatism. They must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, or captains of industry."

Whether all the courts really adhere to this philosophy, the record shows that on the whole and in all important cases, they acted as the representatives of capital and captains of industry. This being the record of the courts how could labor possibly permit that the question of the most fundamental conditions of its life, of its very existence should be made subject to court action?

The Group-Mind

How Labor Loyalty Originates

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

The present article by Dr. Herman Frank is the first of a series which he is writing for LABOR AGE. The series will deal with fundamental problems of social and industrial psychology in the light of "humanized science" and from the point of view of Labor. The forthcoming articles will discuss vital topics of industrial psychology, as for example, The Workers' Mental Outlook, Mental Effects of Occupational Environment, etc. Each of the articles will be a rounded-out presentation of the subject matter. A bond between them in the form of an easily recognizable attitude on the part of the writer toward the field surveyed will pass as an undercurrent through the whole series.

THE basic facts of the dominant production system in the modern economic society create a characteristic mental outlook or "set" which is what is called the psychological set of the industrial workers. All the workers in industry do their work in closely integrated groups; all are wage earners; few have security of tenure in their work; and all are under the command of persons of another class who direct their labor. To explain what a worker is and what his function may be, the background of the worker's mental activity must be examined in detail. The main mental traits making up the psychological set of the worker are described in what follows.

Sense of Uncertainty

A sense of uncertainty is exceedingly common among industrial workers. Many actually suffer from unemployment at certain times, but the far more important psychological fact is that all suffer from fear of unemployment. All but a very few industrial workers feel that they may at short notice be left without means of supporting themselves or their dependents by their own labor. The risk of unemployment is continually present to their minds.

Those who do not become actually unemployed, as most railwaymen, see the effects of unemployment upon their fellows. The result is a very characteristic nervousness or even irritability on the part of the modern worker which did not exist in the pre-industrial period. At that time "status", that is a rigid subdivision of society into fixed groups, landed gentry, serfs, artisan-guildsmen, was the ruling custom in public life. At present, on the other hand, "contract", that is a fleeting and changable relationship between employer and employee, is the prevailing single regulative force in the economic society.

The modern worker feels very much less confidence in the relationship he bears to society than men did in the days of "status." Contract, as compared with status, is insecure. Hence the mental outlook of industrial

workers gives a far greater welcome to suggestions of change in the economic system than did the older mental outlook of pre-industrial craftsmen.

Labor, under modern conditions, demands adequate remuneration and reasonable security from penury. Accordingly, many signs of our times point to a new tendency of the capitalist system: to harmonize the worker's right to freedom, implying as it does his right to starve for the lack of employment, with a sense of security on the part of the worker by means of various financial devices, pensions, insurance against unemployment, and workmen's accident compensation. These initial efforts have helped to strengthen labor's confidence in a social system based on the institution of free capitalistic enterprise. As against such economic individualism, and its outcome—insecurity, the crude collectivism on which the social life of the Middle Ages was reared has in recent times begun to attract attention of labor philosophers, especially in the form of the theory of the so-called Guild Socialism.

Sense of Dependence

A sense of dependence is common among the industrial workers. This is not like the sense of the farm-worker who in face of the inexorable whims of a super-human force, Nature, is often likely to disregard or take with little resentment his master's command. Also the flunky and other types of domestic servants are bound with their masters by ties of a common shelter and of a certain intimate and mutual trust. Not so in industry, where the sense of dependence is often accompanied by resentment or opposition. More often than otherwise the industrial worker does not regard "the master", still less his hired representatives, as naturally and inevitably superior.

The very fact that in the industrial period workers have become masters has made the sense of dependence less agreeable to the worker's normal mentality. By sheer dint of facts the workers have recognized that the will of another is the motive force in what they do. Some feel themselves to be tools or instruments of the employer, others (as foremen) feel themselves to be agents. But all are aware, at least dimly, of mental dependence upon persons of another class, performing a different social function.

Now, exactly as in the case of the sense of insecurity, there is reason to suspect that we are as regards the sense of dependence in a transition period, comparable in a measure to the breakdown of serfdom. Nowadays one status of labor is perceptibly giving way to another. The evidence is impressive that the master-servant relationship is becoming less adapted to modern social and industrial conditions and that changing circumstances are slowly creating a new status for labor. For the

Thurston Carries Relief to Miners



DISTRIBUTE FOOD— Accompanying a truck to the produce yards in Penn avenue yesterday, Howard Thurston, his wife and daughter, Jane, showed keen interest in miners' relief by hiking through

the yards and making purchases of potatoes, cabbages and other food necessities themselves. The famous magician and his family are shown above standing alongside the truck as it was being loaded.

GIVING BENEFIT— "Buy a ticket for Friday's benefit show and supply some needy woman or child with food," is Thurston's request of his Pittsburgh admirers. Several friends among the wholesalers entered into the spirit of the mine relief work whole-heartedly and insisted that their bit be added to Thurston's.

PHOTOS BY SUN-TELE PHOTOGRAPHER.

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Don't forget the miners who are fighting and suffering in the trenches. They still need support. See that your union does all it can to help.

first time in history we have a working class of which almost every member can read and write. Prevailing political philosophy of the liberal-democratic brand has made the workman keenly conscious of his rights and has led him to expect a voice in determining the conditions under which he lives. In such a setting only the most docile and ignorant workers would submit to oppressive conditions of work. But the laborers who have been touched by the civilization of Western Europe revolt, and in so doing they challenge the master-servant relationship pure and simple.

