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Labor Age

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Who Is Raskob?

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By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

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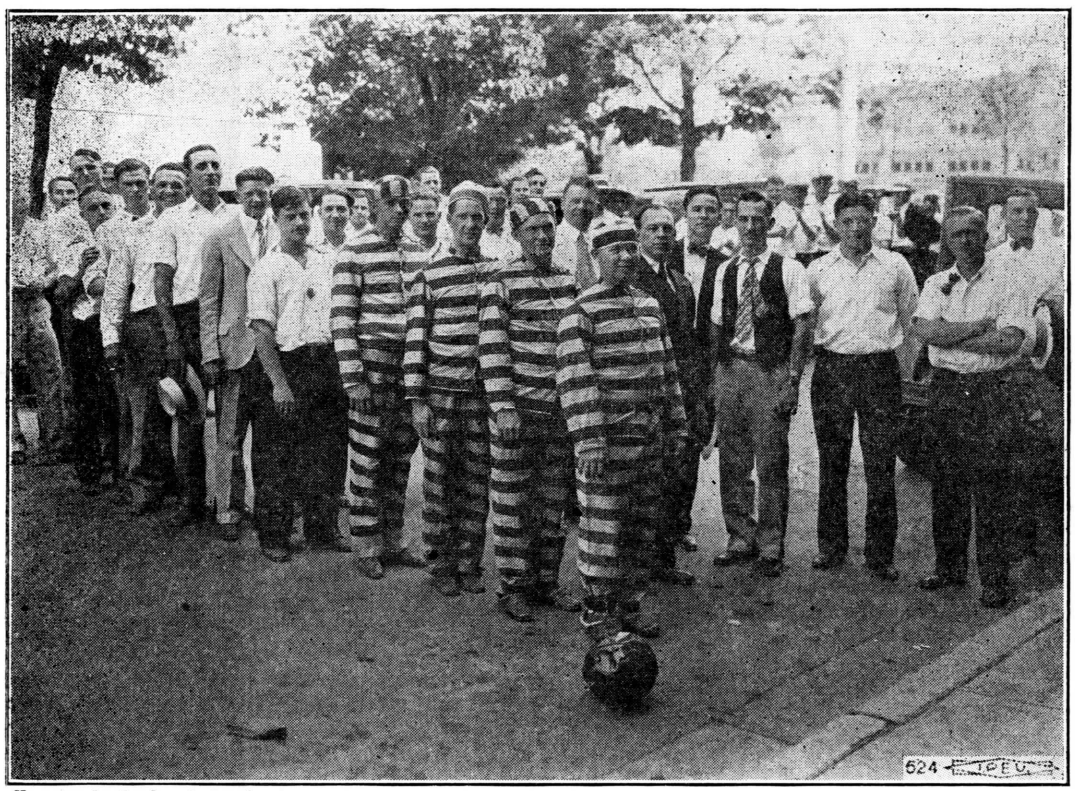
Labor Age

"Kenosha" a Symbol



Young locked-out hosiery workers in lock-step march to Wisconsin labor convention. (Louis F. Budenz stands shoulder to shoulder with the leader with the "ball and chain")

"KENOSHA" is no longer a geographical term for a certain medium-sized city in Wisconsin. It has come to mean something very definite for Labor —the starting point for new tactics in the work of organizing the unorganized and of carrying on effective labor battles.

When 330 full fashioned hosiery workers were lockedout in February by the Allen-A Company, neither that company nor the Kenosha community expected the struggle that has ensued. An anti-union city, dominated by the big industries there, has been coverted into an overwhelmingly pro-labor municipality. The Federal injunction has been rendered ineffective as a strikebreaking weapon. State militia have been kept from the situation. And all over the country that valiant struggle of the young people of both sexes is now known and talked of.

The value of "aggressive and picturesque tactics," as Budenz calls them, are now fully realized. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor was full of praise for the brilliant fight put up. President Green complimented the union on the methods used and the results so far obtained.

We are particularly pleased to note that this is the first large job done by the Labor Age Service Bureau. Our bureau is now a year old and shortly will issue a report of its activities. They are most heartening. They show that there are many things that Labor can do to win the factory and mill industries. Vision, daring, intelligence—those are the requirements for the new labor struggle. They have been used in Kenosha, and when the battle is ended and the results summed up, they will be found to have produced wonders.

