April, 1928 25 Cents

Labor Age

The National Monthly

Prosperity's Breadlines

1. Dealings in Futures
2. Increased Productivity—For Whom?
3. Has Mass Production Broken Down?

Conspiracy at Kenosha

Workers Education and the Unorganized

Mexican Labor's Giant Strides

Final Episode in La Follette Expose

Arouse the Country! Research for Workers

The Wage Earner's Outlook

Vol. XVII—No. 4 APRIL, 1928

$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc.— Composed of International, State and Local Unions

3 West 16th Street, New York City

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

CONTENTS:

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

JUSTUS EBERT, Editor, Lithographers' Journal, organ of Amalgamated Lithographers of America.

M. H. HEDGES, Director, Research Department, Int'l. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and member, editorial staff, Electrical Workers' Journal.

JOSE KELLY, Special Representative, Mexican Federation of Labor.

LOUIS STANLEY, Research worker and writer on current labor problems.

And others, well known to our readers.

Entered as second class matter, Nov. 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Labor Age
The National Monthly

Prosperity's Breadlines

Where Political Tricks Fail

624 IDEV

New York Times

NERO fiddled while Rome burned. Our industrial Neros play golf as breadlines grow longer. The slimy hypocrisy of these gentlemen before the Senate Committee investigating Coal is now shown in all its nakedness. Pompously they declare that they will "take care" of their workers. They have "taken care" of them too well. Taken care that wages were lowered beyond subsistence; taken care that Coal and Iron police operated in their notoriously brutal manner; taken care to get injunctions against peaceful picketing; taken care to starve and evict miners, women and children.

And not far from the Senate hearings sits "one of the cleverest politicians ever to occupy the White House." That is a Princeton University professor's characterization of Coolidge. He may be right. But not all this "clever" politician's bag of tricks will cause Prosperity's breadlines to vanish. Not even the latest attempt to fool the people by "shutting the mouth" of Secretary of Labor Davis and getting Francis I. Jones, Director General of the U. S. Employment Service to issue optimistic reports about employment. Davis knows how serious the situation is. He has told some startling truths about unemployment, even though he has no adequate remedies to propose.

The sooner we accept the idea that unemployment is inherent in the present industrial system the better. We must face the facts, and as Brother Hedges suggests, plan ahead intelligently. Increased productivity is bringing the issue sharply to a head. Fannia M. Cohn and Justus Ebert, in their articles, do not mince words, but demand drastic remedies.

And as we look at unemployment, let us not forget the injunction. Even if we would we could not. In every important Labor struggle the Federal courts stand ready to aid employers with writs which prevent peaceful picketing, making a mockery of our constitutional rights, as was done at Kenosha, where our Managing Editor Budenz and others face possible jail sentences for an alleged violation of an injunction. It is encouraging to know that Organized Labor means to make the Shipstead anti-injunction bill its dominant issue in this year's campaign. It would be too hopeful to expect Congress to pass this bill even if it is favorably reported by the Senate Committee. Labor, nevertheless, cannot stand idly by to see every progressive gain swept aside by judge-made law. It is an issue in which every worker has a stake, and it must be fought to a finish.

Dealings In Futures

On Planning Ahead Intelligently

By M. H. HEDGES

TAKE the wheat business. Here is an industry based on man's most primitive hunger—for bread. It does not operate upon laws of chance, or entirely within circumscribed economic laws of supply and demand. Brokers, who yearly makes fortunes, speculating in this commodity, feel that they must know. They set up, and equip, and operate a costly system of crop scouts, who send daily telegraphic reports from the principal production centers, to the stock exchanges. Should a drouth, or a storm, or a plague blight the crops, that intelligence is relayed to the brokers' offices. There the extent of the damage to the acreage is estimated, and the probable effects upon the strength of the final crop calculated. The total cropage in part at least determines prices, and sets the stage for any individual brokers' attempts to corner the market. This dealing in futures, based on intelligence reports goes on every year in the United States, and throughout the world. It is said that Liverpool is the world center for the wheat market, and that the price at Liverpool pretty generally sets the price in world centers. The interesting point here is that an elaborate, costly, and reliable system of intelligence has been worked out—not to insure better, or cheaper, or more timely bread—but to magnify, insure and guarantee brokers' profits.

Suppose that organized society cared as much for buns and cakes on the tables of the underlying population, as for brokers' profits, could not a similar system of intelligence be made to work as well or better than it does now, on behalf of children's stomachs as for brokers' tills?

The control of economic forces, the direction of economic law, in behalf of the underlying population, is intertwined pretty closely with the problem of prediction. The trouble is that little if nothing is done to protect workers, and consumers, against the exigencies of the economic order. Two years ago Miss Mary Van Kleeck, head of the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, made a plea for an "immediate extension and coordination of existing state and federal machinery for gathering and analyzing labor statistics." Miss Van Kleeck was looking ahead to this very present hour of our national life. "The fact is," she said in 1926, "that for the past five years the economic machinery of the United States has been in fairly smooth running order; that the opportunity to keep it so by intelligence and good management is exceedingly promising, but that prosperity is not proof against careless management and heedless speculation; that evidences are many that we might have had a serious decline in employment in 1923 and 1924 had it not been for the timely warnings which prevented undue expansion in business with the probably resulting depression. Business men have discovered that facts about the trend of business and industry are useful, and that if business is to succeed in the United States in the next few years, increasing attention must be paid to eliminating waste and preventing fluctations. It is the business and the great opportunity of labor departments today to tell fully the facts about conditions of employment and wages, and to insist that the picture of economic conditions shall not only include stock exchange operations, interest rates, prices of commodities and quantities produced, however important these indices may be, but must show also, as its most important feature, the condition of life of wage-earners."

Plea Is Ignored

Miss Van Kleeck's project eventuated in a book published by the Russell Sage Foundation entitled "Employment Statistics for the United States" by R. S. Guelin and W. A. Berridge. This book made up for deficiencies in the present system of gathering unemployment statistics by supplying eight indices. For be it known that strictly speaking, there are *no* unemployment statistics now gathered in the United States which can be confidently vouched for. But the upshot of Miss Van Kleeck's campaign was — her plea went unheeded.

Just two years later—to be exact April, 1928—we find the country shrouded in a mass of unemployment painful in the extreme. Dismay ensues. There is a scurrying among politicians, and cold cynicism among employers. As usual, when it comes to considering human beings—the tried and worn members of the underlying population—science and the methods of science are not used.

But let's follow the story a little farther. Under the impact of wholesale joblessness; with old General Coxey, of Coxey's Army fame, in Washington, predicting a second marching of jobless men on the capital city; with a presidential election coming, Congress passed a resolution directing the Secretary of Labor "to investigate and compute the extent of unemployment and part-time employment in the United States." And for that much, everyone should be grateful—that is, if it is the beginning of forward planning for labor; the first faint glimmerings of a policy of sense for the underlying population.

Modern industry is an intricate and complex process. It is no longer a matter of simple administration, exertion of hand skill, or of such little force. It is cerebral —the work of engineers, chemists and scientists. Yet the employment of science in industry, thus far, has been directed, as indicated above, toward profit-taking, and competitive salesmanship. Little, or nothing, has been done to mitigate the ills of those who toil. It is the function of organized labor, increasingly I believe,

to force the use of scientific forecasts in the protection of workers. Forward planning—unemployment statistics that are accurate—employment bureaus—cost of living figures that paint the picture of the worker's economic condition—the stabilization of the dollar—these are immediate goals toward which labor can with profit drive.

An adequate system of employment reports costs money. Here is no doubt one reason why established state and federal bureaus of statistics do not do more. The U. S. Department of Labor is always handicapped by a lack of funds. Money in abundance there always is for the Department of Commerce, but for the Department of Labor—nothing but New England economy. Organized labor has, and will continue, to strive for larger appropriations for the Department of Labor, and it can with advantage to itself seek to penetrate that soggy mass mind, known as the public, with enlightenment on the profitable use of employment forecasts.

Labor's Own Research

But even if Miss Van Kleeck's plan for an elaborate, accurate, tie-in of state labor bureaus, could be put immediately into effect, it is likely that labor would want to continue to build its own research departments. One of the significant and happy facts about the present unemployment crisis, is the part played by the A. F. of L. research department and the Labor Bureau Inc., a quasi-official agency. For months the A. F. of L. department has been making a nation-wide survey of unemployment, by cities, based upon confidential reports of union officials, and these reports have been used with good effect to focus public attention on the disconcerting growth of the jobless. The Labor Bureau's February report upon employment swayed the Senate in its recent action. So long as state bureaus are state bureaus, they will become at times party bureaus, and partisan bureaus (and this is not to the discredit of the experts that man them) and should be checked and supplemented by union bureaus. Recently the Railway Clerks have established a research bureau, headed by E. L. Oliver, one of their own number, who has wide technical training and experience. We may expect to see more unions establish research offices.

When they do, and when there can be an association of labor research men, with yearly meetings, and a settled policy, with a division of study, we shall see labor begin tc get more immediate action upon its problems.

In this period of transition, of false prophets, and of humbuggery, it is easy to fall into pessimism. We do not want to do that, when we are considering one of the most hopeful aspects of the movement—the foundation of intelligence offices. Yet as one ponders the present economic order; as one surveys the demands of machinery upon handicraft; the rise of involuntary unionism, and the glib enforcement of individual bargaining; the legal support by the courts of open-shoppery and employer hypocrisy—one wonders just where we are headed for. We know the foes of labor are greater, because they are more subtle and more insidious; but we know, too, that the scientific method when applied to the severest problem yields results. We believe that the present situation will bring all unions to see the necessity for a more scientific consideration of their problems, with forward planning as a definite part of their policies.

Increased Productivity—For Whom?

Mass Production and Unemployment

By FANNIA M. COHN

FOR the past few years, the most popular idea dominating our industrial world has been that of mass production. In the realm of business—among merchants and manufacturers—as well as among economists and efficiency engineers, it has been a constant topic of discussion. But this discussion was not confined to the world of business practice and of economic theory. In the Labor Movement, too, it became an ideology. Wherever the consumers' complaint was heard on the high cost of merchandise or wherever a kick from the workers seemed imminent against their low wages which made it impossible to meet the high cost of living, or for shorter hours to counteract the monotony of increasing mechanization of industry, one answer served to quiet both. "Increase productivity. Increase mass production. Industrial efficiency and elimination of waste is the only remedy and the only salvation against all social evils."

Now every intelligent labor man and woman is for all possible elimination of waste, for efficient management and for the attendant increased productivity. And how otherwise? Who pays the penalty for waste in industry? Who but the worker? The employer is protected by his fixed income. The cost of management, too, is more or less defined. So, ultimately, it is the worker who bears the burden of waste in the form of lower wages. Of course, we of the labor movement want society to consume more goods. We are for more improved machinery and increased productivity. Of course, we were assured that we would share in its blessings. Our quarrel is not at all with mass production but rather with the way it is administered. The result of mass production would be excellent if this national business economy was conducted on the same basis as "home economics." When the housewife purchases a new time-saving device, it tends to relieve her of drudgery in her daily work. It becomes a blessing to her whole family. National economy has somehow failed to become a bless-

ing to the whole national family. Why? It is true that business, like the modern housewife, is more efficient nowadays in its management. Not only does the manufacturer provide a depreciation fund to replace worn out implements but he also has a replacement fund in anticipation of new inventions of machinery. To meet competition he is compelled to replace his equipment even if it is in perfect order and to substitute for it new and more efficient machines. He also believes in unemployment insurance for his managerial staff—as they are engaged for 52 weeks a year. And his own interest is protected by a fixed income, that is determined not so much by invested capital as by the productivity of the plant. So far, the manufacturer is like the intelligent housewife. But he falls down sadly in one instance, namely, in failing to do anything to protect the interest of his workers who are the main source of his income.

Worker Questions Benefit

It is at the point of this inquiry that the cry for mass production started to be questioned from many sides. What happened to the universal eagerness for increased productivity? The answer is simple, "Unemployment." The worker began to realize that the promises that he would share the benefits of mass production were not being realized. He began to understand that he is the "goat" of mass production. It dawned upon him that the more he produced, the less safe his position became. In a word, he felt the pinch of unemployment in the midst of prosperity. With this feeling of insecurity, he discovered that the improved technique which had cooperated in introducing mass production, worked to his detriment. The worker began to ask questions. The current phrase indeed ran "The benefits of our prosperity," and his question followed, "Prosperity for whom?" What did the new system of production hold for him? He began restlessly to review its benefits.

We shall not give a detailed consideration here to the increased monotony of his work under the system of mass production—a system which, as he saw it, was managed with one purpose—to increase the profits of those in control of machinery. He felt that specialization, was setting men at tasks in which the mental requirements of an act monotonously performed all through the working day were practically nil. Specialization thus, was tending more and more to make machines out of men. But we will discuss this at some other time.

The worker saw another tendency to aggravate labor conditions in the proclivity on the part of mechanized industry to make a bid for young people. The older and more skilled worker was being thrown out of the industry and finding it more and more difficult to get another job. This too requires separate discussion.

At the same time, nature takes its course and the working population increases—despite restrictive immigration laws. And the unemployment situation becomes more acute and is even aggravated by the fact that the bulk of women who entered industry with the war, continues to swell the army of producers, claiming for one reason or another, the right to work.

Our present era of unemployment is quite different from previous periods of depression as it is due not only to cyclical causes but also to technical improvements in the machinery of business management. For many months pinched by the business cycle we have become accustomed to the familiar face of this evil. But we are far more alarmed when we are hit by the steadily increasing efficiency of technique.