The Origins of Trade Unionism

On this servant's sense of dependence much rather than upon a common occupational outlook rests what is called "class consciousness"—a term as vague as it is familiar. It forms the essence of the well-known psychological fact referred to when the contrast between workers and employers, or between labor and capital, is mentioned.

The most significant aspect, and the fountain-head, of the worker's mental outlook is the sense of grouping. It has arisen in the close of contact of equals in the modern factory, mill, or mine. Men and women who work together in close contact develop quite a new psychological attitude unknown to the guildmen of the Middle Ages or to the domestic craftsman. Industrial workers are thus distinguishable from domestic servants and from agricultural laborers, who work normally in isolation or without many equals present. Trade unionism is the direct outcome of this modern development of a group-mind among the workers.

Trade unionism, however, does not yet involve anything which has come to be called "class consciousness". It does not do so under certain conditions. This was

most particularly the case in the first stages of historic development of trade unionism in the 19th century England. Trade unions arose among distinct, separate groups of textile workers, miners, railwaymen, and so forth. The group-minds were occupational and local, and only at a much later stage of experience and thought did a group-mind of all workers arise.

Even now the intimacy of contact between those who work together in the same mill or who have the same type of occupation which is directed by a power beyond their control is much greater than that between, for instance, the miners and the textile workers. The main point, however, is that the industrial worker has never been psychologically a hopeless individualist.

Trade unionism, even in its most conservative form, is playing upon this "innate" anti-individualism of the worker. This anti-individualism is in a sense a protective response to the oppressive master-servant relationship. The 19th century industrial civilization made demands upon men or subjected them to a discipline against which their original nature caused them to revolt. Trade unions, for that matter, seek to wrest from the employers the determination of policies affecting labor and to vest it jointly in representatives of the management and of the men, thus seeking to deprive the master of much of his authority.

Insofar as unions achieve their goal, workers cease to be mere employees and acquire rights which can no longer be altered or taken away by the mere whim of the master or of the management. Only when collective bargaining is seen to involve repudiation of the master-servant relationship can the significance of trade unionism and the bitter opposition which it still excites be understood.

"Labor Age" Is Challenged

Both A. F. of L. and Magazine Criticized—Discussion In

AMONG the many encouraging letters we receive, there has come one extended letter of criticism. Its author is Brother Sam Fisher of New York.

We print the communication herewith, requesting letters from other readers on the points raised, pro and con. In our June issue—after a number of these various letters have been printed—the editor will comment personally on the issues raised.

The letter is as follows:

IN the January issue of LABOR AGE the managing editor quotes President Green that "the problem of organizing workers in highly mechanized industries the convention referred to the council with the request that investigation be made to disclose conditions and possible methods. The convention also directed that steps be taken to offset the company union development." (President Green of the A. F. of L. in the November "Federationist".)

"These two subjects, we submit, are closely akin." ("Labor Age", 1928). "It is in the 'machinized industries that the company union has its deepest roots. The two considered as one form the real test for American trade unionism for the year 1928."

Among other things the managing editor of "Labor Age" states that "the Executive Council can do a fine and effective thing if it begins with this fact,—that industrial unionism is absolutely a necessity for success in the basic industries."

Unfortunately the managing editor is appealing to the American Federation of Labor about the necessity of industrial unionism in a time when they don't believe in it. The report of the Executive Council to the 1926 convention at Detroit can prove this. In this report company unions are criticized because they obliterate craft distinctions, the workers being organized regardless of trade or occupational consideration, and skilled and unskilled workers are massed into one organization. (See "New Leader", October 2, 1926, pages 1-9). This report proves that the A. F. of L. is not

interested in organizing the basic industries. Moreover, the 1926 convention decided to organize the automobile industry, the council or the metal trades department are still investigating conditions and nothing has been done.

A. F. of L. Helpless?

The A. F. of L. will never organize the basic industries (1) because they have not got the organizing ability to do the job; (2) because they don't believe in industrial unionism; and (3) because they are not interested in organizing the foreign born workers.

During the steel strike the International Unions sabotaged the work of the strike. They were afraid that if the foreign element got into the A. F. of L. they would change its policy. Foster succeeded in organizing the packing industry into an industrial union and maintained the organization from 1918 to 1922. In 1922 the butcher workmen disrupted the organization by withdrawing from the industrial union. The workers, not being united, were forced into a strike by the company and the union was smashed. Today these workers belong to a company union. This shows how the A. F. of L. unions are helping to enforce rather than fight company unions.

Not only has the A. F. of L. failed to organize the unorganized but it has destroyed the power of the most militant unions in the needle industries,—the Fur Workers and the I. L. G. where thousands of families suffer and have no chance of making a living. The editor of "Labor Age" states in his monthly page that the aim of the magazine is to fight company unions, to organize the unorganized, and to stimulate the organized. Yet, at the very time the smashing of the needle trades was going on the editor of "Labor Age" didn't say anything. By being silent while he saw militant unions being destroyed he was guilty just as well as those who did the dirty work.

Non-Partisan Action and Injunctions

Now a few words about the injunctions. How can the A. F. of L. fight

injunctions when they appeal for help to Calvin Coolidge or to the Republican or Democratic politicians? The "New York Times" of January 19, 1928 carried this news item from Miami, Fla.: "The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at the first session of their midwinter conference here tonight announced that they had decided to call a meeting in Washington of representatives of 120 international unions connected with the Federation to discuss the injunction issue." Such a conference had been called some time ago to fight the injunction against the U. M. W. What happened at this conference? Nothing. So the A. F. of L. is calling another conference. William Green in the same report of the "Times", issued a statement "branding a false report that labor leaders virtually had abandoned hope of action on their legislative program at the present session of Congress, and were preparing to carry their fight to the national political convention next summer."