We persist in our claim, now more than ever, that the unorganized can not only be organized, but can be welded together in an unbeatable group. "Kenosha" is a word that will serve as a symbol of what is ahead in this country.

Kenosha—A City Aroused

Mass Demonstrations for Industrial Decency

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IT was clear that something was about to happen in Kenosha on Saturday afternoon, May 12th. As early as two o'clock knots of people, with an an air of expectancy about them, had gathered along 60th Street, old Prairie Ave. At the end of that highway, on the grassy plot in Library Park, a crowd of considerable size had collected. With each minute the numbers grew, until by three o'clock 60th Street was lined with cars and with humanity.

The reason for this great turnout of the citizens—men, women and children—became apparent at 3:30, when a band of 60 pieces swept down the thoroughfare from the clubhouse of the locked-out hosiery workers. Behind it marched 3,000 people, although only 330 workers are involved in the lockout, and although there are a maximum of 2,000 trade unionists in the city. Along the highway, as the parade proceeded, cheers went up from hundreds of throats and auto horns honked uproariously in honor of the fighting knitters and toppers —locked-out by the Allen-A Company on February 15th.

At Library Park, where the parade terminated in a mass meeting, over 5,000 people assembled to hear Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, Leo Kryzki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and myself speak on the issues of the conflict. Unanimously, this assemblage adopted a resolution calling on the City Council to expel the professional Pennsylvania strikebreakers from the city. It was a remarkable demonstration of community spirit, particularly noteworthy because Kenosha has been for years an out-and-out anti-union city, dominated politically and industrially by its Big Interests. The threatening power of the Nash Automobile Company has held the community in bondage.

Two weeks later a committee of 1,000 men marched from in front of the Eagles clubhouse to the City Hall to ask the City Council to pass this resolution. The City Council temporized and equivocated, waiting for the time that it could go into secret conclave with the representatives of the Big Interests. The city attorney and assistant city attorney, be it known, were counsel and assistant counsel for the Allen-A Company; and therefore, the company was directly represented in these secret meetings. As we shall see, this peculiar method of conducting business led to a great upheaval among the citizens, resulting in the movement to wipe out the city manager form of government.

The People on the March

This was the beginning of those mass meetings of the people of Kenosha, which have received so much attention in the press of the country. Prior to that time, the locked-out workers had marched on their own responsibility—to the District Attorney, to the City Manager and to various other public officials, with resolutions asking for action against the illegal methods of the company. Now the people in general were on the march —for Kenosha is a city of 56,000 souls, and almost every household was represented in the huge night parades of 6,000 citizens in each instance which went to the City Hall, with red flares and drums, demanding action of the Council, in the days that passed.

Months crowded with such demonstrations went by, when on July 17th the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor opened its convention in Kenosha. On the morning of that day, 33 additional boys and girls were hailed to the Federal Court in Milwaukee for alleged violation of the injunction. There was no hope now, on the part of the company attorneys, to secure convictions in these cases. The sole allegation made was that these locked-out workers had engaged in picketing, which the injunction forbids! The scheme was to tie up the union funds in cash bonds, thus making the Federal Court a strike-breaking agency. Thomas Jefferson, could he have been present in Wisconsin, would have felt that his prophecies about the evil of an "untrammeled judiciary" were coming true.

In the afternoon of July 17th, the state labor convention was swept by one of the greatest waves of moral enthusiasm that any labor body has ever felt or witnessed. The entire group of locked-out workers—boys and girls—marched in lockstep procession from their meeting place to the convention hall, headed by four young men in prison stripes and with a ball and chain on the leader's leg. As they went through the streets and into the convention hall, they sang parodied verses on "The Prisoner's Song." The convention arose, as they came in, and gave them round after round of applause. Then, the leader of the group presented President Henry Ohl, Jr., of the Federation, with a ball and chain and prisoner's suit, "in order that you may feel at home in Kenosha under the Allen-A city manager form of government." Every appearance of the locked-out workers at the convention thereafter was greeted with enthusiasm.