Prosperity's Paradox

Factory statistics show that where there are 5 per cent fewer employees than were engaged a few years ago, 7 per cent more products were turned out and the index of factory employment compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows an alarming situation. According to this index, factory employment has dropped nearly 15 per cent since 1923 and over 5 per cent since the fall of 1926. At the same time, since 1923, the population of the country has increased about 5 per cent, despite restricted immigration. To see that unemployment is not a creation of the worker's "imagination," we have only to turn to official statistics. The figures of the United States Department of Labor show that the number of workers employed in the manufacturing industries was almost 12 per cent less in 1927 than in 1923. Thte wages paid were nearly 8 per cent less. Many industries now meet the needs of the market with a smaller and smaller labor force. For instance, the essential industries such as railroads and mines employ fewer people in the midst of prosperity because of improved methods of production. Our construction industry, supposedly the most prosperous, is also recording an increasing output per man and a cut down on the labor force.

The true interpretation of this situation has been slow to attract general attention. This is probably due to the fact that unemployment has been a gradual development, one coming simultaneously with the increase of productivity, rather than as a result of a sudden collapse of our market, as is the case at times of cyclical unemployment.

Many prophesy a business revival in the spring. But it is still questionable whether a revival will come—and if it does, our main query is still unanswered "Will it relieve the unemployment situation?" If it is assumed that the present unemployment situation is different from previous ones, which were due to cyclical causes only, then we cannot be too optimistic. We cannot expect much unemployment relief within the next few months, even with some improvement in business.

It is admitted by many qualified persons that improved technique and increased productivity are largely responsible for the present unemployment situation. This raises the question, "What's to be done with all those who suffer from it. What hope of relief have its victims?"

One thing is certain—to keep our industry going we need a wide and steady market; therefore, we must increase the demand for our goods. In order to do this, the community needs money. The workers must have a larger share in our national income. This plainly means that the wages of the worker should be constantly increased in accordance with his productivity. Increasing his purchasing power will enable him to buy back the product of his labor. The worker, under mass pro-

duction, should have the wage commensurate with his productiveness. In a word, mass production can only be successful if followed up by mass consumption, and this can be achieved by higher wages.

If an effort is also made to shorten the working day and the working week to 5 days, then those replaced by higher productivity in one industry, may find employment in new industries that a prosperous market will evolve.

This only, can be a fair solution to the problems of mass production. Sound economic considerations reject any solution based on the idea of a decrease in wages to be followed by an artificial lessening of prices, until the displaced workers can obtain employment.

We want the leaders of the business world to know that while we of the Labor Movement sponsor improved technique that leads to industrial progress, we shall not tolerate it, if it is obtained at the expense primarily of the worker and ultimately of the community and with a disregard of the misery and suffering caused by the insecurity of the workers' means of livelihood.

Wanted—A Program

So the workers have a two-headed enemy—technological unemployment as well as cyclical. We can expect technical improvement to be permanent. We have reached a point in its development where the Labor Movement can well stop and ponder over it. A definite policy is needed to meet the situation and a definite program should be presented to the business interests. In the presentation of such a program the Labor Movement will get the support of all earnest, progressive economists and of all serious students of industrial and labor problems.

It is interesting to note that this discovery of the failure of mass production from the workers' point of view was being made simultaneously in every part of the country and by people in various walks of life. This is curiously similar to the fact that many important new discoveries have been made in various parts of the world at the same time by scientists who had no knowledge of each other's research. The explanation undoubtedly is that the time was ripe for the particular invention. The same interpretation can be given to the simultaneous protest against the mismanagement of our last invention—mass production. Mass production had been unanimously approved until time and experience showed the worker that its management was not doing justice to him. His interest, indeed, was the last one to be considered under this very efficient system which was ostensibly to do away with all social evils. On closer scrutiny, it seemed that profit and not human happiness was the real aim of this industrial efficiency. And the workers' insecure position is becoming more and more aggravated.

A solution of the problem must be sought. If the economic system of mass production puts workers out of jobs, a replacement fund should be provided for them. The Labor Movement will have to make a study of the present unemployment. It will have to question the justice of the management of our national wealth.- Meanwhile, however, the workers are in need of immediate assistance to relieve the acute sufferings of their families. They will have to object strenuously to any suggestion that the problem be met by a charitable institution.

SHALL WORKER BE THE GOAT?

Locomotive Engineers' Journal

There should be a loud and insistent demand for a human replacement fund in industry. Workers who are made jobless because of the new technology are entitled to protection.

The unemployed will have to insist that the community assume responsibility for their distress and will ask that committees of representatives of labor, business and employers be appointed to handle the situation. Soon the American mind, which has made such outstanding contributions to problems of management in relation to production will be confronted with the question of finding a solution to the regularizing of conditions for the worker. But the workers will have to realize there will be no solution to the problem of insecurity brought about by constant increase in output unless they, through their trade unions, will vigorously take up this question and work out a plan leading to its solution. Such a plan, I am sure, will include an energetic campaign for a five day week, shorter hours, unemployment insurance, a replacement fund for workers and old age insurance. These should be included in the immediate program which the labor movement should make popular among the rank and file.

Has Mass Production Broken Down?

Its Relation to Mass Consumption

By JUSTUS EBERT

IN view of the vast unemployment now prevalent this question seems timely and warranted. This is the land of mass production; to the latter therefore should the blame for 4,000,000 unemployed go. Despite this fact, however, some will declare that the question looks silly and sounds as silly as it looks. Mass production has only begun. How, then, can it be said to have broken down? Wait until the complete "Fordization" of the country predicted three years ago by Mr. Edward Filene and then ask the question. So we'll be told.

But coming results, like coming events, cast their shadows before. "Fordization" has already gone far enough to indicate the climax that will confront it when it has run its complete course (if it ever does). Conditions in agriculture, mining, industry, etc., already reflect mass production in a way that presages what its complete extension will probably be like. They are already afflicted with an overabundance of equipment and output, with no outlets to provide for either the continuous operation of the first or to dispose of the steady accummulations of the second. The result is failure and unemployment on the farm, and in the factory, mill, mine and office; in a word, middle and working classes, increasing destitution and uncertainty for farming.

The reasons for this continually expanding condition of affairs are perfectly obvious. Mass production, for one thing, produces ever larger quantities of goods with an even smaller number of workers. For another thing, mass production gives to the workers an ever decreasing share in the value produced. In other words, mass production tends to decrease the number of consumers employed in its various branches; while, at the same time decreasing the purchasing power of those remaining. With these two tendencies at work undermining it, how can mass production continue indefinitely? In fact, isn't it already inherently self-destroyed? Especially when the very life of mass production, that is, its tendency to automatically expand in output, requires a course contrary to that which it is now running, namely, the creation of an increasing number of consumers and increasing volume of purchasing power wherewith to dispose of the increasing pile of commodities put out?

A few typical figures will show the course mass production is running, to its own detriment. In agriculture, for instance, since 1910 output has increased 28 per cent, with 6 per cent fewer workers. In mining, a year's supply of bituminous coal can be produced today with one-half the labor required in 1890. In the past four years, steel output has increased 8 per cent with 9 per cent less labor. In 1927, American factories produced 16 per cent more with almost 12 per cent less workers than in 1923. At the same time the wages paid were almost 8 per cent less. Or to put it in the language of Anna Rochester's article "Wages and Prosperity," in the February issue of LABOR AGE:

What the Machine Is Doing

"The displacement of workers by machinery has proceeded at accelerated pace since the war. The broad sweep of this movement is reflected in the Census of Manufacturers. In 1919, some 9,000,000 factory wage-earners were employed and $24,748,000,000 was the total value added by manufacture. In 1925, only 8,400,000 factory wage earners were employed and $26,778,000 was the value added by manufacture. Making allowance for the 23 per cent drop in the wholesale price index we find that the value added by manufacture per individual wage earner had increased by 51 per cent. Of the dollar value added by manufacture, the wage-earner received, on the average, 42.2 per cent in 1919, but only 40.1 per cent in 1925."

This is a vivid presentation of the two-fold way in which mass-production is undermining itself. Its more complete extension will only serve to accentuate its basic defects, instead of removing them. To do the latter other things will be necessary then the thorough completion of "Fordization." None of the things now advocated by capitalism will do it. Exports—imperialism—will not do it. (The wars they cause gave birth to the over-development monstrosities of mass production.) Making two-car families will not do it (granting that such families are possible, to any great extent, under declining employment and wages). Neither will trading in autos do it (that serves to glut the market and ruin middle class agents). Nor will the "obsolesence" outcry do it—i. e. the movement to destroy or render non-competitive old machinery and buildings (that can't gain enough volume to be effective). At best, all of the foregoing will only serve to give mass-production more momentum in the development of the diseases that are laying it low.

The only thing that will save mass production is the creation of a mass-consumption equal to itself. In other words, the creation of mass consumers with mass wages—a complete reversal of its present tendencies.

Such a consummation is devoutly to be wished for. But it is impossible of realization. For mass production is intent on profits, to the point of self-destruction. It makes autos, etc., with that end in view. The building of utopias it leaves to others. Nevertheless, its tendencies have already broken it down and caused its overthrow to be already possible of discernment.

Efficiency In Steel

© U. & U.

"In the steel mills the work that was done by 14 men in charging 524 furnaces is now done by 2 men. Seven men cast as much pig iron as 60 men did a few years ago."

America's captains of industry are extremely proud of the efficiency of their plants. Whenever a method is devised to reduce the number of employes for a given operation, they rejoice. As for sharing the benefits of this efficiency with their employees, these openshop employers demonstrate a reckless disregard of the human factors in their industries. This despite the talk of such men as "Charley" Schwab about their faith in "human engineering". According to Schwab's own figures, this has worked out to an average wage of 63.8 cents an hour at the Bethlehem Steel plants where the Company Union flourishes.

Such is America's prosperity for workers in the steel mills.

Education and the Unorganized

Brookwood Pages That Suggest a New Approach

By A. J. MUSTE

A FRIEND of mine has recently been visiting one of our great industrial centers. This is part of his report on conditions there: "The turnover of labor in the shops is estimated at 75 per cent. Dissatisfied workers simply quit as individuals and go to any one of the great number of shops here or within a radius of fifty miles. Any one remotely resembling what may be called a machinist or tool and die maker can get a job at any time at rates per hour higher than anywhere in the United States, and with unlimited opportunities for overtime that bring weekly wages up to $75 to $150. Since I have been here I have seen a walkout of nearly one hundred unorganized die makers who went on strike to work more overtime! Attempts by the Machinists' business agent, a fine progressive fellow by the way, to get them to join the union or to tell the men who were coming in to take their jobs of conditions existing in the shop were flatly turned down. All the so-called strikers knew where they could get other jobs just as good or with even more overtime. The psychology of the workers, as I see it, is to get all you can while the getting is good. Some save it, many spend it, and in doing the latter patronize everything from crap games to blind pigs which abound everywhere. The lure of big wages even among the semi-skilled seems to make the job of finding students for labor classes difficult. Even our radicals want the money rather than a training."

Such a report brings up again the whole problem of organizing American workers in the basic industries today to which LABOR AGE has been devoting so much attention. It suggests, however, a special angle of the problem that we shall discuss briefly in this article.

Restlessness Prevails

These workers are not satisfied. The turnover in the shops and the feverish character of their social life are clear indications of that. It is indicated also that they are not any too sure of the future. They have an attitude of "let's grab while the grabbing is good; let's eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die!" They are taking no steps however, to apply a real remedy to the condition in which they find themselves. If things go on at this rate they will be no better off, no more secure, no more content, a year or five years from now than they are today.

It is possible to take a fatalistic attitude toward such a situation, as some of us do, and to say that one of these days there will be a big crash and then these workers will wake up and want to organize. There is no assurance, however, that merely being hit over the head will put sense into a man's brain. Something more is needed.

Furthermore, a modern business man certainly would not adopt such a fatalistic attitude toward a similar problem. He would say that what is needed here is a campaign of education, of advertising, if you please, that these people need something, are unhappy without it, but don't know clearly what it is, and if they do, cannot make up their minds to buy it. Therefore, the business man would say that it is necessary to put our knowledge of psychology, of how human beings behave, into practice, show these people just what they need and get them into the mood of buying it.

So also the problem of organizing the unorganized is in the first instance one of education. We are convinced that it is organization they need. They are not so convinced. Some of them don't think anything ails them. Others know that they are not all right but don't know what is wrong.

Others again may know what they really need but they cannot bring themselves to pay the price for the article they ought to have. Until some thorough, large scale educational work has been done, these people certainly will not join the labor movement.

It may be pointed out also that at present in many localities and industries it is difficult or impossible to make a direct organizational appeal to these workers. They themselves may not want to listen to a union representative. If they do, it is not healthy for them; discharge is likely to be the result. In plenty of instances, the union organizer cannot get into the town.

Of course, in the suggestion that we should use the educational approach to these people there is nothing startlingly new, and by means of labor papers, addresses of leaders of the movement, the radio and so on, there is a constant attempt to influence the opinion of the general public and particularly of the unorganized workers. What I am doing is urging that we give some additional thought to this approach and suggesting some definite ways in which it might be followed up.

Extension Courses

For example, why shouldn't our workers' education enterprises develop what might be called extension departments? Everyone has observed how in recent years the colleges and universities have developed their extension departments and how people by the thousands have flocked into their courses. Columbia University alone has more than eleven thousand people in its extension courses. The extension movement is carrying the university to the people instead of waiting for people to come to the university. Why not carry workers' education to the workers instead of waiting for the workers to come to our labor colleges?

For the most part the latter is what we have been doing so far. Our workers' classes, conferences, etc., deal almost with the organized groups. In some cases the non-union man has been definitely excluded although this is not a general practice. In no case, however, are our labor educational enterprises deliberately developing

extension departments with the definite purpose of carrying workers' education persistently, aggressively, continuously to the unorganized to teach them what unionism means and win them with it. Surely the question of how we might accomplish this is worth serious consideration.