This shows again that the A. F. of L. is not sincere when they go to the enemies of labor. You can never do away with injunctions by lobbying. The editor of "Labor Age" should not be so enthused by the investigation the Executive Council is making. They can't organize the unorganized because they don't want to and you can't fight injunctions with the help of your foe.

The A. F. of L. is bankrupt in the economic field. They have not kept pace with the industrial development of the country. Politically they have confined themselves to lobbying and to non-partisan political action, following the policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

The A. F. of L. leaders have continued to follow the policy outlined at the formation of the federation. Therefore a militant organization will have to take its place, an organization that will be able to cope with the situation that confronts the labor movement today.

S. FISHER,
Member, Local 10,
Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America.

LABOR AGE BOOSTER NEWS

Gives Encouragement and Enthusiasm to Its Workers Everywhere

LABOR AGE this month has a great budget of news that will give encouragement and enthusiasm to its boosters everywhere.

LABOR AGE articles are being widely reprinted. Numerous labor official organs, for instance, reprinted Anna Rochester's article on "*Wages and Prosperity*" that appeared in our February issue. Among them are The Textile Worker, Lithographers' Journal, Illinois Miner and The Typographical Journal. The latter quoted the Rochester article under the caption, "*Exploding a Myth*," and referred to it as "one of the most enlightening discussions on the subject of wages and prosperity that has occurred lately."

In addition, G. E. Blakely, of Emporia, Kansas, President, Kansas State Federation of Labor, sends an editorial on "*Wages and Prosperity*," from William Allen White's celebrated Emporia Gazette. This editorial quotes from the article in ridicule of the "Red" hunters and also to refute and confound the Coolidge "prosperity" singers.

The conference on "How to Organize the Unorganized," arranged by the Central Labor Union and the Labor College of Philadelphia, was also the occasion of a great boost for LABOR AGE. E. F. Koshing, Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Union member and ex-Brookwooder, living in the city of Brothely Love, secured 19 subs there. Several others were also obtained. Fifty-five copies of LABOR AGE were sold. And the Philadelphia Electrical Workers' Union's delegates asked for subscription blanks and promised to get some subs from members of their union.

The work of education was also carried on at the Philadelphia conference by the distribution of the book "*Company Unions*," by Robert W. Dunn, with introduction by Louis F. Budenz, editor of LABOR AGE. Two hundred and twenty-five copies were eagerly taken by the delegates and visitors.

In New York City, Abraham Lefkowitz, delegate, Teachers' Union, announced at the last Central Trades and Labor Council meeting that delegates who would hand in their names would be presented with a copy of "*Company Unions*," with the compliments of LABOR AGE. Twenty-five copies were also disposed of at a recent meeting of the New York Lithographers' Union. Altogether the distribution of "*Company Unions*," under the auspices of LABOR AGE, is making a favorable impression.

In a recent letter, Professor Leroy Bowman of Columbia University writes regarding "*Company Unions*," "I am very grateful to LABOR AGE for the copy of this book and want not only to express my thanks but my praise that you have seen that the

distribution of this book is greater than it otherwise would have been. It deserves wide reading."

Should you want some copies for distribution in your union, with the compliments of LABOR AGE, write us and we shall be glad to send them to you.

But a labor magazine does not exist on free distribution of educational works alone. Subs are its mainstay. Get them. There are many ways of doing it.

Following a brief talk by a representative of LABOR AGE 8 members of the Litho Credit Union of New York subscribed.

Cutters Union, No. 4 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have just renewed their 20 subscriptions to LABOR AGE. That's the way we like to get them, in big batches. Come on, send in more that way!

Leonard Craig, director, Department of Education, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, sent in 10 subs from Shenandoah, Pa. He is also boosting LABOR AGE in Wilkes Barre where he is starting some study classes. We are looking forward to some subs from that city as a result of his efforts. He has promised to boost LABOR AGE among those interested in Workers Education in every city that he visits. Go thou and do likewise. Boost LABOR AGE wherever you are.

John Brophy, Director, Pittsburgh Labor College, quoted Anna Rochester's article in *The Bulletin*, published by the College. He is also trying to dispose of copies of LABOR AGE among labor students there. Success will surely be his.

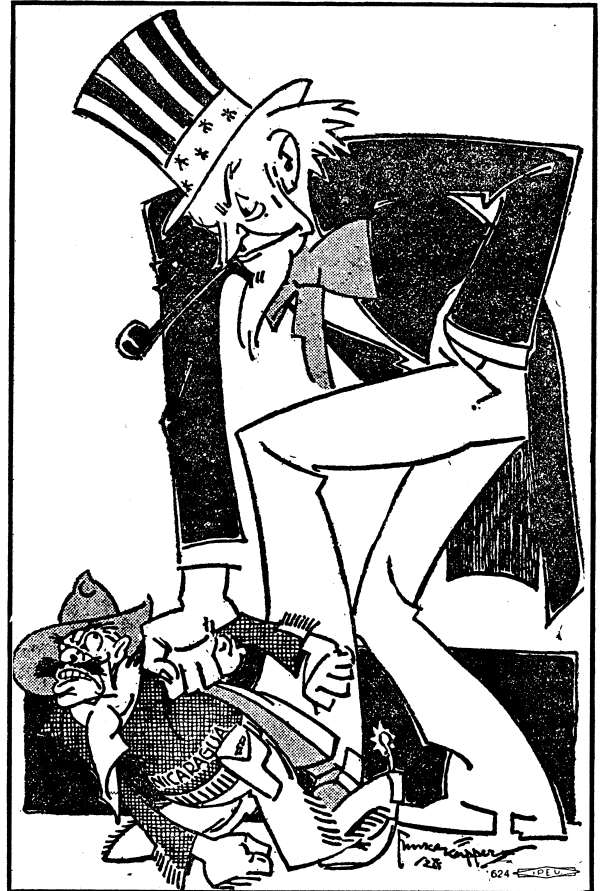
We shall use the facilities of station WEVD to broadcast a talk on "*Labor at the Crossroads*," Tuesday, February 28th, at 9:15 p. m. This is another way of getting out the LABOR AGE message.