That very night, appropriately, 35 of them were arrested around the Allen-A mill or in its vicinity for alleged walking around and shouting. An old ordinance —No. 63—which is 45 years old and never used before, was revived to make these arrests. Under it, a number of citizens had also been taken in sometime before for not moving fast enough around the City Hall in one of the large citizens' demonstrations.

Immediately upon learning of the arrests of July 17th, however, the State Federation convention adjourned and marched in a body, to the Police Station and City Hall, to demand of the Chief of Police that the 35 be released immediately! It has been the custom heretofore to throw the locked-out workers in jail all night, without mattresses or blankets—and even in one instance, a

"tear gas" experiment was made on some of them in the early morning in jail. The chief, it is pretty well known, is opposed to the wholesale arrest policy, but he is under pressure from the City Council.

Releasing the Prisoners

While the 200 convention delegates remained outside the Police Station, waiting for the answer to their demand, the executive council of the Federation went inside to present the demand to the chief. They pointed out that such arrests should never be made at any time, but that it was "an insult to the convention" to make them while Labor was in session in the city. They emphasized that when fraternal organizations meet in convention, their members and delegates may become drunk and raise "old Ned" and yet they are exempted from arrest, as a matter of courtesy. The chief thought this a valid argument and released the boys and girls on this occasion without charges.

On Wednesday, July 18th, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor addressed a mass meeting of 6,000 people in Library Park. Red flares lit up the night, on the outskirts of the great crowd, as he reviewed the Allen-A situation and declared that the City Council should either demand that the company submit to arbitration or that police protection be withdrawn. The week before President Green's coming, President Gustave Geiges of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers had suggested that both sides submit the merits of the controversy to arbitration—but the company had refused to do so.

Meanwhile, the petition demanding a recall election on the city manager form of government had been filed with the City Council on July 2nd. The petition contained 3,744 names, although only 1,655 were required. In addition, the Committee of 1,000 announced, 3,000 further names were held in reserve, in case they would be needed. The City Council did not dare attack the number or validity of the names, but hit upon a technicality to indicate that the wording of the petition was invalid. Thereupon, an amended petition was immediately put into circulation and enough names secured, to conform to the wording which the City Council had insisted was necessary. It is known that the City Council was seeking an opportunity to throw the whole question into the courts. What its attitude will be now, no one knows. It is generally acknowledged that a present election would defeat the city manager form by a 2 to 1 vote.

The Committee of 1,000, it may be said, was the outgrowth of the march of the 1,000 men that night in May, to the City Hall to present the first request of the citizens. The Committee later on became a permanent body and took charge of the campaign against the city manager form of government.

As this article is written, a beautiful demonstration of affection for a battler against injunctions will be given by the locked-out workers. Over three hundred strong, they will march across the state in a long automobile parade to the grave of the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette at Madison. The line of march includes Racine, Cudhay, South Milwaukee, Milwaukee and then across the state through Occonomowoc, to the capital city. The Madison central body will greet them, and after the placing of a wreath on LaFollette's grave, the entire group will be given a dinner by the Madison labor movement. On the wreath are inscribed these words: "To the outstanding opponent of injunctions, from those who have suffered from injunctions." The return will be made to Kenosha via Burlington and Lake Geneva. The advance notice of the pilgrimage has received widespread publicity.