There is still another way in which this problem might be attacked. In a certain railroad center a group of workers have settled down during the past couple of years. They were not originally railroad workers but miners, metal workers and so on who were thrown out of work in their own trades. Some of these men had attended workers' classes. These latter together with a number of other workers in this center now live together in a common boarding house. A couple of evenings a week, the whole group gets together along with any friends from the shop who may wish to join them and they have a more or less organized discussion. One person acts as chairman, a different one each evening. Some topic such as unemployment, the miners' strike, a contention which has arisen in the shops, is chosen for discussion. Those who have previously attended workers' classes remain as much as possible in the background, but in reality steer the discussion to a great extent. They know of books and pamphlets on the subject and call the attention of others to them. Here is workers' education of the most vital kind going on. Here leadership for this particular railroad center is being developed.

In a few other cases similar experiments have been carried on under the guise of a social or athletic club. Such groups might undertake the distribution of literature on a large or small scale, secretly or openly, as circumstances dictated, might presently organize an open forum, get some liberal agency to bring labor speakers into town and bring some of the unorganized workers to hear them, etc. Other concrete suggestions might be found and the present writer would be very glad to receive them from any of his readers. Where suitable literature in the form, for example, of brief, simple, interesting leaflets or pamphlets is not yet available, such might be developed.

Incidentally we may remind ourselves that in the discussion of large scale workers' education we ought never to lose sight of the educational possibilities that might be available in election campaigns and at other times if we had a movement for independent political action.

Mental Ills of Unorganized

In conclusion, I want to make a suggestion as to the nature of the educational work that is to be done with American workers today. As the quotation which we gave at the beginning indicates, the whole psychology of American workers today is wrong from the labor standpoint. They are mentally sick, twisted, tied up. They need to be psychoanalyzed, we might say, need to have their own thoughts and feelings laid bare before their own eyes. They know too many things that are not so, they are living in a dream world, not a real world, in a world of fears, illusions, fairies and bogey men.

What are some of these fairy tales and illustions of which the American workers' mind must be cured before he is ready to organize and to play his part in modern life? For one thing, there is the get-rich-quick fever. The psychology of nearly all of us in this wealthy land is not a psychology of labor but of speculation, of gambling, in other words. To get something for nothing, to get it quick, and to get it by means that bring home the bacon, that is our obsession. It is impossible to build unionism, to develop solidarity on such a basis. Graft and corruption in politics and in labor spring out of such a mental bias.

Closely connected with this is the individualistic bias of the American worker—everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost. The psychology of every man standing on his own feet was on the whole sound enough in the early days here in America when Americans were farmers, when there was land to be had by nearly all and when the well-being of an individual and those dependent on him hinged chiefly on how industrially and intelligently he as an individual applied to farming his own tract of land. But when the American workers no longer confronting his fellow farmer stands up today in front of Ford, Mellon, J. P. Morgan, the aluminum or steel trusts, the financial lords of Wall Street and says: "Every man stands on his own feet, every man for himself, one of us is as good as the other," what does it mean? Not surely that every individual worker is in any real sense on an equality with these men or institutions, but simply that every worker competes with every other one for a job and every worker in the end becomes the devil who has to take the hindmost.

Only a little better under present conditions than the every-man-for-himself illusion is the every-craft-for-itself illusion. Every man for himself never built a union. Every craft for itself never built a labor movement under advanced industrial conditions.

Present Day Myths

The myth that there are no classes in America is another that needs to be dynamited. Even in the early days of the Republic to which we have referred, such leaders as Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson saw clearly enough and stated in the plainest possible language that the merchants of the coast states were an economic class whose interests were different from those of the town workers or the farmers. What sort of mental confusion is it that makes it possible for seemingly intelligent people to keep on saying that Andy Mellon, J. P. Morgan and Oil Sinclair, for example, are in the same economic class as coal miners, textile workers of New England, hill billies or negro tenant farmers of the south?

With that goes the myth that there is no class struggle in America. Passaic, Colorado, Western Pennsylvania have passed before our eyes in recent months. Spies, thugs, coal mine police, murders, are part of the worker's life in this country when the first feeble stirrings of revolt on his part begin, but there is no class struggle!

Another thing with clear thinking and intelligent action on the part of American workers is the Bolshevik bogey. If you have a radical idea, a fresh idea, nay, a moderately progressive idea, if you make a sincere move to change a rotten or oppressive condition in politics or

business, then you are a Bolshevik and that ends it. And there are plenty of American labor leaders who join in the hue and cry. Owen D. Young, the head of the General Electric Company, can say in dedicating a five million dollar business school for Harvard University that he hopes the day will come when the great business corporations will be controlled by and belong to the men who are giving their lives and their efforts to them, that is to the producers, that a day will come when these producers will use capital as a tool and that there will be no "hired men." But to say the same thing in a good many American unions today is regarded as treason.

To mention but one more of these psychological hindrances to right thinking and acting in America today, there is the myth of Patriotism. A decent love of the land where one lives, of the ideas it is supposed to stand for, of what it might mean to its own people and as one of the family of peoples on the earth is a noble enough sentiment. But what does it mean practically today when we are exhorted to be patriotic, to be "good Americans"? It means to be loyal to, not to disturb seriously the America of Calvin Coolidge with his little private war in Nicaragua where daily American marines are being killed although we are at peace with that little country; the America of Andy Mellon of the aluminum trust; the America of injunctions and brutality in labor disputes; the America of the Republican party, big business and the oil scandals. Until we learn to get rid of this bunk of patriotism and dare to say that we are workers first, last and all time, until we dare to have a labor psychology, a labor slant, labor ideals instead of this nationalistic mush and slime, we shall have no labor movement in America worth talking about, and no America worth living in. "If this be treason, make the most of it."

Let us develop the extension work of our workers' education enterprises. Let us not wait for the workers to come to our classes. Let us take labor education to the workers. But this will be significant only if the education we are carrying is realistic, fearless, straight forward and calculated to deliver the workers from the illusions, fears, obsessions, fairy tales and bogies that prevent all clear thinking and effective action today.

The Wage Earner's Outlook

His Status on The Labor Market

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

THE whole labor problem is, in modern economic society, mainly an outgrowth of the way in which free enterprise, on the one hand, and the wage earner, on the other, function in the case of the buying and selling of labor.

Although economic theory usually treats the labor market as one in which unrestricted competition with equal chances for all buyers and sellers of labor reigns supreme, thorough analysis shows that in the method of fixing wages and working conditions the job-seeker is handicapped by his inability to make intelligent choices. Since very essential information as to the demand for and supply of labor is, peculiarly in the United States, lacking, the worker cannot, to use a commercial phrase, see through the market. Scarcely another market is distinguished by such complete ignorance on the part of the sellers, and partly even on the part of the buyers, of the object of exchange.

It has been remarked that the employer in buying labor is purchasing something of unknown quality, but infinitely worse is the situation of the job-seeker. Of few things which concern him does he know less than of the working conditions in which he will be involved. Especially precarious is the condition of a non-unionist as he has no central source of current market information. Neither hearsay nor visiting plants is likely to supply him with clear and full information about vacancies, rates of compensation, and working conditions.

While weighing and judging the circumstances of employment, the industrial worker, therefore, depends upon certain habitual mental traits and characteristics of his outlook.

The Disposition to Take Short Views

It is characteristic of the worker to take short views of things, to consider mainly immediate results; and this mental trait can be traced directly to the wages system. The payments for services in mills and factories take place at short intervals and in small sums. Thus wages sharply differ from salary or other income. The result upon the mind of the worker is to limit its schemes and purposes. For him, looking forward can never imply looking far. This may explain the only partly true assertion that the workers are as a rule more interested in rates of wages than in working conditions and in social progress at large.

To the workers, wages, that is power to buy goods and command services, come spasmodically and at short intervals and in small amounts. Of necessity, accordingly, the workers possess no large reserves and no buying power which can be considered as permanent over a long period. Small wonder, therefore, that the workers are very seldom capable of welcoming policies that aim at distant results. In this respect, their mental outlook is restricted. An example, drawn from the experience in Great Britain, was the absence of provision, during the time of high wages in the war period, for the coming period of low wages. Some workers, of course, had savings, but the trade unions did not raise their rates of contributions from members. Membership increased, and therefore trade union funds increased, but not sufficiently.

The second result of the modern production system, as it affects the wage earner's mentality, is the difficultly on

the part of a self-respecting craftsman in getting pecuniary recognition for merit in a surrounding where price competition fiercely rages among workers. This undermines his interest in skill and efficiency. When one observes how hard it is to sell manual labor upon a quality basis, the indifference of most wage earners toward skill and efficiency, deplorable as it is, becomes at least understandable.

To return to the handicapped position of the job-seeker on the labor market. Inadequate market information among jobless workers tends, in the short run at least, to keep down the general wage level. The following illustration, drawn from a discussion by an American economist intimately acquainted with the labor problem, is illuminating. A man is offered a position. He does not know that a nearby enterprise is hiring men for similar work at higher pay. By the time he has investigated other plants and returned to the first one the vacancy is almost sure to have been filled. Consequently, he accepts the position at less than is paid elsewhere. Because so many job-seekers act in this way, differences in wages exercise only an insignificant influence upon the quantity and quality of labor that seeks employment at different plants. But if higher compensation does not rapidly attract distinctly more or better men, there is not much use in offering it. Accordingly, as is well known, wages respond quite slowly to the increase in demand for labor.

The Effects of Methods of Payment

The prevailing form of wage payment in America is piecework or a bonus system, since nearly half in manufacturing industries are paid by these methods. Now, for example, the statement that a piecework position pays about forty dollars a week is extremely vague and indefinite. What does it mean? Do the best or the average men earn this amount? Is forty dollars the average for good weeks and bad or can it be earned only during the busy season? In how many weeks of the year is it impossible to earn forty dollars and, while conditions are unfavorable, how liberal is the management in granting special allowances? Perhaps a job in another plant which a more conservative management estimates will yield only thirty-five dollars is acutally more remunerative. Piecework and bonus systems render comparison of wages and scales exceedingly difficult if not impossible.

Again, differences which spring from methods of payments in different occupations may go a long way to explain also a few other traits, besides the inclination to take short views, in the mental outlook of workers in various trades. More particularly so, if trade unions have already won a strong foothold in this or that occupation. For instance, time as against piece rates sometimes involve conservatism in one union and restlessness in another. So, by way of illustration, it has been observed in England that workers who are paid a time rate tend to think chiefly of long national issues, such as the length of the working day; whereas piece rate workers are more alive to personal risks of pecuniary loss or small problems of detail. This contrast will be found to distinguish the British building trade unions (time rate) from the engineering unions (piecework).

But within the group of piecework laborers there are also wide differences of outlook. The British cotton trade unions are much more conservative in outlook than the engineering unions, because the piece rates in the cotton trades are standardized and easily calculated. A well-known trade union Secretary in the cotton trade of Great Britain, it has been recorded recently, obtained his post as Secretary by examination in regard to the technique of the trade and other facts on which the wage rates are usually dependent.

On the other hand, piece rates on engineering work are complicated and are based upon variable factors. Hence there is more danger of rate-cutting in the engineering shops, and therefore the engineering unions tend to be suspicious, restless, and always on their guard.

Can the Job-Seeker Discriminate Between Employers?

The irrepressible disposition to take short views of things predisposes the workman, first of all, to compare wages in different plants while he is seeking a job. Important as this mental habit is, it is no less essential, however that the worker compare the risks of unemployment, accident, and occupational diseases, the agreeablenesses or disagreeableness of the work, and the effect of different jobs upon the length of working life. Only the most obvious hazards of some employments are fairly well known. But this rough and ready knowledge is not enough. What the individual workman needs to know is just, for instance, how specific jobs in a certain varnish factory or planing mill compare in likelihood of unemployment, industrial accidents, or trade disease, and in effect upon the length of working life with specific jobs in another varnish factory, textile mill, or coal mine. Yet here the workman, to use the commercial phrase again, can never see through the market.

Competition on the commodity market may act as a regulator of the selling prices, but never can free competition, in spite of the assertions by the Fathers of classical Political Economy to the contrary, prove a regulator of working conditions. This has its roots in the haziness of the workmen's outlook, in the difficulties experienced by wage earners in discriminating accurately between the jobs. How can the principle of competition, applied to the hosts of men and women that are hunting after jobs, protect them against irregular employment, industrial accidents, occupational diseases, and the ruinous effects of overspeeding? The laborers are simply unable to compare the prospective jobs with respect to these vital conditions.

It is a highly significant fact that the wage earners, with the aid of unions much rather than by means of labor legislation, have made headway in attaining a shorter working day. In gaining recognition for the eight-hour day principle, infinitely more progress has been scored than in getting stability of employment, protection against accident and disease, and prevention of overspeeding. The palpable and sufficient reason, undoubtedly, is that hours of work in different plants can be easily compared. In consequence, workmen have, as to the working hours, incomparably less difficulties than in regard to other conditions of work in discriminating between employers before they accept jobs.

Mexican Labor's Giant Strides

Two Millions in Militant Movement

By JOSE KELLY

CARLYLE said that the history of the world is but the biography of great men. If he were alive today, he would add, "and great organizations." Whether this is true or not we know that the story of Mexico is not complete without mention of the men and women that form the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), the organization of workers and farmers that has carried the heaviest burden in the work of reconstruction.

Whatever other elements may have been in ferment in Mexico during the Revolution, it is certain that the Labor element was the most important, and today it is recognized that this same element is the chief prop and foundation of all social and economic reforms now being carried out in Mexico. The greatest single factor responsible for the rehabilitation of Mexico is the Organized Labor movement, which is dedicated to the program of reforms, protecting labor and guaranteeing land and freedom to the peasants. Politicians and political parties have been found wanting in the hour of need; public men have broken their trust, but the Organized Labor movement as represented by the C. R. O. M. has remained true to the basic principles and ideals which gave it birth, and true to the interests of the masses of the people.

The Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana is dedicated to the task of elevating the standards of life of the people. It is introducing legislation governing hours of labor and raising wage standards, it is interested in better housing conditions, schools, highways and the restoration of liberty, rights and civilization to the people.

The C. R. O. M. is faced with a tremendous task, the job of eradicating the liabilities accrued during four hundred years of tyranny, exploitation, ignorance and superstitition. This is an enormous undertaking even for a nation with powerful resources, and certainly a staggering burden for a country and a labor movement in the earliest stages of its development.

At the beginning of the Revolution in 1910, feudalism was rampant in Mexico. The landlord, the church, and the political boss, were the masters, owners of land and life. Around them a group of serfs vegetated, born in poverty and dying in poverty. Feudalism with all its crimes and none of its virtues meant that the feudal lords enjoyed all of the advantages but none of the responsibilities of the system. Living conditions were abominable, the usual wage of the country laborer was twenty-five centavos a day, plus small ration of corn and beans. The wages of skilled workers in the cities such as masons, carpenters, machinists, bakers, etc. were about thirty-five cents a day. No ration of corn and beans came with this salary, so the city workmen were in a worse condition than the country laborers. Housing conditions were terrible. In the smaller towns, adobe huts and lean-to's made out of sticks and flattened tin cans were the rule. In the cities, the slum tenement houses were the home of the laborer. Labor organizations were, of course, non-existent. In some places Mutualistic Circles were formed. They were associations for the purpose of mutual help in case of emergency. Charity was still the only resort of the worker. As might be expected, there was no protective legislation for the workingman, no minimum wage, no time regulations, no accident protection, no child labor protection, nothing but general indifference.

Amazing Growth of C. R. O. M.

The organization of the workers in Mexico is phenomenal, from no organization at all, practically from non-existence, Mexican labor can now boast of a strong militant organization. The first labor organizations were formed under Madero in 1910-1912. Since then, labor organizations have been increasing until now the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana has a membership of 2,000,000, all working effectively for the interests of all the working class. The report of the Secretary of the C. R. O. M. to the 8th annual convention of the federation gives the membership statistics as follows:

Number of Members in 1918 (the first year of the Federation)	7,000
Membership in 1920	50,000
Membership in 1923	800,000
Membership in 1925	1,500,000
Membership in 1927	2,000,000

This tremendous membership corresponds to 84 local labor councils, 5 National unions and 3,000 local unions. The C. R. O. M. is a national organization and its influence is felt in all the important industrial and agricultural sections of the country, such as the City of Mexico, the oil fields of Tampico, the railroads, the hemp industry of Yucatan and the sea ports of the Republic.

Since 1920 the workers have been quite free to organize, and as a result the strength in numbers as well as unity, knowledge and tactical ability have been increased. Labor has become more self conscious, better organized and more determined. During the past seven years the economic position of labor has vastly improved and wages have advanced; this in turn has brought a corresponding rise in the standards of living and for the first time in the history of Mexico decent living wages are being paid.

The chief method adopted for uplifting the masses are the labor laws and regulations based upon the famous Article 123 of the Constitution. These laws may be divided into two groups, protective measures aimed directly to improve the conditions of labor in the factories and other working places, and the measures to protect labor in the wage contract. This article of the Constitution protects women and children; establishes the eight hour day and the weekly day of rest; requires large employers to furnish houses at reasonable rents, as well as hospitals, and schools in places where these are not otherwise provided, and a minimum space for markets, amusements and municipal purposes—saloons and gambling houses are forbidden in such places.

Heavy Discharge Penalty

Article 123 further obligates employers to compensate wage earners for accidents and occupational diseases, to install hygienic and sanitary arrangements, and to take proper precautions against accidents. Article 123 legalizes the right of both the employer and worker to organize, it prevents the employer from using the right of discharge for the purpose of breaking up labor unions, and in the event the employer insists on discharging any employee, article 123 provides that he is obligated to pay the discharged worker the sum of three months wages. Article 123 protects the worker from mistreatment and bad faith, which for many years was the confirmed habit and practice of many employers.

Encouraged and fostered by the C. R. O. M. a wave of popular organization has spread over the country until not only the majority of the industrial workers but a considerable part of the farm workers are organized. These groups have shown a willingness and ability to aid in the defense of the nation against reactionaries.

The labor and agrarian organizations of Mexico have been unjustly accused of "Radicalism". The overwhelming majority are law abiding and are interested exclusively in constructive progress. The radical minorities which exist in Mexico as in other countries, are steadily decreasing in numbers and modifying their destructive doctrines. The main economic policy of the C. R. O. M. in which they have secured the co-operation of the largest employers' groups—is the building up of Mexico's industry, with the idea of increasing the nation's working class numerically and giving it better jobs as well as lowering the cost of living and making the country economically independent. The C. R. O. M. has just launched a national campaign to raise the productivity of the National industries.

The opportunity for destructive radicalism in the Mexican labor movement has passed. Their day was before 1920 when there was still a large amount of disorder, when labor was far more divided than it is today and far more subject to external influences—especially communist agitators from Europe and the United States—and when the unions were only imperfectly organized. That day is past and the labor unions of Mexico can challenge comparison in many respects with the unions in countries where labor has been much longer organized. By the process of organization among the workers and peasants a solid foundation has been prepared, for the gradual building of an intelligent and effective public opinion—an opinion that has already proved effective in the times of national crisis and which is tending to become more effective in support of the normal conduct of the government.

Blue vs. White

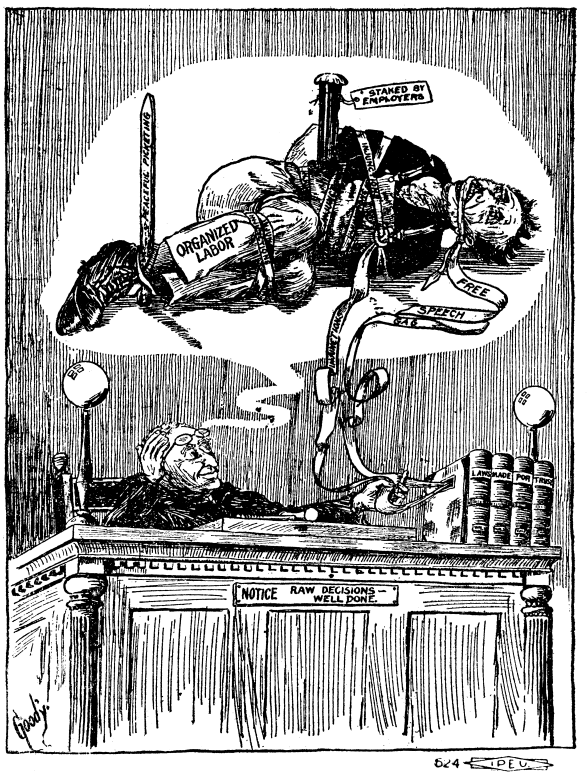
Last Labor day, more than 100,000 organized workers paraded in perfect order through the streets of the capital of Mexico. Watching the parade from a little elevation, one was struck with the predominence of the blue color. The men were dressed in blue—they wore the blue overalls known the world over. Like a river, the mighty human stream, clad in blue, surged through the streets and avenues. One could remark that had a parade of this sort been possible in Mexico previous to 1920, the color note would not have been blue but white, the white of the calico dress of the peasant. In seven years, Mexico has changed from white calico dress to overalls, from peasantry to industrialism. The change is evident in all parts of the Republic. This change from white calico to blue overalls also includes the change from sandals to shoes, and the substitution of a regular hat for the cheap straw sombrero. It unmistakably points to a better economic condition and a higher standard of living.

Wages have advanced ,carpenters and masons receive from five to seven pesos a day; shop workers such as machinists and boilermakers receive from seven to eight pesos a day, the farm hand or peasant receives from a peso and a half to three pesos a day, depending on the location. As all these wages are four times as much as they received in 1920, this is surely an improvement.

The workers and farmers, having a sense of security and strength, take a more dignified participation in life than was the case in 1920. Amusements and relaxation are possible not only on the condition of a balanced budget but also on that of a balanced mental attitude. Fifteen years ago, the beautiful Chapultepec Park was the privilege of the social elite—its lawns and meadows were never trampled by the feet of the weary working people. Through its shady avenues the carriages of the rich would roll by in stately majesty, exibiting their wares of fat and brainless and always gaudy aristocracy. Today Chapultepec is democratic. On Sundays thousands and thousands of people—so many of them in overalls—play on the grass, eat their lunches under the trees, and read the papers. The fashionable promenade is no more. And not only in the parks but in vacant lots everywhere one sees the working people at play, relaxing, happy. The housing conditions have improved, the workers are building their little homes, no longer the rotten filthy tenement houses of the cities and the "jacales" of the country districts. In these modest little homes they have fresh air and sunshine, and above all, it is their own home. These people are now property owners; they are on the road to citizenship.

Mexico is entering upon an era of her history which may realize the visions and dreams of her great men. Mexico freed from the age-long misery of her en-

Bound and Gagged



How the injunction binds and gags Labor is depicted in this graphic cartoon by Goody in the Electrical Workers' Journal. It is a weapon which judges are only too ready to grant employers. Under it there is no place for a trial by jury. The judge is lawmaker, prosecutor and jury as well as judge. Unless injunctions in labor disputes are put to an end America will be brought to a state of peonage. Intelligent and intensive use of labor's political power would put an end to this vicious instrument.

---

slaved and poverty stricken masses; a Mexico rejuvenated and regenerated, in which the humblest peasant will at last be able to live the life which he should enjoy from the wealth of his native heath. A democratic government is ruling Mexico. Organized wealth and powerful influences have sought to prevent the progress of reform, but the Labor movement has stood firm for the principles of the Revolution.

The Mexican worker of today has faith in the government. He knows that he has been emancipated from economic serfdom. A new idealism is being born in Mexico and a real effort is being made to bring light into the darkened lives of the hitherto exploited suffering peons of Mexico. Mexican Labor leaders today are intent upon their internal problems; they need and ask the intelligent co-operation of the workers of the United States. As Luis N. Morones said at Xochmilcho, to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in 1924: "Take back to your neighbors and friends your impressions of Mexico. You be our critics. Observe our environment, the medium through which we must work and above all the manner in which the highest representatives of our movement, Calles and Obregon think. You have had an opportunity to come into personal contact with our people, with the peasants and the workers in industry, who although they cannot present to you the conquest of all the comforts of civilization, can nevertheless demonstrate to you that they are working hard to obtain them. If you have seen these people without proper clothing on their backs or shoes on their feet, you have probably also seen in their eyes and on their faces —a high resolve—'THE LUMINOUS FLAME OF LIBERTY!'"

Conspiracy at Kenosha

Taft-Made Law Invades La Follette's State

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

CITED FOR CONTEMPT

Since writing this article, Mr. Budenz has been cited for contempt in the Federal Court at Milwaukee. As we go to press, he leaves for the West to answer this citation. With him are included Vice-President Harold E. Steele of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and seventeen members of the General Strike Committee of the Kenosha Hosiery Workers. Whatever disposition Judge Geiger makes of these cases, it is a challenging situation, endangering the basic freedom of this country, when men of good will such as Brothers Budenz and Steele can be brought within the shadow of imprisonment for such unjust cause. It should hasten the day when injunctions in labor disputes are permanently abolished, as the most vicious feature of our present judicial system.—Board of Directors.

ON Sunday, February 12th—Lincoln's Birthday—I received a wire at Buffalo, requesting me to hurry to Kenosha. Lincoln's Birthday and La Follette's State—a happy combination! That was my thought as we roared through Canada on the North Shore Limited. There seemed to be some promise of freedom in the idea, for Wisconsin has on its statute books some of the most progressive legislation in this country for the protection of the workers.

It was a relief to get away from Buffalo, where I had been investigating the tactics of Messrs. Charles and Bernard Duffy. Their story has been well written in the report of the Civic Committee which investigated the lockout at the Millfay Mill, owned secretly by the Duffy Brothers. This Civic Committee—composed of Charles L. Zenkert, chairman, Miss V. Freda Seigworth, Secretary, Rev. John T. Boland, Miss Dorothy Hill, Rev. Charles Maxwell, Rev. William McLennan, Mrs. George Moore, Rev. Alfred Priddis—says of the Duffys: "In conclusion, the committee desires to express its disappointment with the unconciliatory attitude displayed by the Millfay management. The course of action adopted by the latter has fallen far short of what we might have expected of intelligent industrial executives, imbued with some sense of social responsibility and supposed to do their part by way of improving human relationships in industry."

Although this committee had among its members two Catholic priests—and Mr. Charles Duffy is an alleged Catholic—two Episcopalian clergymen and other persons of the highest standing in the community, the only answer that the Millfay management could ever give was to accuse them of spreading "Communist disorganization." Think of such blatant stupidity! Demand for the right to organize is Communism, say the Duffys through their office boy attorney, William Barrett. Abolition of the 70-hour week is Communism, say they, and the abolition of a fining system that at times took 50 per cent of the workers' wages. We invite our readers to secure the Civic Committee's report in full, to learn out of the mouths of the Duffys themselves what Ignorance and Sadistic Greed sit in high places in this country. (Printed copies can be obtained through Miss V. Freda Seigworth, Industrial Secretary, Y. W. C. A., 19 West Mohawk Street, Buffalo, N .Y.)

Thoroughbred Horses and Broken Down Men

Were a full story to be written of the Duffy Brothers, it should bear the title "Thoroughbred Horses and Broken Down Men." Sickness was a common feature of their workers' lives, as a result of the seventy hour week and the insanitary conditions in the mill. But Charles Duffy's horses receive far different treatment. They are carefully groomed and carefully fed. So much does the magnificent Duffy dote on them that he becomes personally angry at any one who defeats him in a race at his exclusive riding club. It is such pettiness, too, which is entrusted at the present time, by reason of cunning and unscrupulousness, with conrol of other people's lives.