Our next LABOR AGE conference will take place at the Civic Club on February 29th. We are going to discuss the Industrial Arbitration plan proposed by the American Bar Association's Special Committee. A. J. Muste will preside and open the discussion.

The March LABOR AGE conference will take place also at the Civic Club, on the 14th of that month. We hope to have our editor, Louis Budenz, present on that occasion to talk on *Rediscovering America*. In keeping with the policy of LABOR AGE, Brother Budenz has been travelling about the country organizing for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Union. In so doing, he has made many new discoveries of interest to labor.

Who says LABOR AGE isn't expanding in influence? Let us expand in all other ways too. Get subs, readers, newsdealers for LABOR AGE. All together!

Uncle Sam's Sore Thumb



Our little war in Nicaragua goes on merrily. Judging by the cartoon in De Notenkraaker (Amsterdam), Europe does not admire our benevolence in that unhappy country. Rather, there is a feeling that America is a bully.

In this country our Nicaraguan tactics have not made a great hit. Bishop, in the Portland, Oregon, Journal, sees Nicaragua as Uncle Sam's sore thumb unhealed by Coolidge's speech at Havana, while Kirby in The New York World shows Uncle Sam somewhat bewildered, wondering what it's all about.

HERE and THERE

Among American Workers

"Mister give me a dime for coffee and rolls!"

This familiar appeal of the hard-time's year is whispered every little while in your ears as you walk along the Bowery, or any other city street where jobless foregather

Unemployment is worse than in 1921. Breadlines are the longest since 1916. Edgar Wallace, legislative agent of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, estimates 40 per cent of American wage earners idle or on very short time. Los Angeles labor unions report 70,000 jobless; Boston has 60,000; Baltimore more than 75,000. There are four million to four and a half million idle workers in the country.

This is partly due to the business depression. Leland Olds, industrial editor of the Federated Press, estimates that the drop in coal consumption since 1926 is alone sufficient to account for 50,000 unemployed miners. Many other workers have been scrapped by improved machinery.

* * *

With so many workers at the gates it takes courage for a union man to risk his job. But subway workers of New York possess this quality. The heads of the Interboro Rapid Transit Co. have threatened to fire any employes joining the A. F. of L. Yet as this is being written a thousand subway men are attending a mass meeting called by the Amalgamated Assn. of Street and Electric Railway Employes.

The Interboro got stung losing its injunction case last month. Its wily attorney, Jim Quackenbush, asked the New York Supreme Court to restrain the entire A. F. of L. from organizing the subway workers. Justice Wasservogel denied the writ. He said the Interboro's yellow dog contract—which the injunction was to protect—was inequitable. This yellow dog contract is signed under threat of discharge. It signs the worker's rights away to be-long to a trade union.

The trade unions are now pinning hopes to the anti-injunction bill that

Senator Shipstead is presenting in Washington. If the bill passes Congress it will still have to get by Calvin Coolidge and the nine old supreme court justices. Laurence Todd, in a recent dispatch, tells us that 90 per cent of all federal judges are anti-labor.

* * *

If the federal district court in the southwest would jail the three officials of the Southern Pacific who flouted the order to recognize the railway clerks' brotherhood and disband the company union it might revive faith in the courts. Had the union disobeyed the courts the ball and chain would be quickly fastened on the workers' legs. But company officials are still at large, enjoying something better than prison fare.

* * *

All day without a bite to eat! That is a common fate for the striking miner in Pennsylvania and Ohio, where there isn't enough relief to go around. A rank and file coal digger writes us of a talk he had just had with the president of his local union. The local president had eaten nothing all day.

Senator Wheeler says Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury, could settle the strike in 24 hours. This multi-millionaire and his brother dominate Pittsburgh Coal Co., and the biggest bank in the Pittsburgh region. But Mellon is hard-boiled—that's how he got his four hundred million. The senate committee visiting Pittsburgh will have a chance to talk to his victims. And this may mean more publicity for the strikers, but to win the strike, and prevent the destruction of the miners' union, the working class as a whole will have to send more aid to Pittsburgh.

* * *

Paint manufacturers and contractors who are trying to force the spray gun on the workers have just gotten a bump in the pants. These employes asked the Chemical Research Bureau of the National Safety Council to assure them that the spray gun was safe. But the report was a boomerang to the bosses. The Bureau reported

that the spray gun was safe only when a suitable respirator and adequate ventilation was provided. And you don't find these safeguards in the open shop jobs.

Even with these safeguards the spray gun will never be safe as long as lead and poisonous chemicals are used in paints. Till then the old way—the brush way—is the only safe way.