Company Tactics Fail

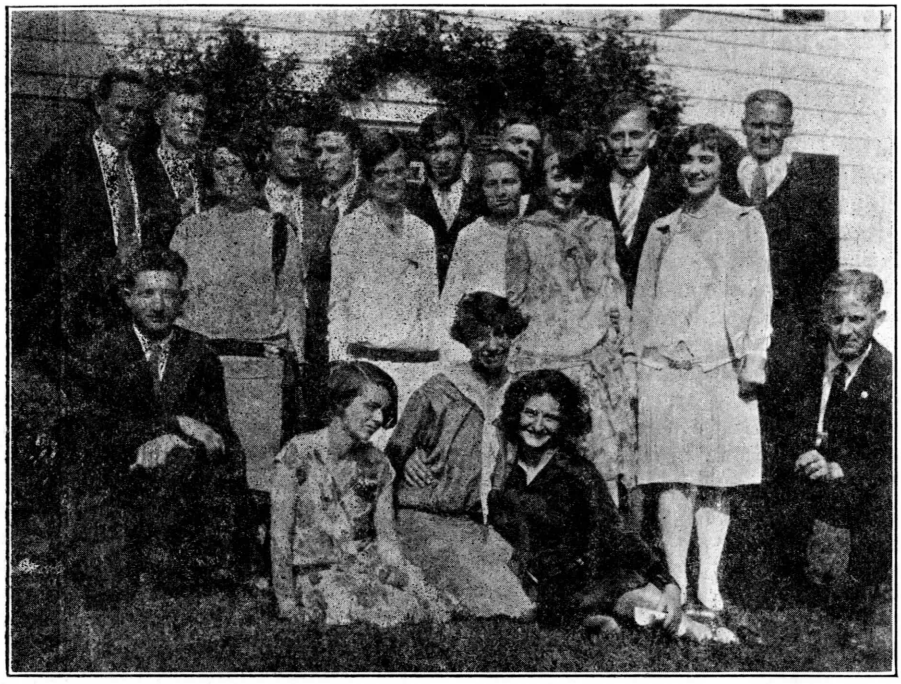
It is difficult to describe vividly the picturesque night parades of the people, the community loyalty to the locked-out workers, the solidarity and enthusiasm of that group of young people themselves. It is this combination of public support and group determination that has withstood all the tactics of the company: the Federal injunction, the attempt to get in the state militia, the importation of professional strikebreakers from Pennsylvania, the hiring of all sorts of patent medicine artists in industrial relations including "Yellow Dog" MacDonald, and the Russell and W. J. Burns outfits.

One incident illustrates how harassed the company is in the midst of these evidences of popular ill-will against it. During the past month a meeting of distinguished Chicago citizens was held in the City Club of that city to hear the locked-out workers' story. William H. Holly, law partner of Clarence Darrow, was chairman of the meeting. It was a great surprise to note that the officers of the company were present, although not invited. They had come down to hear what might be said. At our suggestion, after our own remarks, they were allowed the floor. They attempted there to smooth the thing over, but when they were asked if they would meet with their workers they could give no answer. Then, the body there went on record as favoring mediation in the controversy and as offering their own services. The company refused the offer, after the officers were back in Kenosha again. The appearance before the body was clearly intended merely to head off indignation outside the locality of the difficulty.

Meetings of the same sort as were held in the Chicago City Club are planned for all over the country. The women are to be appealed to, in particular, as they are the ones who should be interested above all in seeing that women's wear is made under decent, American conditions. The Allen-A product, being made under cover of injunction, semi-military rule and labor spy agencies, is the last word in indecency in industry.

As an example of the newer tactics in the fight for union conditions, the Kenosha struggle is one that stands out. The aggressive and picturesque tactics adopted have led to more publicity than perhaps in any labor battle in recent years. Certainly, when the number of workers involved is considered, that is true. During the almost six months of conflict, the Kenosha situation has scarcely ever been off the first pages of the newspapers of Wisconsin and the Northwest. It has been the sub-

BROOKWOOD GRADUATES



Here we see this year's graduates of Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. With the knowledge and inspiration they have gained, they are eager to do their bit for Labor.

What the movement needs is more crusaders who will go out and do the pioneering work which must be done. There are great opportunities for such in the South, as A. J. Muste shows. One Brookwooder, Alfred Hoffman, is doing a fine job with the Piedmont Organizing Council, North Carolina.

Brookwood should be graduating more students. It will if it gets the support to which it is entitled.

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ject of many special articles. It speaks well for what Labor can accomplish in that direction in the future.

Young America's Awakening

Beyond that, the spirit of the locked-out young people is a happy indication of what can be done with Young America in the working world. It shows beyond doubt that Labor must devote more attention to the young workers and to the methods which will appeal to their imaginations, their courage and their resourcefulness. It is significant that the girls have stood up as loyally in the fight as have the young men, although the girls went out purely on the question of unionism and more or less in sympathy with the men workers. The girl and woman workers can not only be organized, this lesson teaches, but also can be made devoted and steadfast adherents of the union movement.

Young America, on the industrial field, has yet to be called to battle for freedom. The movement is more and more coming to realize that it is precisely among this group that the future of industrial democracy lies. We know from Kenosha that the call to the young is a task full of promise and victory.