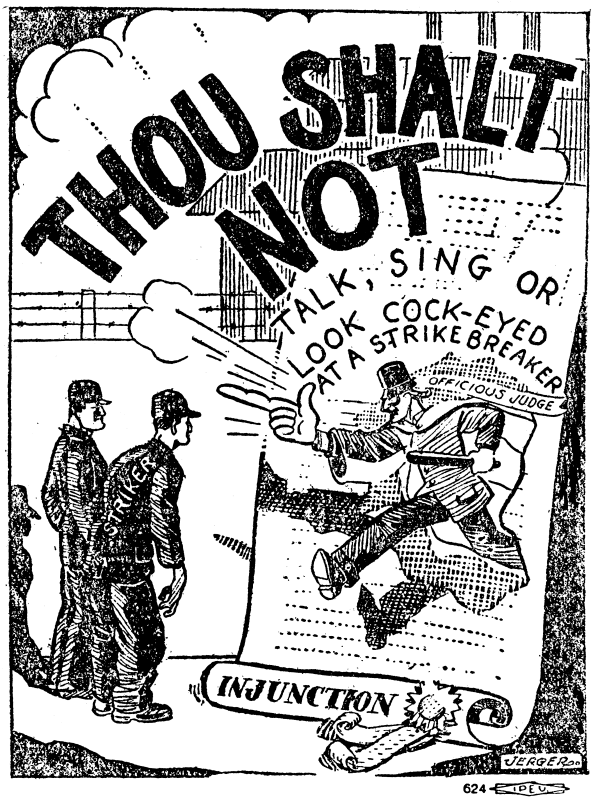
My instructions were to prevent labor difficulty at Kenosha. The union wanted peace. It had just completed one of the most unique negotiations in labor history, with some sixty mills in Philadelphia. The manufacturers who had entered into that agreement, in a public statement in the TEXTILE WORLD of February 18th, had stated that the union was willing and able to cope with the problems facing the industry. The union hoped that such evidence of constructive foresight which it had shown, would enable the Allen A Company to manifest common sense on its part.

But the Allen A Company soon showed that common sense was foreign to its policy. On February 15th, it locked out its full fashioned knitters, stating that they must all return as non-union workers or return not at all. It posted notices stating that hereafter it would run as an anti-union closed shop. Two hundred and five knitters out of 230 refused to return under such conditions. Twenty-five, under the leadership of George Trout and John Berry, who had been scabs ten years before, remained in the mill.

Anti-Union Conspiracy

The absurd reason for the action of the company at this time was that the union members had given a banquet some two weeks before the lockout. This was the first public appearance of the union in Kenosha, although it had been gaining strength in the Allen A Company for some time. This hurried the company's

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

The end is not yet. The next step is to find a way of punishing strikers for thinking hostile thoughts at scabs. To such a pass are we coming, brothers.

---

program, which was the outcome of a conspiracy between it and other anti-union companies to destroy the union and ruin the business of manufacturers who dealt with the union. The Textile Machine Manufacturing Company of Reading, Pa., the Berkshire Knitting Mills of Reading, and the Apex Hosiery Company of Philadelphia are links in the chain of this conspiracy.

The high pressure salesman of the Textile Machine Manufacturing Company, when selling full fashion machines to manufacturers, hold up to these manufacturers the rosy view that they can pay for the machines out of the workers' wages through anti-unionism and the two-machine system. They point to the workings of this system in the Berkshire Knitting Mills, under their ownership and control. The Apex Hosiery Company has likewise installed this system and backs up the Berk shire's contentions. It is the Apex which is furnishing goods to the Allen A Company during this lockout, and which has recommended the professional strike breaker and labor spy, "Yellow-Dog" MacDonald to the Kenosha concern.

The company not only imported MacDonald, for the obvious purpose of attempting to get an injunction—which he had done for the Apex Company—but also proceeded to discharge the relatives of locked-out workers in other departments. These discharged workers were told that they could have their positions back if they would persuade the locked out members of the family to return under anti-union conditions. Thus, an attempt was made to establish a form of involuntary servitude.

In defiance of the laws of Wisconsin, the Company further armed its strikebreakers. One of the men was seen displaying his gun at a road-house, in such a drunken condition that he fell in the gutter before the place. A number of others have drawn guns on locked-out workers, who have gone to visit them to persuade them to come out of the mill. The company also aided in the violation of Wisconsin laws by bringing in MacDonald. As an industrial detective, he is not registered in that state, as required by law. The only reason that the law is not enforced against the company in Kenosha county is due to the jellyfish attitude of District Attorney Lewis Powell, who would qualify as a high class butler much better than as an officer of the law.

Girl Toppers Fight

Despite all these things, the spirit of the locked out workers is as enthusiastic as any that our labor history has shown. To the knitters who refuse to return were added 125 girl toppers, who came out in sympathy. They have demonstrated that the flapper not only will organize but will stick. They have been the most intelligent and effective pickets and among the most enthusiastic of those who are determined to have a union in Kenosha.

Mass picketing, as permitted by Wisconsin laws, was indulged in from the beginning of the lockout. This was commended for its orderliness by the Milwaukee and Kenosha newspapers. Its effectiveness, however, annoyed the Company.

Unable to sustain its position before the public—and with ninety per cent of the people of Kenosha and vicinity, as a consequence, strongly in sympathy with the workers—the company rushed into the federal court with an application for a sweeping injunction .This was temporarily granted. This injunction prohibits all picketing and hampers the union representaives to an absurd degree in the handling of the workers' case.

At one blow, this injunction wipes out all of the splendid, progressive legislation of the State of Wisconsin, protecting the workers' rights in times of strike or lockout.

The injunction is based on alleged violence, although there has not been one arrest of any striker during this dispute. The locked-out workers, on the other hand, held a benefit dance, attended by 3,200 people—the largest dance that Kenosha has ever seen. At this affair there was not even one small altercation. The workers have also held two large automobile parades over the city, without one untoward incident.

Bricks have been thrown on two occasions through strike-breakers' windows. A man to man survey of our workers shows that this was not done by any one of our members. As the bricks were labelled with a message advertising violence publicly, these acts bear all the ear-marks of professional provocation. The fact that the last brick-throwing occurred on the night after the clergyman's mediation offer was declined by the company adds strength to this theory and belief. How an injunc-

tion would prevent acts of this kind, anyway, is something which only the judicial minds can probably fathom. It is our opinion that there is a very evident remedy at law for all such acts.

Strikebreakers Unhurt

During all the picketing, not one atom of wood or stone or glass of the Allen A mill has been touched or injured. This is largely due, we believe, that right in the beginning we asked the police department of the city of Kenosha to take especial pains to protect the company's property. This was done because we suspected, as soon as we heard that MacDonald was in the case, that provocative acts might follow, in order that the company could have grounds to obtain an injunction. Not on one, but on several occasions, we reminded Chief of Police Logan of our extreme anxiety that the company's property be protected to the full limit and that ample police protection be given it during the twenty-four hours of each day. It is because of these extraordinary precautions on the part of the union that we believe that the much advertised brick-throwing was done to strike-breakers' homes and not the mill itself. It is also interesting that the bricks were always harmless. They broke windows with abandon, but touched not a hair on a strike-breaker's head.

In addition to violence, a "conspiracy" was alleged against the union as a reason for the injunction. That word conspiracy has a peculiar sound 100 years after the old theory of Labor organizations being conspiracies was supposed to have been exploded. We are rapidly returning under the Taft-made law of the Tri-city foundry's case to a condition where organization of the workers again becomes seditious.

The citizens of Kenosha felt so deeply the injustice which the Company had imposed upon their fellow workers that 2,000 went on the picket line the night that the injunction was served as a protest against this measure. For by this edict all of the favorable legislation secured in Wisconsin is knocked out at one blow. What is ahead remains yet to be seen. But this much is certain, there has seldom been a more brilliant or determined fight put up by any group of workers than these young native Americans of Kenosha. There is great hope for the future in that knowledge.

SENATE COMMITTEE HEARING

Ex-Judge Joseph Padway, counsel for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in the Middle West, told the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee on March 13 that the Federal injunction issued against the hosiery workers' union at Kenosha was the most drastic ever handed down in Wisconsin.

Senator Norris, chairman of the committee, gave Judge Padway a most careful and sympathetic hearing.

Arrangements for the attorney's appearance before the Senate Committee was made with Managing Editor Budenz's cooperation through Senator Robert M. La Follette.

AN ALARMING RASH

As Talburt in the New York Evening Telegram views the unemployment situation

Final Episode In La Follette Expose

Plot Fails But Russell Gets $50,000

By JACOB NOSOVITSKY

This is the concluding chapter in the story of the attempt to frame-up the late Senator Robert M. La Follette as a "Red".

Nosovitsky was engaged by Major Charles E. Russell to put the job across.

IV. AN UNHAPPY ENDING

ALTHOUGH I am not easily surprised at anything unusual, Russell's report left me amazed. His audacity seemed foolhardy. There was so much in it that was utterly absurd to one familiar with political and economic conditions in the United States, and there was so much in it that could be found to be totally false if carefully probed, that I could hardly imagine how Major Russell could expect to "get away" with such a brazen attempt to fool his employers. But the Major was undisturbed by my skepticism. He said:

"My clients found my plans excellent but they demanded some proof in the form of documents, and there is where the two Fineran letters came in handy. When I showed them those letters, they were convinced that I had got the goods on La Follette, and I was told to go ahead with my plans. I am to get another $10,000, within the next few days, and I was told that after I expose La Follette himself, the $50,000 will be paid to me immediately. Of course, there is going to be no La Follette exposure, for we have nothing definite on the Senator personally, but we must pretend that we are proceeding and accumulating material for such an exposure. As for the clients, they do not care what methods we use, so long as we obtain the desired results.

"You go to Cleveland at once, and Harwood and I will follow you shortly. Harwood wants to see Molner himself for the purpose of persuading the man to agree to have his statement published regardless of the consequences. If Harwood succeeds in having Molner come out in the open and make public his accusations against La Follette, I shall be in a fine pickle, for La Follette and his friends can make Molner look like 30 cents;—but I believe I can fix matter with Harwood. I must make him listen to reason."

It was very clear to me from Russell's own admission that some or all of us were likely to get into trouble before the campaign was over. Molner's yarns were safe enough as long as they were circulated no farther than a small group of financial men bent on defeating La Follette, but if Harwood, regarding the Molner statement as a trump card, insisted on having it broadcasted, hell would break loose. Molner would be exposed as a liar and a cheap fakir, and other unpleasantnesses might develop. The fact remained that I needed money urgently and that if I quit, I should certainly get nothing more, whereas, if I stayed in the game, I might acquire a few thousand dollars. I decided to trust to luck and "stick it out."

I left for Cleveland. Two days later Russell and Harwood also arrived. Russell introduced me to Harwood saying, "This is the doctor that you heard the old man talking about." Harwood was polite but very curt. We had a general conversation and then Harwood demanded to see Molner. Russell promised to produce him that evening. Harwood left for his hotel and Russell and I remained at the Statler. That night we had Molner at the Statler to meet Harwod. Russell had warned Molner not to talk too much and not to agree to have his statement made public before Harwood should pay him $15,000 in advance. Harwood made Molner repeat several times his story about the supposed meeting between Robt. M. La Follette, Jr., and the radicals. Molner played his part so well that at no time could Harwood find any contradictions in the tale.

After Molner departed, Harwood in firm but suave manner, advised Russell that he had never doubted the reliability of the information furnished by Russell, but that he was in duty bound to investigate Molner's story. He added emphatically: "Before I pay any money to Molner, I must have positive proof to the effect that Molner is really what he claims he is—a prominent figure in the radical movement and a member of the La Follette organization."

The next morning Harwood left for New York. Russell and I remained in Cleveland. Russell's fears of finding himself in a "fine pickle" were coming true. The Molner statement would not bear the light of the day. What was he to do? He had counted on this statement as the lever with which to secure money and a great deal of it, but he had not been prepared for a demand to prove its veracity. and of course he could not prove anything of the kind. Molner was not even an obscure member of any radical group. Investigation might put an end to Russell's income from Harwood and leave him in a wretched mess. Russell had not consulted me extensively heretofore. He had insisted on carrying out his own plans in his own way. Now he felt the need of advice and he asked me for suggestions. I repeated the opinion I had previously ventured that it was foolish to try to assail Senator La Follette himself, to impugn his integrity, or to connect him with the ultra-radical movement. The worst enemies of Senator La Follette all gave him credit for absolute sincerity and honesty, and duplicity was the last charge against him that would be likely to be believed. His oponents thought he was over-conscientious and stubborn in his adherence to his opinions, but they never dreamed of attacking his good faith. Calling him red would fall flat. Few if any intelligent voters would believe it. But assailing an active campaigner for him would be possible and would do more real damage to him than a futile and stupid assault on the Senator himself. The Fineran let-

ters could be used publicly even if Molner's faked-up report could not be. I advised using the Fineran correspondence. Russell eventually agreed with me.

Before that, Russell insisted that Harwood must be convinced that Molner was really prominent in the La Follette ranks. He must not let Harwood lose faith in himself (Russell). He wrote, therefore, an article urging La Follette's election as President. He had a cut made from a photo of Molner. A printer was engaged to set in type the article and insert Molner's picture in the midst of it. This was printed on paper prepared in such a way as to appear to have been torn from a page of a newspaper. On the back of it he had the printer reproduce some general news matter copies from a daily of recent date. The type was usual newspaper size and the columns of customary newspaper width. The paper used was "news stock".