* * *

A labor movie house chain—with 1,500 theatres—is suggested in the last issue of the electrical workers' journal. All labor temples might become movie houses once a week or every night under this plan. Labor movie studios would produce the films. A great idea: bigger than a daily newspaper. Something for the trade unions to get busy with.

* * *

The initiative and referendum have been dropped by the International Cigarmakers' Union. The executive board and international conventions are now the supreme body. Chiefs of the union say the initiative and referendum were used in the past by local bodies to override convention decisions to admit the machine workers and thus the union was kept weakened.

* * *

Colorado coal miners ended their 4-months' strike. They voted to return to work pending the award of the state industrial commission. The men are already enjoying a wage increase of a dollar a day while the decision of the commission is being awaited.

In the closing days of the strike the military authorities were compelled by a federal court order to release Frank Palmer, correspondent for The Nation and the Federated Press. Palmer had been in jail for several weeks for daring to tell the truth about the state police, national guard and Rockefeller gunmen. With Palmer, many other sympathizers and strikers were freed.

* * *

This department was prepared with the assistance of Brookwood Labor College students.

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.

SPEED INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM!

What Came of a Conference

IT may be that fools rush in where angels fear to tread. We are not so readily convinced of that. It is far more likely that angels precipitate themselves into situations that fools would not dare to invade. Rashness is much less of a human failing than cowardice.

It is pleasing, then, to know that more alert and daring methods were discussed, and recommended to the Movement, at the "How to Organize" Conference in Philadelphia this last month. The very existence of the conference was an act of no mean courage in itself. Just why it was not suppressed or enjoined or assaulted by the employer-controlled judiciary in some way or other still remains a matter of wonder. By this judicial hocus-pocus or that, "To organize the unorganized" has become well-nigh a matter of sedition.

One outstanding item, that apparently disturbed the minds of the unionists assembled more than any other, was the mad march of the machine. Almost every speaker dwelt upon the menace of mass production. Pictures were drawn of the decay of hitherto privileged crafts, the skilled man yielding to the unskilled operator of the power-driven machine.

From the opening address by Organizer Joseph Ritchie of the A. F. of L. to the closing contribution of General Secretary Thomas Kennedy of the Miners, this new place of the semi-skilled and unskilled in American industry was constantly re-

ferred to as the problem before which Labor must halt and take notice.

Some of the speakers made no effort to suggest a remedy. Those who did, appeared to be of one mind. Industrial unionism stood out as the answer, in the factory and basic industries. Its continued re-emphasis might have seemed monotonous, were it not for the earnestness and conviction with which the thought was proffered.

A "crusade" was also called for—one in which the man's ideals and emotions of the unskilled and the young workers could be given full play. But to mobilize this crusade into effective action, the chorus of opinion was unanimous when heard. It can only be done through—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The vital necessity of going forward to the battle for organization in the big industries was stressed. It was shown that the fate of the craft unions will be decided upon the basic industry field, eventually. To win in Coal, Steel, Oil and other big industries, a great move is required. It is—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Such, at least, was the opinion there. And it has great weight. The suggestions put forward came from no swivel chairs. They came from actual active members of the Movement, who stand confronted with the problem of the unorganized.

Theirs was not the rashness or cowardice of fools. It was the daring wisdom of wise men.

ALMOST A DONKEY

WHEN a Profit Maker becomes sentimental, look out for your pocketbook.

Widows and orphans were the favorite smoke screen of the utility interests in days gone by. "Service" is the war-cry of the Rotarian highwaymen. In like manner, the textile manufacturers of New England have evolved into professional mourners over the death of their own brain power.

We have noted their wailings before. "The high cost of labor in the North", the "unjust hour legislation", and other things of that sort are the cause of their difficulties. So we are constantly informed. A new concerted move has been launched to destroy the Massachusetts 48 hour law for women. It is accompanied by the old dirges, as might be expected.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been actually studying textile troubles, however. It is not labor cost that is the chief difficulty in New England, we learn. It is not labor legislation. It is the HIGH COST OF POWER. Through "business solidarity", the manufacturers of New England have acquiesced in the plunder of their industries by the big power interests. There was some revolt in the part of the state regulating body some time ago. But it did not get very far.

The Institute of Technology has given us one more proof of that which we knew for a long time. The management of New England textiles, by and large, is mentally bankrupt. Read any report of a textile manufacturers convention, and you will discover a host of resolutions that are never put into effect. You will find indictments of the slovenliness of management, by way of confession, that never get into the public prints.

In our favorite cross word puzzle the other evening we were stumped over a word, which meant "almost a donkey." Eventually, it dawned on us that the word was "jackass." We had thought it was "textile manufacturers".

WAKE UP OR CLOSE UP

A Thought for Some Central Bodies

SALAAMING before the Open Shop employers in our local communities will not get us anywhere.

That seems to be a truism. It does not seem to have gone home in a number of central bodies in this country, nevertheless. Active organizers are complaining more and more that there is no vigor in these community labor bodies out in the grass roots. Some of their members are too much entangled in local commitments to be crusading fighters for the labor cause.

In the February issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, President Green writes that "To Organize is the First Step." Among other things he says:

"No union can afford not to have organization work constantly under way. Nor can this work be left to paid organizers or other union officials. Experience shows that the major per cent of organization work is done by volunteers—by workers in the community who have vision of union significance."

To secure these volunteers there must be the old fighting spirit which built up the American Labor Movement, the loss of which is likely to be its death. To create this

spirit there must be in the minds of those who will volunteer, the feeling that Labor demands power—and more and more of it.