We cannot overemphasize, also, the importance of the little 4-page paper—the KENOSHA HOSIERY WORKER —in arousing the people of Kenosha to what was going forward. This paper has been distributed, free of charge, to every household in the city almost since the beginning of the fight. It has taken the public into its confidence and has exposed the tactics of the company and of public officials without fear or favor. In a city where there is only one daily newspaper, and that hostile to the workers, the accomplishments of this little 4-page paper has been of great value.

The Committee of 1,000 is now about to launch a little local weekly of its own—THE BETTER CITIZEN—devoted to the purely political phases of the local governmental campaign. The title of the paper is taken from the slogan of the city government under the city manager form—"The Better City." The Committee of 1,000's paper, however, proposes to show how the city can be made to live up to that name in reality and not merely in theory.

When present labor history is written, Kenosha will go down as one of those struggles which serve as forerunners to what will happen in every future industrial fight in this country. It is a prelude to the widespread organization drives that will reach the basic industries—accompanied by mass enthusiasm, popular approval, extensive publicity and picturesque and telling tactics.

The Call of the South

Labor's Next Task

By A. J. MUSTE

THE report of progress that comes from the Piedmont Organizing Council in North Carolina; the opening of the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry; the extension of the work of the Women's Trade Union League in that section; the fact that the American Federation of Teachers recently for the third time elected Miss Mary Barker of Atlanta, Georgia, as its national president; the holding of the convention of the International Association of Machinists in the latter city in Sepember, and the staging of an educational institute in that connection by the Educational Department of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the I. A. of M. may all be taken as indications that the attention of labor is being increasingly turned to the South. All these things are significant and hold so much promise if followed through, that we may well give brief consideration here to the South as a field requiring attention, and likely to reward organizing effort bestowed upon it.

Those who have been working in the South recently all contend that the Southern situation must be tackled soon and on an adequate scale. There is good ground for this contention. If the Southern field is permitted to be uncared for much longer, a critical situation will develop for American labor. The textile industry in that section, for example, is becoming ever larger and more powerful. It is as yet unorganized. It is, however, no longer the only industry in that section of the country. Coal, steel, furniture, public utilities, railroads and other great industries are springing up. These industries are also, in the South at least, unorganized. If this condition continues much longer, we shall have a non-union trustified, industrial South. If this enemy is not conquered and put under control while he is young and has not yet reached his full strength, it is useless to expect that anything can be done with him later.

The coal industry has recently furnished us with a striking example of what will happen in textiles and elsewhere if this development is permitted to take place. That industry moved out of the northern central competitive field into the South, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and so on. For whatever reason, it was permitted to develop there under non-union conditions. As soon as the industry had grown to power in the South, this unorganized section turned round and stabbed the union in the back in the North. If even so powerful an organization as the United Mine Workers of America was unable to cope with this Southern situation, once it had gotten well under way, what is going to happen if we permit a tremendous, trustified, non-union textile industry to grow up in the South, financed and supported by equally powerful and unorganized coal, steel, furniture, and public utilities industries? It seems clear that postponing the drive on the South much longer may be suicidal indeed. With that growing section unorganized it will become more and more impossible to hold what little we have in the North in more than one industry.

Favorable Opportunities

For the moment it may well be that the South furnishes more favorable opportunities for organization work in certain industries than the North. In the North, the textile industry, for example, is passing through a difficult period of reorganization. It is hard to organize workers in such a situation. In the South, the industry is new and constantly growing. For the most part it is utilizing new machinery and new methods. The workers in such a growing industry are in a more favorable position to work for organization than are those in an industry that is standing still or going backward.

The fact to which we have already alluded, that other industries are also developing in the South, has an important bearing upon prospects for organization in the textile field. So long as textiles were the only industry of any size, textile employers had the labor market to themselves. If workers in the textile mills did not behave and were discharged, the only recourse they had was to go back to the farms and hills. More and more, however, other industries will now be competing for labor in the South. The worker discharged from a textile mill or disgusted with conditions there, may walk off and have a fair chance to pick up a job in some other industry, and vice versa. If he does not take advantage of the opportunity, his children will. Thus the employer will have to be more considerate and the worker will be more favorably situated for organizing purposes.