"Fineran the Bolshevik"

AFTER this job of printing, we went direct to New York, where Russell had a conference with Harwood. Russell gave Harwood the spurious clipping, saying this was an article of Molner's in support of La Follette and would show that Molner was regularly writing for the La Follette-Wheeler ticket. Harwood was satisfied or claimed to be. Russell informed Harwod that he reserved the right not to use Molner's statement, or to change some or all of the original plans if he should succeed in making new plans that would be more beneficial to the cause. Asked if he had any other plan, Russell said that he had. Russell stated that he regarded the two Fineran letters as of the utmost significance, and believed that if he sent a capable man to New Orleans to expose Fineran as a Bolshevik in a public way, it would have a tremendous psychological effect throughout the country. Harwood was more in favor of using Molner's statement about the supposed deal between La Follette and the radicals, but Russell advocated the New Orleans plan. The latter might be successful, and down in his heart he knew that any attempt to use the Molner statemen publicly would be a fatal boomerang. Russell was finally paid the $10,000 promised him and Harwood consented to give the Major a free hand in the matter. During all this time in which I had been connected with the investigation, I had received only a few hundred dollars for expenses but nothing for my services. I asked Russell for a certain sum of money for the continuation of the case and the division of the balance between ourselves. Russell refused point blank. He replied that after all he was the one who in the end would have to bear all the consequences of the investigation, and that unless I contributed something definite to the case, he saw no reason why I should get as much as he would receive. It was true, he granted, that I had provided the two Fineran letters, but on the other hand I had objected to doing certain things which would have reflected seriously on Senator La Follette and which might have accelerated Russell's plan materially.

I immediately declared that I would personally go to New Orleans and expose Fineran as a "Bolshevik" if Russell wanted me to do so. I was sure Russell would prefer to have me do this job, and also believed that if I succeeded, I should get half of the money or at least a big portion of it. Russell accepted my offer and gave me $500 for expenses. I demanded more money but he said he had deposited the funds paid him by Harwood in the Hamilton National Bank and did not want to make any withdrawals just then.

On my arrival in New Orleans he would send me more money, said Russell. Argument was of no avail, so I took the $500 and left on the next train for the gulf city. I had absolutely no definite plan as to how I should make the exposure, but I was determined to stage one sensational enough to be carried on the Associated Press wires. Reaching New Orleans, I spent two days in digging up Fineran's record. I learned that, as I understood all along, he was far from a Communist. He had labor sympathies, and that was all. I also found that there were not more than a few hundred La Follette supporters in the entire state, and that the courts had ruled La Follette's ticket off the ballot, so nobody could vote the Progressive ticket except by writing the names of the La Follette electors in the blank column—which voters seldom do. All Fineran and other La Follette backers could do was to hold meetings for educational purposes and with the hope of building up an organization that might succeed in having its candidates placed on the ballot in the next election.

In New Orleans

ON the third day of my stay, I called on the editor of the NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE. I told him I had come into the possession of two documents which showed that Fineran, the Louisiana state chairman for La Follette, had been in communication with a Communist leader in Mexico and had attempted to sell second-hand steamers to the Mexican government, hinting that the money was to be used for the radical movement. I informed him that this was an important scoop for his paper. At first the editor was skeptical. When I showed him the original documents, he became greatly interested. "If I find Fineran's signature to be genuine," said the editor, "I see no reason why these letters should not be published." He asked me to leave the letters with him for 24 hours and I agreed. The following day I called again. The editor returned the letters and stated that although he was convinced that the letters were genuine, he had decided not to handle the article for reasons that he did not care to explain. He advised me to try the editors of the other two New Orleans papers. I tried them both and to my amazement received the same turn-down.

What under the sun was I to do? I was in a desperate predicament. My international secret work had brought me in frequent contact with statesmen and diplomats of many countries, and I had never before found myself in such a mess as in this very disagreeable and, to me, petty and tedious La Follette case. Was the case hoodooed? I could not go back to New York and acknowledge that I had been unable to expose Fineran after I had made a special trip to New Orleans with two documents that were as genuine as anything could be. To return thus would be to absolutely forfeit any chance of getting my share of the money from Russell. On the other hand, If I could not get the local newspapers to publish anything against Fineran, what could I do? I could not stand on the street corners and shout that he was a Bolshevik! While I was

still trying to solve the problem in my own mind, I glanced at a newspaper and noticed that a La Follette mass meeting was scheduled for that evening, with Fineran in charge. "Ah ha!" I fairly shouted, "there is my opportunity!" I immediately went to the editorial rooms of the TIMES-PICAYUNE and told the editor something sensational was going to happen that night at the mass meeting, so he would do well to have reporters on hand.

At 8 o'clock that evening I was occupying a seat directly in front of the speaker's platform in the meeting, ready to carry out my project. The hall was crowded. The audience consisted mainly of several hundred longshoremen and street car workers, all union members and staunch friends of Fineran. In the audience I spotted, not only reporters from the TIMES-PICAYUNE, but the editor himself. He evidently anticipated that he was going to have what newspaper men call a "big story". And he got it, too! But quite a different kind of a story than I had anticipated!

Just before the chairman opened the meeting, I noticed that several men sitting near me, left their seats, and their places were taken by a group of husky, grim-looking fellows. "Somebody is likely to get hurt," I told myself. I had, however, never been a quitter, and I kept my seat, determined to carry out my plan.

Stampeding the Meeting

THERE were several speakers. When the chairman was ready to introduce the first speaker, I jumped to my feet and demanded to be heard. A dead silence fell over the hall. I said: "I apologize for my unusual act in demanding the floor before the regular speakers, but what I have to say to the audience is of such a nature that I should be given the preference."

"Yes, yes," snapped the chairman, "I know all about you, and I know what you are going to say, but you will have to wait until your turn comes before I let you have the floor." I instantly saw that if I insisted on speaking to the audience without the chairman's permission, I would be ejected from the meeting, and lose all chance of saying anything. I took my seat, resolving to renew my efforts before the meeting should close.

The first speaker began but hardly half of the audience was listening to him. Most of those present were looking at me and discussing my action. I was being crowded from my chair by two fierce looking workingmen. On my left side I could feel a hard object being pushed against my ribs, through the coat pocket of one of the men.

Fineran soon took the platform. He was very excited. He began: "Many people may have the impression that I am a Bolshevik. In fact, I am to be accused at this very meeting, but I wish to say that I was never a Socialist or a Communist in the full meaning of either word, I never had anything to do with the Bolseviks. I—"

But that was as far as I let him go. Taking the two letters from my pocket and holding them high above my head, I shouted in tones that could be heard almost to the street: "Fineran, you lie; if you are man enough, you will let me prove to the audience that I am right."

Turning to the audience, I said: "Mr. Fineran, La Follette's campaign manager in this state, deliberately lied to you people when he said he had nothing to do with the Bolsheviks; I have here some of his letters—"

I got no farther. Several men jumped at me. Fortunately for me, I was prepared for an attack. The first man to reach me went down on the floor. I hit him a solar plexus blow. The second man I knocked out with a punch in the jaw. The rest of my assailants I kept at bay by swinging a chair around me. Pendemonium reigned in the hall several minutes. I was being hard-pressed by a dozen or more men who followed my example and armed themselves with chairs. My position was a desperate one. Meanwhile, someone turned in a riot call for the police, and just as I was about to be crushed by the great odds against me, the police arrived.

Order was restored at once. The police started investigating the cause of the riot. They did not have to go far to look for it. I was pointed out to them by Fineran himself.

I went to the police station accompanied by several reporters of the TIMES-PICAYUNE and other newspapers. At the station Fineran entered a complaint against me, charging "disorderly conduct". I was at once released on bail supplied by the TIMES-PICAYUNE. From police headquarters I hurried to the TIMES-PICAYUNE office where I issued a long statement about what had happened at the meeting. Representatives of the Associated Press and other news services were on hand. The next morning the TIMES-PICAYUNE came out with a front page story about the affair, giving my statement and also Fineran's version of the affair. He explained that his letter in 1920 to Linn A. E. Gale in Mexico City, asking Gale to help him sell second-hand vessels to the Mexican Government was purely a business proposal and no endorsement of Gale's personal opinions. He also explained that he had never received the letter of introduction to Fineran which had been given me after I had won the misguided confidence of the Mexican radicals and of Gale, so any request that he help me leave the country had never been acted upon by him, nor even admitted to him.

Under Arrest

FROM the TIMES-PICAYUNE office I went to my hotel and to bed. Shortly after midnight I was awakened by a knock at the door. When I opened it, two detectives confronted me. I was ordered to go with them. They took me to the police station again where I once more found Fineran with his lawyer. I was informed that I was under arrest on a charge of criminal libel by Fineran. I gave my name as James Anderson. The wrathful look Fineran gave me as I was led away to a cell was enough to convince me that Fineran was out to "get" me at any cost. I did not then know that Fineran had no warrant for my arrest on the criminal libel charge, or I should have made vigorous protests. I was locked up with several drunks and spent a miserable night in jail.

In the morning I was interviewed by various reporters. In the afternoon I obtained a copy of the TIMES-PICAYUNE in which I read an article attacking the District Attorney's office for holding me under arrest without a warrant. I secured the services of a prominent New Orleans attorney who told me that he could have me released on the criminal libel charge if I would plead guilty to the

disorderly conduct charge and pay a $5 fine. I refused to do that or go on bail either. I wanted my case to go to court for a hearing, as I was sure that I could beat the case and have the matter given greater publicity. That same day I was removed to the county jail. There I issued another statement to the newspapers in which I asserted that I was going to remain in jail for the purpose of forcing Fineran to present the criminal libel evidence against me to the District Attorney. I even challenged Fineran to do so.

I was thunderstruck that evening to see in one of the papers friendly to Fineran, his statement to the effect that I was not what I represented myself to be, and that my name was not James Anderson but James Norsen. (I had used both names many times in detective work).

Fineran also quoted a telegram he had received two days before the eventful meeting was held. It ran as follows:

J. J. Fineran,
New Orleans, La.

A man who is known in the movement as James Norsen is now in New Orleans for the purpose of making public some documents against you. The papers belong to me and I can make Norsen stop in time if you communicate with me at once.

CHARLES E. RUSSELL,
Room 462, 17 West 42nd St., New York.

That explained the chairman's remark at the meeting: "I know all about you, and I know what you are going to say."

But why had Russell double-crossed me in such a fashion? There were two explanations that occurred to me: Either Russell had already received the fifty thousand dollars from his client and by warning Fineran and frustrating my plans in New Orleans, he thought he could avoid paying me any of the money, or else the client found out that there is nothing to the La Follette case, and Russell, believing Fineran to be a rich man, was trying to "shake him down" for hush money. I am not a novice in the realm of intrigue and scheming, but I must confess that I had never dreamed of anything like this. Here I was, in jail and almost penniless, while Russell was probably having the time of his life in New York on the thousands of dollars still left of the money advanced for the case.

One thing was sure. There was no reason why I should remain in jail any longer in order to give the Fineran "exposure" more publicity, when the man who hired me to do the exposing had double-crossed me like that. I wanted to get out. I wanted to return to New York as fast as the train would carry me. I wanted to see Russell —yes, I was very anxious to meet him! Three days following my arrest I was out of jail again. With as little delay as possible I bought a ticket back to New York City. Arriving in the metropolis, I was taken sick and confined indoors for five weeks. It was the natural reaction of my experiences in the La Follette case.

As soon as I recovered, I went to the office of Major Russell, but the bird had flown! Russell had given up the office and left no forwarding address! Yes, I had been "stung" and the job had been done handsomely.

What became of Russell? I am reliably informed, Russell, after all, got the $50,000 from the men "higher up". He got the money two days before my denunciation of Fineran in New Orleans! That was why he had double-crossed me. He did so in order to keep all the money himself.

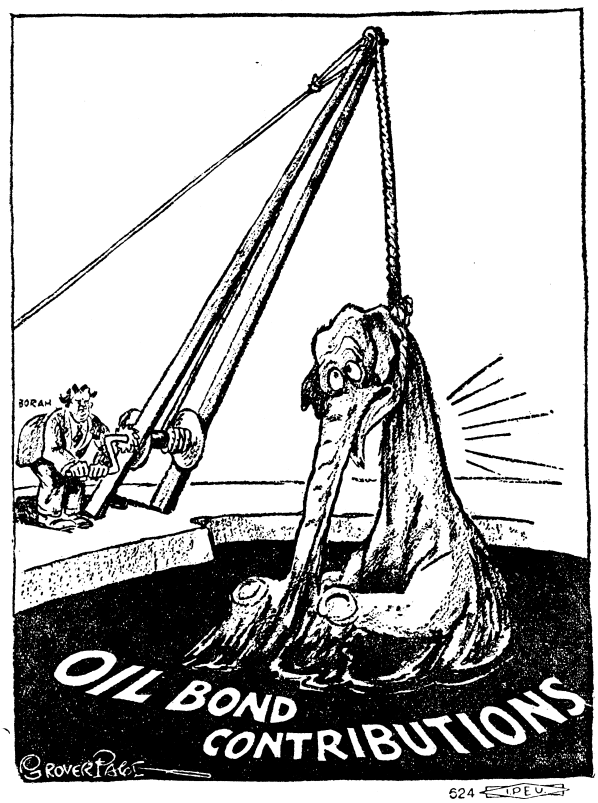
At the present time, Russell is in charge of a special bureau for the recovery of stolen jewels and uncovering insurance frauds.

He renders his services to the National Surety Company and other insurance companies.

Thus ended the infamous attempt to "frame" Senator La Follette and kill his political prospects in the Presidential campaign of 1924. How many voters were influenced by any reports spread as a consequence of the plot, will never be known. Perhaps the effect was slight. In the very nature of things the powerful Republican machine was bound to win, and Wisconsin's favorite son could not have been elected at that time. However, it is safe to say that lying propaganda did divert many votes from him, just as it always does. Lying propaganda is more or less effective always—never entirely ineffective. If this were not so, unscrupulous men and interests would not patronize "lie factories" and "forgery mills".