There cannot be such feeling among men who subsist in many instances off advertisements taken from the Open Shop employers for local organization publications. There cannot be such spirit among men who allow dummy unions to exist, under pretense of continuing strikes which are long since lost. There cannot be such militancy and sacrifice among men who quarrel about petty differences of jurisdiction.

Let us face the facts. And the facts are that many of our central bodies need a re-vitalization. A well-worked out plan is urgently called for to arouse in local communities a desire to fight for unionism until the last drop of the hat. The watchword in a number of central bodies should be: "Let us wake up or close up!" Only by looking ourselves in the face will we get down to the vital drive for organizing the unorganized.

EVEN SOME JUDGES DEMUR

OUR Pollyanna institutions—the company unions—do not sit well with all members of the professional classes.

Even some judges have X-rayed them and found them to be cross bones and death's heads.

Federal Judge Woodrough of Iowa infers in an injunction proceeding that the company union is merely the dummy of the ventriloquist employer. In Appanoose County the operators asked for a decree against the United Mine Workers, in the name of their hand-picked "union." The court refused to make the injunction permanent, because the company did not ask for such action in its own name. The fraud involved in the company union petition was too gross to pass even a federal court.

Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson of Texas gave vent to his outraged feelings on the same subject in typically Texas fashion. Three officials of the Southern Pacific Railroad have been given the choice of an indefinite stay in jail for taking immediate steps to disband their company union.

The judge further decreed: Brotherhood of Railway Clerks officials must be reinstated and also members of that organization; the railroad must pay \$2,000 of the union's legal fees in the case; the company must submit the issues of organization to a secret ballot of the clerks on the road, such ballot to be taken under the court's supervision. The business arose out of an injunction secured by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks against the company, following the road's refusal to act on a wage grievance under the Railway Labor Act. Instead, the road got busy forming its own "organization" of clerks. That, the judge finds, would merely mean that the company "would vote on both sides of the table."

We are pleased to note some members of the judiciary who have super-moronic mentalities. What will happen to "that there" injunction if the Sacred Cow at Washington ever gets its hands on it, we hesitate to say. "Injunction Bill" still guards the sacred portals of the Temple of Property known as the Supreme Court. So, all goes well—despite Iowa and Texas.

In Other Lands

INDIA'S BOYCOTT

All Classes Ignore Simon Commission.

THE biggest and most important special piece of news these days is the Boycott of the Simon Commission by all classes of people in India. Rarely has there been seen such an exhibition of solidarity as the one given by the people of India irrespective of race, class or religion in their opposition to and boycott of the Simon Commission.

All reports coming from India to London and to New York reveal a situation unparalleled in the history of the world. Without weapons for the Indians are disarmed, and with little organization the Hindoos have so far nullified the efforts of the British authorities to get them or their leaders to cooperate in drafting a constitution. The British feel keenly the rebuke and the snub of the Hindoo leaders and people. One acquainted with Indian affairs and British methods said that he would not be surprised some fine morning to read that the British were forcing people to testify and to give "evidence" before the Commission. This of course would add to the farce but it might save the faces of the Simon Commission and give them the material and a chance to make a report to the British Parliament which the Commission must do since it is a statutory one and not the ordinary royal commission, which usually prints its reports and does nothing else with

them. In the Simon Commission a report must be made to the House of Commons and action must be recommended. How can that be done when every representative man in India, when every leader of every party, radical, revolutionists, moderate and conservative keeps far away from the sessions of the Commission? When Sir John Simon hears no evidence and collects no testimony he can not make a report to parliament.

In this connection while pleased as every lover of liberty must be with the wonderful solidarity of the Hindoo people a note of regret must enter and jar the applause and rejoicings. We refer to the presence of members of the British Labor Party on the Commission. It is unfortunate that the Labor Party leaders did not get the advice of the acknowledged spokesmen and leaders of the people of India before agreeing to accept the government proposal.

This is regrettable when we consider that the British ruling class tried the same kind of a trick a few years back in Dublin and at that time the Independent Labor Party and the Labor Party, denounced the Lloyd Georges and the Asquiths and the British ruling class for their trifling with liberty and for their attempts to side track the final solving of the question. Irish rights can not be Indian wrongs.

GERMANY

Economic conditions in the Reich have been regularly reported as good by visitors who did not peer below the surface. They are working in Germany it is true and the unemployed problem is not as serious as it is in Great Britain. But visitors do not know that wages are low and because of that no reserve can be created by the workers. The cost of living and the price paid for labor are so close that the mass of the people have really, despite all outward appearances, nothing but a bare subsistence living.

The war debts are grinding the workers perhaps more than any other class in Germany. The Dawes Commission payments leave the people worn to the bone while the economic rivals of Germany are indulging in experiments in economic and political imperialism that must pave the way for another war.

The reported victory of the great metal trades unions in the recent dispute with the great cartels and trusts has been exaggerated as usual. The government stepped in when it saw a strike in the offing with its well organized arbitration machinery and stopped the strike. That, however, does not mean that the unions have accepted the Government's award of two and a half cents a day increase in pay. A few Christian and bosses' unions have

signified their intention to accept the award but the great big organizations in the metal trades unions have not followed suit. Just now they are voting on the award and all indications are that they will reject the proposals of the Government. The only point gained was that a reduction was prevented without a strike on the part of the workers. All the rosy comments and articles on the award of the government printed in our daily papers were not based on substance or correct information.

In the country—a section of the Reich—visitors never see, that is to say the rural regions are by no means prosperous. Last year the harvest was ruined by the excessive rains and in consequence the farmers are in the midst of a severe depression which as every one knows came on the heels of a period of inflation and deflation, the worst and the greatest the world ever experienced. All taken together left the German farmer in a sorry mess.