Effect of Industrial Growth

In still another way the developing industrialism of the South will tend to create a condition favorable for organization. The change from a purely agricultural to an industrial regime will create an upheaval in the South as it has done in every other place where this change has taken place. People will be crowded together. They will learn to read and write. They will come into contact with new ideas. Their ways of living and thinking will be radically altered. This ferment is bound to break up the old tight situation down there, to make people readier to adopt new ideas including the idea of trade union organization. It may well be that the present unusual presidential campaign may contribute something to this development.

Another important element in the situation is that the workers who have come out of the hills and from the farms and into industry, and to whom at first even the mill village may have seemed like paradise in comparison to what they had come from, will not always think

A SUCKER A MINUTE

Four Cent Generosity of General Motors

THE corporate opponents of unionism are again seeking to buy the loyalty of their workers through the establishment of a policy of group insurance. The public press recently announced that the billion dollar General Motors Corporation, always "solicitous for the welfare" of its workers, purchased group insurance for its 200,000 workers giving each of its employees a policy which provides $2,000 life insurance and $15 weekly in case of accident or illness.

These policies cost the billion dollar corporation about $10 per worker per year, which is 20 cents weekly or 4 cents per day. For the princely sum of 4 cents per day the generous corporation expects workers to show their appreciation of such goodness by being loyal to it; that is, not unionizing nor asking for wage increases.

If the workers of the General Motors Corporation were unionized and won but a ridiculous increase of one dollar per week they could buy five such policies with the increase won by the union and would not have to rely upon the 4 cent generosity of their billion dollar employer. The General Motors Corporation will never succeed in lulling the workers to sleep by their spurious welfare schemes which spell paternalism, the road to slavery. They will yet stand for unionism, self-respect and economic liberty.

so well of mill village conditions. Even if the parents remain tolerably satisfied, the children who have been accustomed all their lives to these conditions will regard them as a matter of course, and will compare them not with the conditions their parents had back on the farm, but with the conditions of workers elsewhere. Thus there will be a normal basis for a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the workers on which the union can build.

In conclusion, the workers in the Southern field point out that any campaign undertaken there must be on a large scale. The battles may be isolated and on a small scale, but the war must be waged against the enemy all along the line. This is for two chief reasons. In the first place, industry itself is organized on a big scale. The corporation form of organization predominates more and more. It is useless to strike one mill of a corporation which has plenty of other establishments in which to get its work done. Even where different firms are involved, they are combined in trade associations and especially likely to support each other in case of labor difficulties. Furthermore, to a great extent, large firms and small are alike dependent upon the banks, which will enforce an open shop policy in Southern industry as long as they can; in other words, until labor can wage an adequate campaign for organization all along the line. A second reason why any campaign to be effective must be a general one is that sentiment among the workers and the general public is anti-union, or where the workers have some favorable disposition toward unionism, they have been terrorized. It is impossible to get workers in a single firm or locality to move in the face of this prevailing sentiment. There must be a new attitude toward unionism, a new rebelliousness and courage developed in the Southern working class as a whole, or movements in particular situations will prove expensive and in the end abortive.

Breaking Ground

This would seem to mean that a great deal of preliminary educational work is required, work which must be done at comparatively little expense, because even if the American Federation of Labor and the international unions most directly interested, and feeling some concern, pool their resources, there will not be an immense treasury available, since the labor movement as a whole is not living in clover at the present time.

How may such preparatory work be accomplished at relatively little cost? There are agencies such as the National Women's Trade Union League, which will help. There are likewise a good many outside friendly agencies such as the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A., the League of Women Voters, certain groups of newspaper editors, college teachers, clergymen, etc., who are willing to lend their aid in such work.

Then there are free lance individuals; workers, for example, who have been thrown out of work in their own industries by the present disturbed conditions, who have the missionary spirit, like the men and women who in the past founded our international unions, and who would be glad to go to the South, find work in the mills and mines, and lay the foundation for organizing campaigns, even at considerable risk to themselves, and with little expense to the labor movement. Besides such young workers, there are many young college students who are idealistically interested in the labor movement, who would be glad to throw themselves into efforts of this sort. Such work might at first be carried on perhaps unofficially, but should certainly be supervised and directed by certain labor organizations acting as coordinating agents.