The average reader will look on this as an amazing confession of trickery and deceit, but it is a minor incident indeed compared with some of the tactics employed in political and industrial struggles in the United States.

BORAH TO THE RESCUE



Lousville Courier Journal

Senator Borah tries to pull the Republican elephant out of a hole. The effort is doomed to fail, for so long as political parties spend huge sums of money on elections so long will corruption continue.

HERE and THERE

Among American Workers

Lights will gleam far into the night as women bend over frames of spindles and tend thundering shuttles in Massachusetts mills, if textile magnates succeed in knocking holes in laws devised to protect women.

The Bay State senate has approved a bill advanced by the anti-labor New England Council permitting employers to work the women of the cotton and woolen mills until 10 P. M. Another bill seeks to destroy Massachusetts' far-famed 48-hour law for women by allowing the 54-hour week with an additional 78 hours overtime during the year and a maximum 10-hour day.

The Women's National Trade Union League, the Massachusetts branch of the A. F. of L. and the American Association for Labor Legislation are up in arms against the mill bosses' efforts to add to the sorry plight of textile workers. If the night work bill passes the Legislature, the issue will then be placed squarely before Governor Alvan T. Fuller. How will Fuller act on the second big labor issue to be presented him within the past 12 months?

* * *

New York's dapper little Tammany mayor kept Cal Coolidge waiting 32 minutes. He kept Manhattan's subway workers waiting until it was too late for them to strike. Then he skipped town for a vacation in Florida, leaving the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. hugging another victory. The I. R. T.'s pet company union fired over 100 members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Employes, it boasted, while 1,700 strikebreakers were being broken in to replace union men in case of a strike.

* * *

Candy factories in all cities are pretty much like the dirty messes described in the Consumers' League survey of 25 New York factories. Candy means sticky profits for the boss, $13.75 and industrial tyranny for the girl workers and dirt for the consumers, the survey showed.

United Cigar Stores and other tobacco chains, inveterate foes of Retail Clerks and Tobacco Workers Unions, are found to be leaders in the exploitation of girls in their teens. The Bakers and Confectioners' Union is striving in every city to organize the girls. Help them!

* * *

Workers want education, it seems, especially if it's tied right in with their jobs. That's what Jack Lever, Brookwood's extension representative, found in Connecticut and Rhode Island where prospects are bright for six new labor colleges. Classes will be formed around study of the industrial geography of the immediate localities. In the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, Leonard Craig of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor reports successful colleges at Shenandoah and Wilkes- Barre. Hundreds turn out for the special conferences.

* * *

Is it unemployment or over-employment? Conferees at a Labor Age luncheon surmised that too many workers are working too many hours, and that there is a real paradox in unemployment. Conditions improved little or not at all during the month, although Cal Coolidge's prosperity bureau in his department of labor employment service offered up a roseate picture. Even the overalls manufacturers are complaining bitterly. Seems that working men don't buy overalls when they're not working.

* * *

Company doctors in western Pennsylvania, Art Shields reports, are refusing to help the wives of coal strikers through childbirth. Other districts are completely deprived of all medical attendance since the strikers are too poor and the Red Cross regards their sufferings as "their own fault". The next time the Red Cross comes into your factory with its hand out—remind them of western Pennsylvania.

* * *

Those hard coal diggers in Scranton are tackling labor problems the way they should be. The Central Labor Union ,which includes a lot of other organized trades besides mine workers, decided labor should go out strong for human appeal. Result: organization of women's auxiliaries, social clubs, baseball and bowling leagues, and other recreational forms were suggested to bring the youth and the women into the movement.

* * *

Maybe it would be better for southern mill owners to adopt voluntarily the 55-hour week for women, before the workers take matters into their own hands. Maybe, argues the Southern Textile Bulletin, sitting on the uneasy seat as inarticulate workers bishops, southern liberals all join in condemnation of the southern mill barons' rotten policy of working women 12 hours a night.

Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins University, Bishop Cannon of the Southern M. E. Church and others have formed an industrial conference to agitate for the 9-hour day, considered quite r-r-revolutionary down below Mason and Dixon's well known line.

* * *

About the pluckiest union we know is the Pullman Porters' Brotherhood. This young union has challenged the hardest boss on the American continent to a knock down fight over the issue of union recognition. Pullman has its own company union. David against Goliath, and the whole labor movement's rooting for the David, aggressive, hard-hitting Negro worker who may point the way out of the wilderness of exploitation for his race.

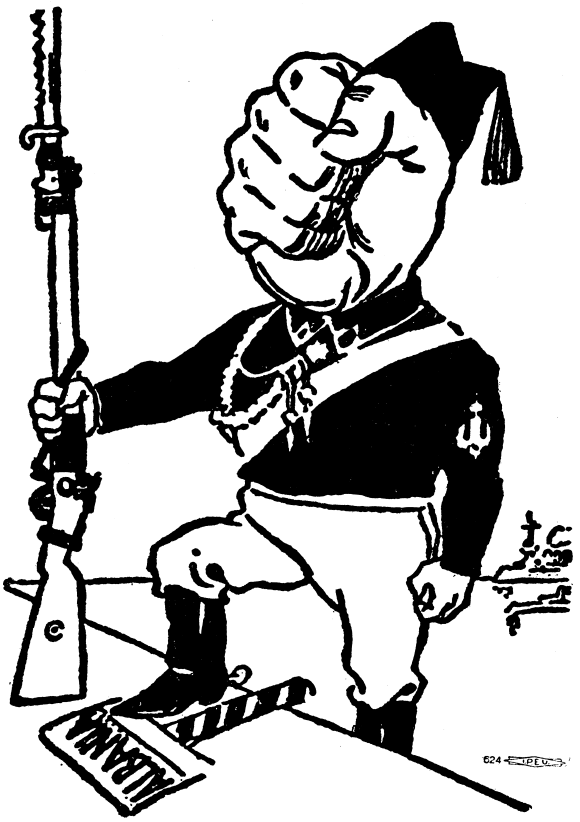
* * *

Even with unemployment, good strong unions can boost wages. Last month 22 building trades unions won wage increases in four cities, against only four which reported reductions. In Chicago, Federated Press reports, the Roofers' Union won a wage boost and the union shop from an obdurate firm. The Ladies Garment Workers kicked the 9-hour day out the window for 700 girl workers, boosted wages for the men and covered them all with a 100 per cent contract.

This department was prepared by Harvey O'Connor, New York representative of the Federated Press.

Peacemakers Without Peers

Cyrano, (Paris)



Izvestia, (Moscow)

Pax Columbia in a new role. Heretofore the Giant of the West contributed to civilization and international comity, moving pictures, Puritanism, trusts, prohibition, prizefights, murders and large scale production of graft and corruption. Uncle Sam left the fine arts, culture and pacifism to the minor countries of Europe. He now says to all the world, "Lay down your arms. I alone will build cruisers and submarines and since no other country can compete with me there can be no fighting. When it comes to pouring oil on troubled waters I am without a peer."

Ceaser Mussolini has crossed the Rubicon by way of the Adriatic Sea. His first step is to plant the Iron heel on Albania and his next will be to strike Jugo-Slovakia with his mailed fist. All the time he is making pecae with the Pope. As a peacemaker Ceaser Mussolini is almost as successful as Calvin Coolidge. Viva Nicaragua! Viva Albania and Tripoli! Viva Peace, Prosperity, Liberty and Breadlines!

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.

AROUSE THE COUNTRY!

Injunction Evil Must Be Killed

DRED Scott would turn white at the series of judicial decrees handed out to the workers 60 years after the Civil War.

Thomas Jefferson would think that all his gloomy prophecies about the judiciary were coming true.

Lincoln would certainly conclude that all the hub-bub and bloodshed of the gigantic struggle of the 60's had been in vain.

The merchant and manufacturing class won the Civil War. Since then, they have grown fat. "Free labor," their great forte, has paid them well. For "free labor" is free only so far as the masters' responsibility goes. It is as much imprisoned in fact as it was 100 years ago.

At the March LABOR AGE conference, this was well brought out by a number of labor representatives and economists who were there. Interest and profits are regarded as fixed charges in the business of today. Wages are not. The worker in ill times can look around for himself. And that means, that he can look nowhere. By himself, he is helpless.

To make the tragic farce all the more complete, the judicial system has built up a mad system of law. It re-echoes with the masters' voices. The worker is condemned, by judge-made decrees, to virtual individual action. The manufacturers can conspire against labor as they choose. They can work out a man's body and soul—and then, throw him, a squeezed out lemon, on the industrial scrap heap. There is no remedy for the worker—in Law or Equity!

Let the worker so much as lift his eyebrow by way of revolt against the masters—and Law and Equity both rush at his throat. They pillory him and imprison him—and sanction his being framed-up by that most leprous of creatures, the labor spy. The Injunction is the great Taft-given club, which the barons of today use to flay their disloyal subjects. To cloak it all, this torture is thickly covered with hypocrisy. Feudalism was at least frank in its barbarity.

Those men who have a desire to be free men have something to do, we tell you. They must arouse America. They must join their program of injunction-destruction with the program of the farmers. They must work out a minimum joint effort which will make headway.

They must put drive and fanaticism into their fight for the Injunction's death. Much more of that must be evidenced than now. Let us look back on history's page, and see the fire that urged on the Abolitionists. Let us put some of it in our new freedom effort. In every city and hamlet, what there is of Labor should burn up and spread the flame of revolt against Judicial Tyranny—until it makes itself felt in Congress. Aye—and not only in Congress, but in the Supreme Court itself.

LABOR STATESMANSHIP AT WORK

IN this little tussle for better and better conditions and more and more power, there must be truces along the way.

These truces must be based on knowledge and not enthusiasm only. They must take into consideration the facts confronting the industry in which we operate—not merely in one particular locality but throughout the country.

The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers has looked facts in the face. Its progressive policies are well known in the Movement. Its strenuous attacks on anti-union strongholds in its industry are becoming recognized. Its broad tolerance of various viewpoints within its ranks is an encouraging example of unionism without nightmares.

At the same time, it has developed an intelligent understanding of the industry of which it is a part. We see this at work in the Philadelphia agreement just entered into with the many union mills in the Quaker City. While catching up with the unorganized field, the union has consented to re-adjust piece prices—leaving the basic rate but leveling off the differences in different sorts of work. After four months of working and negotiating, the new schedule has been sanctioned by workers and employers.

In the TEXTILE WORLD of February 18th—a pro-manufacturers' organ—a statement appears in which the Philadelphia employers publicly express their pleasure at the manner in which the union and its officers have gone about this job. If this effort, we might add, had merely been a hand-holding contest between union and employers—with sweet words said on both sides—it would have been a miserable failure. But the readjustment in Philadelphia not only allowed the union employers to compete in the market with the non-union manufacturers. It not only preserved good conditions and the basic rate for the union workers. But it allowed the union to go out and organize the unorganized in the anti-union field. In that sense, it becomes an example of labor statesmanship at work. President Gustave Geiges of the Federation and General Secretary William Smith deserve congratulations on the patient and intelligent way in which they have gone about this difficult undertaking.

OLD AGE PENSION CONFERENCE

The first national conference on Old Age Security will be held in New York on April 10.

James H. Maurer and other speakers will address the afternoon session at the Community Church. Labor speakers at the dinner session at the Town Hall Club will be Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the Plumbers' International Union, and Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer, United Miners of America.

We hope that as many LABOR AGE readers as possible will attend and show their interest in this movement.

Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security has arranged this conference.

CRITICISM BRINGS RESPONSE

First Letter in Discussion

THE LITHOGRAPHERS' EXPERIENCE

IN the March LABOR AGE, Brother Fisher says bluntly that the A. F. of L. will not organize the basic industries, because they do not, for one thing, believe in industrial unionism. Perhaps the experience of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America will throw some light on the point he has raised.

This is an organization composed of what were formerly four independent unions, viz, the artists; pressmen's; feeders', and plate-preparers' unions. It is industrial union in principle. It believes in one union for all the employees in a lithographic shop or plant.

The Amalgamated Lithographers of America applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor and never got it. The A. F. of L. takes its per capita tax and recognizes it only under the charter of the former litho pressmen's union. This, too, despite 13 years of existence by the A. L. A.

Not only has the A. F. of L. refused the A. L. A. a charter, but it has practically ordered its dismemberment, and actually tried to bring about the same. The photo-engravers' union claims jurisdiction over its artist members and the international printing pressmen's union over its pressman and feeder members. The Amalgamated Lithographers of America has, logically and consistently, countered by proposing an amalgamation of all the graphic industries' unions. There has been one or two conferences on this counter-proposal, without results; and there the matter rests.

The A. L. A. has only been able to maintain its existence because the other unions cannot fill its jobs; though they try to. Its membership is decidedly anti-communist and, as its 13 years of existence shows it practiced amalgamation long before the communists appeared to claim patent rights, metaphorically speaking, on the idea.

A LITHOGRAPHER, Member Local No. I,
A. L. A., New York City.

In Other Lands

THAT ZINOVIEFF LETTER

Still Plagues Tories

The British ruling class indulged in one of its periodical holier-than-thou spasms of virtue when in the House of Commons it went through the farce of explaining the famous Zinovieff letter. Some Labor Party leaders stated bluntly the Zinovieff document was a fake and charged the government with concocting it or being a party to its invention. Ramsay MacDonald charged gross irregularities and conspiracy in giving it to the press. Premier Baldwin denied all the Labor Party charges and said it was given to the officials by a business man whose integrity he vouched for. Marlowe, a former DAILY MAIL editor and the man responsible for the publication of the Zinovieff letter, gave an entirely different version in a London newspaper. By a strict party vote the government was upheld in Parliament. The Labor party leaders continue to agitate the matter, and well they might, for it was largely responsible for their defeat at the polls. What puzzles plain Britons is that both Baldwin and MacDonald exonerated the Foreign Office officials. One naturally asks, How did the letter leak out? Marlowe's article would lead one to believe that the big papers of London have the ear of the Foreign Office all the time for he said he got the letter as he got other high government correspondence, "through the usual channels", whatever that means.