A matter that is deeply agitating Germany and Austria is the treatment of the Tyrolese by their new Italian masters. Tyrol had the finest and most liberty loving specimens of the entire Teutonic race and the handing of them over to the mercies of the Italian imperialists was one of the worst tragedies of the Versailles Peace Con-

THE ALTAR OF GREED

gress. Tyrol may cause another war as the Fascisti seem to be determined to goad the people into a revolt, which if they do, one does not expect the Germans of the Reich and Austria to look on passively.

HUNGARY

The madcaps of Hungary are doing their share to set the Balkans ablaze. Roumania and Checko-Slavakia will hardly stand much longer the pranks of the medieval rulers of Hungary. Most of the Little Entente countries are pawns in the international game with Britain, Italy and France as the movers behind the scenes. Italy and Hungary are, it is plain to see, getting ready for mischief and in fact are very busy these days making trouble for their neighbors.

GREAT BRITAIN

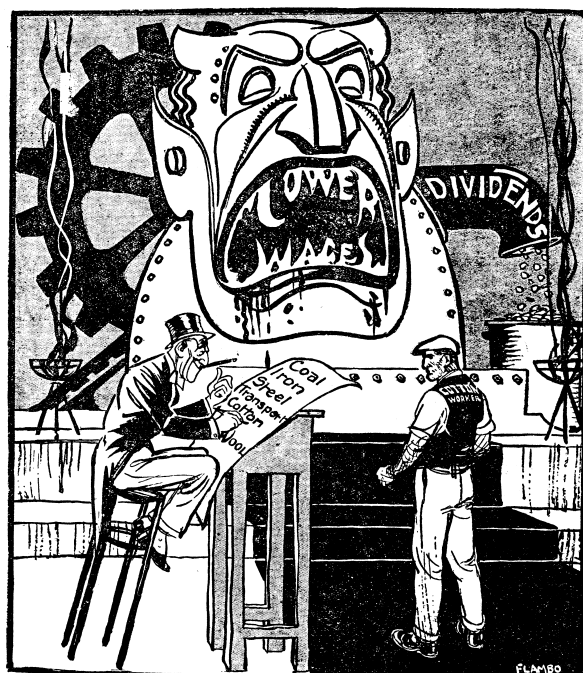
Private advices from England state that although foreign trade is doing well the unemployed continues to be Britain's greatest social problem. American visitors who are trained observers and not fly-by-night tourists say there is an atmosphere of depression all over the great industrial centers.

One of these observers told the writer that there appeared to him a feeling of hopelessness in the air. He gathered from the comments and talk of the men he came in contact with that most of the young men of England would emigrate to the United States if they got the chance.

The passing of Ex-prime Minister Asquith makes one recall that when he was Home Secretary over thirty years ago he caused to be shot three strikers in Featherstone-haugh. Contrary to all stories told about Herbert Henry he was not a progressive. Any fundamentally Liberal measures he helped to pass into law were done so only after he had done his best to block them. The Irish question, the Suffrage question, the condition of the rural laborers and his shifting dallying conduct in the days just following Sarejevo proved him a man of lath painted like iron. The King and the royal family, the House of Lords and the aristocracy owe much to the dead premier. When the aristocracy led by the Marchioness of Londonderry and the King were caught red handed in the Curragh conspiracy with Lord French and Carson H. H. Asquith had a warrant for the arrest of the Orange leader but prevented its enforcement. He deliberately lied to shield the King and told the House of Commons that George V had nothing to do with the Curragh military conspirators when everyone in England knew the royal family was roped into it by the Londonderrys and other Tory peers and peeresses. The nice talk and the fair words about Asquith at his death can be traced to the services he rendered the King and the aristocracy by brazenly lying for them when England was almost on the point of revolution.

THE AFGHAN KING ON TOUR

About the only powerful and independent ruler in Asia is the Ameer of Afghanistan who is now visiting Europe. His friendship for the progressives of India and his willingness to cooperate with Turkey make him with Kemal Pasha the only real native Asiatic force opposed to imperialism. Because of his power and the peculiar character of his country and its geographical position the Ameer will be feted everywhere. It is safe to guess that the



Lower wages, more sacrifices by the workers to keep the wheels of industry going are asked by British Tories, as Flambo's cartoon in The New Leader (London, England), shows. That paper asks "How much longer will the workers allow themselves to be sacrificial offerings on the altar of greed?"

British will try to outdo the Germans, the French and the Italians in their reception to him.

The Ameer, let us hope for the peace of Asia and for the welfare of his own people, will pay little heed to the flattery and the fawning showered on him but that he will trust in Allah and keep his powder dry.

PERSIA AND OIL

Oil, the cause of so much progress and the cause of many serious economic changes in the world is also the underlying cause of many of the political plots and counter plots and schemes on the part of U. S., Britain, Russia, Italy and France. At present the British are trying to grab several small but important islands in the Persian Gulf to use as oil and naval bases. Persia has sent a protest to the League of Nations. If the U. S. Government at the bidding of our oil kings step in Persia will be saved. Otherwise the League of Nations' protest regarding the Bahrein Islands will be received and filed.

INTERNATIONAL HIGH FINANCE

The High and Mighty Emperors of finance who rule the world have got their grip on Roumania on their own terms. The Bank of France and the Bank of England have given 500 million dollars to Roumania and we see the beginning of the end of her real independence. She is already playing the trouble maker for Russia. Poland will be the next to walk the plank.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN



“Say
It With
Books”



WHAT THE MINERS FACE

The Miner's Freedom, By Carter Goodrich, Marshall Jones Company, Boston, Publishers. \$2.00.