Of course, cooperation is necessary from the general labor movement in the South—the local unions, city central bodies, state federations, and the American Federation of Labor.

It is encouraging to note that efforts along all these lines are already in fact under way. Much more must be done, however, and without delay. All who are working in the South are agreed upon that.

Many voices in the South are crying that the need is critical, and that the opportunity is at hand; crying in the old Bible phrase that "the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few." What shall be American Labor's answer to these cries?

Bigger and Better Trusts

Consolidations Effect Important Changes

By M. H. HEDGES

THE rapidity with which our now already swollen corporations are coalescing into bigger units is nothing short of breath-taking. Profound changes in the structure of American business are going forward every day without ruffling the surface of today's commerce. I hesitate to fall back upon the heavily burdened word revolutionary, but this era of mergers marks a revolution in American business that has already begun to affect all our lives. That it is leaving, and will continue to leave, epochal effects on American labor is apparent to the least informed.

What is happening may be described as a movement toward the vertical trust type. Every industry is seeking to control raw materials from the source of production, through the manufacturing process, through distribution channels, to the ultimate consumer. General Motors and Henry Ford represent the clearest examples of the vertical trust in America, where steel is mined, barged, transported, worked into automobiles, and merchandised entirely under the trademarks of the respective corporations. That this method is effective, and driving competition into similar coalescence is indicated by the merger of Chrysler and Dodge, and the promised hook-up of Pierce-Arrow, Nash, Willys-Knight, and Hupp. Incidentally we may note in passing what happens to a firm like Dodge Brothers, when it passes out of control of technicians into the hands of investment bankers. When Dillon, Read joined Dodge Brothers, its failure as an engineering achievement was foredoomed.

The electrical utilities may be said to have completed their era of merging, that is, they have passed over the crest. About 1,000 separate changes were consummated in the year 1927 alone. This year of 1928 saw a hangover from this orgy of consolidations. Two major unifications have been recorded in 1928, that of the Middle West Utilities Company, an Insull Corporation, with the National Electric Power Company; and the American Power and Light Company with the Montana Power Company, both great companies.

The most interesting merger of 1928 is that of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the Mackay telegraph, cable and radio system, with its promise of absorbing the Radio Corporation of America —a truly super-communication trust, with staggering possibilities in its influence on public opinion.

The Era of Mergers

Other consolidations reported from time to time by the New York Times are:

Texas Corporation and California Petroleum Corporation.

Terminal Trust Company and International Germanic Trust Company.

International Paper Company of Newfoundland, Ltd., and Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, Ltd.

Certain-teed Products Corporation and Beaver Board Companies.

Fox Film Corporation acquires Westco chain of theatres on Pacific Coast.

United Drug Company and Sterling Products Company.

Continental Can Company and United States Can Company.

Barnsdall Corporation and Wolfe Oil Corporation.

B. F. Keith Corporation, other Keith companies and Orpheum Circuit, Inc.

Lehigh Valley Coal Company and Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company.

Corn Exchange Bank acquires Stapleton National Bank.

Cities Service Company and Arkansas Natural Gas Company.

United States Radiator Company and Pacific Steel Boiler Company.

Philadelphia Electric Company and United Gas Improvement Company.

Bank of America, Bowery and East River National Bank and Commercial Exchange Bank.

Manufacturers Trust Company absorbs Capitol United National Bank.

Brockway Motor Trust Corporation and Indiana Truck Company.

Blackstone Valley Gas and Electric Company, Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Brockton, and Electric Light and Power Company of Abington and Rockland.

Jones Brothers Tea Company and Oneida County Creameries Company.

Postal Telegraph-Commercial Cables Companies and International Telephone and Telegraph Company.

American Power and Light Company and Montana Power Company.

Pan-American Western Petroleum Company and Richfield Oil Company.

Houston Gas Securities Company and Southern Gas Company.

Fifteen companies in natural gas industry in Oklahoma, Texas and Louisiana consolidated into Southwest Gas Utilities Corporation.

Middle West Utilities Company and National Electric Power Company.

Atlas Plywood Corporation and Empire Manufacturing Company.

National Dairy Products Commpany and Telling-Belle Vernon Company.

Bank of United States and Central Mercantile Bank and Trust Company.