In connection with this is the dismissal of J. D. Gregory, the man who was in charge of the Eastern and Russian division in the Foreign Office and who it is thought was a party to the release of the Zinovieff letter from the files of the department. Gregory was dismissed because he was caught speculating in francs when Paris was trying hard to stabilize its money. Some think that this was but a subterfuge and that he was sacrificed to please the Labor Party. If that is so it has not succeeded for the agitation goes on just the same.

Our own opinion is that MacDonald was fooled "to the top of his bent" in the Foreign Office. As long as he followed their plans and rules he was all right but when he ignored them or deliberately departed from their ways the permanent staff conspired with the Tories to oust the Labor Premier.

Early in the ministry of the Labor Party H. G. Wells advocated a house cleaning in the Foreign Office. He suggested that MacDonald ignore the staff and supplant them. Wells said MacDonald should run the staff or the staff would run him. Wells was a true prophet. MacDonald's helplessness in the Zinovieff letter scandal proves that a socialist government must have a complete change in all the important departments or it will be sabotaged by members of the old order as was done.

Everyone seems to have forgotten that the Soviet government denied the letter was ever written or mailed in Russia. It even offered to submit the matter to a commission for investigation, but this was refused by Baldwin.

P. L. QUINLAN.

CUSHUNDUN VS. LITVINOFF

All our papers welcomed Lord Cushendun's Geneva speech in reply to Russia's proposals for a general disarmament with a great flourish of trumpets. A third rate politician who owes his minor prominence not to exceptional ability, for he has none, but to the fact that he was one of the Ulster Orange leaders back in the pre-war days of 1913 and 1914 when he, Carson, Generals French and Wilson were plotting a counter revolution in the north of Ireland and openly advocating civil war is held up as a Victorian statesman and as a finished parliamentary orator. The truth is that Cushendun ignored the Soviet's peace suggestions and spent the time questioning the honesty of Litvinoff. The latter replied by reminding Cushendun of what Britain is doing in China while preaching peace elsewhere.

In this Litvinoff was supported by Germany and Turkey. Von Bernstorff reminded Cushendun and the French that at previous sessions they had lamented the absence of Russia, but now that she came and made a peace proposal, the honesty of the Soviet state was questioned. None replied to the German representative. They couldn't. The American delegate said "me too" to Cushendun.

Litvinoff then made another proposal, but this was laid over to the next session. Real disarmament is not popular at Geneva, it seems.

DEUTSCHLAND BUBBLES

German workers have been doing the expected. They have been growing restive, but getting comparatively little out of it. Prices are running ahead of the increases won.

In October, the textile workers of two important branches of the industry demanded 20 to 30 per cent increases in wages. The employers posted lockout notices, but later retracted. A settlement was reached, giving the workers a raise of 10 to 12 per cent on piece rates. A few weeks later, 63,000 textile workers in another district

were locked out as a result of their 20 per cent wage increase demand. Arbitration brought this to a close, with a 10½ per cent increase with a 48-hour week.

Then came the big strike of the lignite miners, to which reference has already been made. Three hundred thousand metal workers raised their voices for the 8-hour day and wage increases, as soon as the miners' small increase had been granted. The employers refused to accede to the shorter work-day, although pressed by the Ministry of Labor. Lockouts were threatened, and it looked as though a desperate struggle would ensue. This last month, however, has seen the backdown of the employing groups. Labor gained the 8-hour day, but lost in actual wages. The 2 per cent increase granted was not enough to compensate for the smaller return secured by reason of shorter hours.

Deutschland boils and bubbles, but the outcome thus far has not been the gains expected by the workers.

DEFEATING THE UNEMPLOYED

Deserted by the Liberal Party, the Labor group in the British Parliament was compelled to battle alone for the unemployed. They went at it hammer and tongs, but the Tory majority was too great. Cloture was enforced against Labor, the Tories not being able to stand up under the attack. As a consequence, a law was passed which Lord Carson, hard-boiled Tory, declared is legislation "gone stark, raving mad."

Lord Carson's objections are that the bill is one which the laboring people of the country will never understand. As it was, Labor obtained a number of concessions, securing an increase of payments in a number of instances. The law, as a whole, even with the concessions won, represents a victory for the Big Business groups in Britain. Unemployment relief has been considerably reduced. Just what the unemployed are to do under the circumstances is a bit uncertain. The implication is, that they can starve if nothing else turns up. Some form of unemployment insurance has still been saved out of the wreckage and future Labor Governments can better the relief when they get into power. That is the best that can be said about it.

SOUTHERN STORMS

A wave of unemployment has swept Australia. The employers have, accordingly, seen their chance. They have set out to beat the 44-hour week. Riots or near-riots have attended the demonstrations of the out of works. Parades of unemployed are to be witnessed everywhere and long lines of soup kitchens "flourish".

In Sydney the unemployed stormed the offices of the Prime Minister of New South Wales, demanding work or maintenance. Other cities have experinced like scenes. Sacking of stores for food has not been uncommon.

The unions ask for the stoppage of immigration to the island continent. They also want public works so arranged as to take care of the unemployment. The employers ask for the restoration of the 48-hour week, on the plea of competition abroad. The unions contend that this would merely irritate the unemployment situation. It is at that impasse that Australia stands. Battles over the issue are likely to take place for some time over the continent.

WHAT A MESS!

The New York World

More marines are sent to back up President Adolfo Diaz's decree for American supervision of the Nicaraguan election, while imperialists of the old world look on and enjoy the spectacle.

SUPERVISING ELECTIONS

The Liberals of Nicaragua are said to be pleased with the news that an American Commission will supervise the voting at the coming election. A cynic might rightfully suggest, by way of reciprocity that Brazil or Chile should send troops and a commission to supervise the next elections in Chicago and New York.

BANKERS SUPPORT POINCARE

U. S. bankers have surveyed France's economic resources and fiscal standing, and report all is well in Paris.

The franc is to be securely stabilized. Poincare, the foremost war lord in Europe and its greatest apostle of revanche and Toryism is to be returned to power at the coming elections. Although they have not paid a cent of their war loans, the French will be given more credits and an adjustment will be made in case the reparations fail or the Dawes plan breaks down.

All this is in keeping with the reactionary side of the United States. Private loans are set above public needs.

"Say It With Books"

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP

"The Psychological Foundations of Management", edited by Dr. Henry C. Metcalf; A. W. Shaw Company, Chicago and New York; 1927; 309 pp. $6.00.

"What the Employer Thinks", by J. David Houser, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.; 1927; 225 pp. $2.50.

OUT of the growing interest in problems of social and industrial psychology in general, a few highly valuable specific studies have recently emerged. Among them the volume edited by Dr. Henry C. Metcalf, director of the Bureau of Personnel Administration in New York City, deserves particular attention. He has brought together under one title some twenty lectures given a year or two ago as a course in the theory and practice of management for the enlightenment of the modern industrial administrator.

The wide range of subjects discussed in the volume includes many alluring topics such as The Reaction of Workers to Machine Work and Working Condition, The Worker's Reaction to Supervision, Reaction to Reward, and so on. Among the lecturers we find a few of the most seasoned and constructive thinkers in this field of inquiry, as for instance Mary P. Follett, author of the thought-provoking book "Creative Experience" published in 1924; Elton Mayo, professor of Industrial Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania; H. S. Person, managing director of the Taylor Society, New York City; professor Harry Overstreet, and a few others equally well-known in their respective lines of endeavor.

Of timely interest is the lecture on Continuing Harmonious Relations by John A. Garvey, personnel manager of the Dennison Manufacturing Company at Framingham, Mass. The lecture is strikingly sincere, and based as it is on a prolonged actual experience contains much food for thought. It winds up with the following excellent admonition: "The things that we like ourselves most are just the same things that the worker on the bench or on the machine likes. It is just another application, as I see it, of the Golden Rule that is operating in personnel work, just as it operates in every other line of human conduct."

All in all this substantial volume, so far away from being dry and academic, is full of palpitating illustrations derived from every-day life in representative industrial plants. It opens up new vistas for the social scientist and the practical leader of men. The only thing regrettable about the volume is its rather too high price, $6.00, which will perhaps put the book out of reach for a good many prospective readers who care to possess books of this kind.

"What the Employer Thinks" is a book on a kindred subject, for it deals with executives' attitudes toward employees. The intricate subject-matter is analysed by Mr. Houser under three heads, to wit: (1) Executive Authority—the Employer's Mind as Revealed in Interviews; (2) Executive Functions—the Employer's Task and Its Handling, and (3) Executive Performance—Stimulation of the Employer's Sense of Responsibility. The opportunity to make this study came to the author after several years of contact with executives, in connection with work involving personnel and organization problems. The field inquiry, he tells us in the preface, lasted more than a year and involved travelling from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic, and from the extreme Southwestern States to New England.

The one great thing that is needed to day, according to the author, is an increase of enlightenment. This means the urgent need for knowledge of human desires and motives. Such knowledge would release the vast untapped reserves of energy latent in the minds and wills of workers. Upon the success of this suggestion depends, Mr. Houser reminds us, almost entirely the future evolution of industry.

"What the Employer Thinks" is a clearly and fluently written book that will reward reading. May books like this find their way into the great mass of employers, and may they become a part of the intellectual equipment of the leaders of labor who desire to be posted on recent developments in industrial relations.

HERMAN FRANK.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

The ever-growing need for facts rather than generalities to counteract the arguments of Labor's opponents requires adequate preparation on the part of active labor men and women. To help meet this need Labor Age begins a course on Research that we hope will prove useful to such workers.

1. The Research Factory: The Library

THE libraries are the research factories. The best research work can only be done within their walls. Some investigations can be carried on in the office or the home but the most important habit for a research worker to acquire is going to the library. Nobody can match his private resources against those of even a small library yet many a worker will struggle with a piece of research until he gives up in despair for lack of material.

After all research, like the labor movement itself, is a great cooperative adventure. No one can carry it on in a vacuum. It requires the combined efforts of many workers. It thrills its participants. The library is the center of this cooperative activity. There is deposited the records of research of past generations for our use and for the use of those to come. There, too, is filed away the results of investigations but a day, a month or a year old. The library is a marvelous social institution. It is just as pitiful not to utilize it as to stay away from the public parks.

In 1923 there were 11,000 libraries in the United States containing more than 128,000,000 volumes. Eight thousand of these research factories reported more than a thousand volumes each. About two hundred of them actually contained more than 100,000 volumes each. Practically all of these institutions are open to the public without any questions being asked of the visitor. In the few that are closed to outsiders research workers can almost always obtain access to books merely for the asking. These libraries are scattered throughout the country, about one for every 13,000 of the population. There is at least one volume for every man, woman and child, in the United States. Some sections of the country are unfortunately poorly equipped with libraries but in most places and especially in the larger cities every worker is within easy reach of some library.

There is absolutely no excuse for intelligent workmen not to be familiar with the library facilities of their community. The statisticians and investigators of the employers can afford to buy the books they need. Nevertheless, they flock to the libraries. The demand for a particular item of information may be immediate and they know that some volumes are priceless or that it is uneconomical to invest money in a book or periodical that they will only need once for five minutes or an hour and then perhaps never again. The fighting workingman has the same opportunity as his enemies, once he learns how to use books.

The first thing that a research worker must do is to locate the libraries in his vicinity and become acquainted with the regulations as well as every nook and corner. Most libraries open evenings and some of them Sundays, too. Many permit books to be taken home but the larger libraries are actually for reference purposes only and books may not be taken from the building. It is better to work at the library anyway, not because the neighbors and the kids cannot then disturb you, but because you have at your disposal the whole library's collection. You are luckier than Alladin and his magic lamp. At your slightest wish all the scholars in the universe, past and present, are at your side.

Now, all the magic lies in your acquaintanceship with the library's resources. The larger the library the stronger you should feel, but beginners, faced by miles of books, are more likely to grow weak as they come to realize their helplessness. What is the good of three million volumes in the Library of Congress or the two and a half million or more in the New York Public Library or the million and half at Yale or Harvard, if one does not know how to find the two or three books he needs on the subject in which he is interested?

Now the best way to find out how to use the library in your home town is so obvious that it is overlooked. That method is to ask the librarian. Librarians are most cordial people. Like us labor people, they believe they are serving humanity. They feel, too, the heavy responsibility that rests upon their shoulders. They have answered so many silly questions in the past, that you need not fear asking them a few yourself. They like to hear new ones and you will never know how silly you are until you grow in experience and then you will enjoy the joke, too. Every librarian in the country is an assistant instructor in this research course for workers.

What the librarian will probably show you first will be the catalog. That is the guide to the whole library. Even the most experienced research workers are always discovering new possibilities of the catalog. Every time that a book is received at the library, cards are made out for it and these are then filed in the catalog according to author or authors, title, and subjects with which the book deals. Obviously the catalog is the most important instrument of research. In the next article it will be described in detail and some of the tricks of the research worker in connection with it will be explained.

For Your Research

1. Visit the libraries in your vicinity, especially the nearest one and the largest one.
2. Find out what hours and days they are open; their important regulations; which only permit books to be taken home, that is, have circulation departments; which only have reference departments; which have both.
3. Take out a membership card in one of the circulation libraries. It is free.
4. Send any questions you may wish to ask or your comments to Research Department, Labor Age, 3 West 16th St., New York City