THE traditional freedom of the gob-pile is colliding with the enslaving machine that is converting mining into a factory process. What will happen out of this impact of human with mechanical forces is the question Carter Goodrich raises in this book. “How will the union weather the transition?” he asks. “What will the machine do to the union and what will the union do to the machine?”

For generations mining has been a handicraft. Skill meant money. Since a miner was responsible for his own safety and was paid largely on tonnage or yardage basis, the boss felt he had but slight authority over his workers. Miners started when they liked, and quit when they had a “shift” in. A shift meant enough production to make it worth while coming out for the day.

But conditions are changing, engineers assure us, and Carter Goodrich hears the sound of mechanical cutters eating into seams of coal, and conveyors hauling it into cars. The old miner is slated to join the vanished craftsmen of the days before engineering reached the high perfection of today. “The moving belt becomes boss, and unskilled labor can perform most of the hard work such as scooping and standing up a piece of timber to hold up a straining roof”

Goodrich does not see how mechanization can help the coal problem. Increased production will mean sharper competition which will make the coal situation even worse than it is. But this mechanization is nevertheless inevitable in the competitive war that is raging between the too numerous operators who are out to eliminate one another from the business.

What will happen from the conflict of the “new discipline” which aims to “standardize” the mine worker into

a smeamy Ford employe, and the existing habits of the mine-workers is to be seen. Miners have a grim firmness in defending traditions that are older than their organization. Many attempts have been made in the past to keep a miner at work the required number of hours. These attempts have usually failed. When the miner is tired, or feels he has done enough, he quits. If he cannot be hoisted out immediately, and there is no hole through which he can crawl out to the surface, he sits and waits until he gets a “cage.”

Goodrich tells us of Gary mines where no former miners are hired. “Greenhorns” can be taught “scientific” methods. They are not tied down by any tradition. “Increase of supervision” is another innovation of experts. “One boss to every 25 men” is the proportion of mechanized mines. Electric and compressed-air drills, face conveyors, moving belts, give the mine the atmosphere of a Ford plant. No one can resent this sinister “rationalization” of coal more than the miner who himself feels he is becoming “a goddam slave,” as Goodrich quotes a miner on this issue.

Machinery has never meant more freedom to workers. Not only their brains are transferred to the office, but they are expected to keep up with machines, and as machines gain speed, the workers are expected to gain speed. Meanwhile thousands of miners will be eliminated from the industry, intensifying a bad unemployment situation. These miners will have nowhere to go, and no industry that they can fit into. Indeed, the prospect is gloomy and had Mr. Goodrich named his book the “miners’ slavery” his title might have been more apt.

Goodrich does not suggest what the miner might do to escape what seems to be an unfortunate plight. Whether he is to demand nationalization or quietly submit he does not say. Nor does the miner himself know at this moment.

ED. FALKOWSKI.

AGAIN THE TARIFF

THOSE that read in a recent issue of LABOR AGE an article on the tariff question may be interested to follow out the analysis in a book by George Crompton just published by the Macmillan Company, at the price of \$2.50. While not written from a Labor viewpoint, the argument is balanced in somewhat the same manner as that in the article mentioned, and if the reader will ask himself step by step what each point means to Labor, he will come closer to arriving at a sound policy on the

tariff question than most amateurs are able to do by mere casual observation and desultory reading.

Incidentally the book makes interesting contribution to the history of industrial development and to the explanation of nationalistic policies touching industry. The general conclusion is that while free trade is the broadly idealistic policy, protection has been justified both in principle and practice for purposes of national development. Naturally the author is not able to draw a clear

and simple line between progressive and reactionary elements in the tariff procedure. How, for instance, can one tell whether a tariff designed to build up enough home industries to make us self-sufficing in war may not be a sufficient international irritant to serve as a decisive element in precipitating the war so contemplated?

Of course Mr. Crompton is right in puncturing the old-fashioned, individualistic, let-alone argument that would allow nothing to be done deliberately and officially by way of promoting and directing economic development. From the American Labor standpoint, however, we may, with equal appropriateness raise the question whether enough of the benefit from the fostered development in this country has come to the workers to make the tariff worth while to them. Mr. Crompton would say that it has; but then he would be thinking more about the short-time interests of the workers of one country than about the long-time interests of a world solidarity of Labor. Thus we are back, as in the case of the "public" interest to the question of conflict of local and short-run considerations as against world-wide long-run interests.

Regarded thus, the tariff can not be given a simple, clear and universal verdict. There are tariffs, and tariffs; and each particular proposal needs to be studied on its own merits, whether by those that are concerned for the interests of the "public" or by those that take the Labor point of view. So far as organized Labor is concerned, it would be a good thing if each union had some authority on the tariff as affecting its industry. To be sure Labor is not in a position to wield much direct political influence; but some inside stuff on the tariff situation in relation to conditions, prices, and wages might be very useful for bargaining argument and for strike publicity. As good a way as any for a worker to get ready would be by starting with Crompton's book.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

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CORRECTION

In my article in the last issue of the LABOR AGE with regard to injunctions, a regrettable mistake was made. Instead of stating that the jury trial section of the Clayton Law was limited and emaciated (see Michaelson vs. U. S.) it was mistakenly stated that it was annulled.—J. M. Budish.

The Labour Monthly

*The best and best known labor magazine
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