Borg and Beck Company, Marvel Carburetor Company and Mechanics Machine Company.

Hodenpyl, Hardy Co., Inc., and Stevens & Wood, Inc., creating Allied Light and Power Company.

U. S. L. Battery Company and Electric Auto-Lite Company.

Republic Iron and Steel Company and Trumbull Steel Company.

Lifting the Curtain

When one scans the news for motives for these consolidations, one is not so fortunate. One would have to be taken behind the scenes, into the banking offices of Wall Street, before he could get an understanding of the real driving force. However, by scanning these changes, by talking with certain men who are near to certain men involved in certain mergers, by deduction, we arrive at the following analysis: In the first place, this unprecedented era of mergers is due to a state of mind. As during business depressions when the psychological factor is strong, consolidation is in the air. It is certain that X does it because Q does. Another prime factor is a real effort to meet competition, as in the automobile field. The contest is for the consumer's dollar, and it is pretty certain that the consumer will lose, for he will fail to get as sharply-engineered a product under the new as under the old regime.

In one or two cases coming directly under this writer's notice, the merger has been only in the nature of pooling buying resources, while all the other departments of the business remain intact. Waste is thus eliminated, and the passion for rationalization may in this wise be a strong movitating factor in this habit of consolidation. There is little doubt that the profit motive is strongly at work. The colossal paper structure, figuring stocks which are but promissory notes that dividends shall be paid, must be protected.

As to the effects upon men as citizens of a great industrial empire, and of labor unions as cogs in the industrial machine, one has to be blind not to see and foresee some of them. There is little doubt that control of industry will be made more despotic by these consolidations. It is barely conceivable that the consolidations would be made, should the control of the banking group involved be at all shaken. One should remember the terms upon which Dillon, Read took over the Dodge Corporation. That arrangement virtually divorced management from responsibility to stockholders. The destinies of that $165,000,000 corporation were determined in a banking office in New York City, not by technicians, nor by dividend hunters, nor by the auto buyers. There is little doubt that this ever-increasing despotic control will have its overflow in the schools, the churches, the newspapers, coloring our public opinion and culture. The American Federation of Labor foresaw this condition when, in 1926, it declared:

"The overwhelming necessity for trade union action to meet this condition (i.e., concentration of vast wealth in few hands) is not alone so that the workers may today have better wages, better conditions and fewer hours of labor. It is that civilization itself may be saved from the development of an industrial imperialism, an industrial despotism so enormously powerful and consequently so arrogant, as to bring about its own destruction and the destruction of what we have achieved for human welfare at the hands of a citizenry no longer able to bear the burden of routine service, at the wheels of production, without voice in their direction.

"It is that larger view, that overpowering need for the preservation of human freedom, that must urge us on to a task that involves the very foundations of our organized industrial society."

Time for Hard Thinking

This is no time for shibboleths, militant manifestos and slogans, but for hard thinking. The mentor, who thinks that he has found in the philosophy of labor writers of 100 years ago a yard-stick for measuring the present industrial situation, should look a second time. Though consolidations are going forward, the white collar class is not on the decline, but is either holding its own, or is on the increase. The predition of certain classical labor economists that the middle class was destined to disappear is not borne out. Labor need not, can not, expect an automatic solution of its problems. But it is increasingly apparent that the labor union has an important function to perform in the new era of super-consolidations.

SMITH'S BIG BUSINESS BACKER

JOHN J. RASKOB

Party labels do not sit heavily on the financial breast of the erstwhile finance chairman of General Motors. He describes himself in Who's Who as a Republican, and a member of Philadelphia's most hard-boiled anti-union Republican manufacturers' clubs. Although he is chairman of the Democratic National Committee he has not resigned from this club. Big Business is bipartisan today, as never before, according to Raskob's practice and policy.

Who Is Raskob?

Al's Pal and Campaign Manager

JUST as William M. Butler, Labor spy master and chief strategist in the mill owners' wage onslaught against 27,000 New Bedford cotton mill workers lays down the reins as Republican national committee boss, in marches John J. Raskob, master of 300,000 speeded and tyrannized General Motors-DuPont workers, as boss of the Democratic National Committee.

Republican Boss Butler paid $250,000 in an effort to break up New Bedford textile unions and has just been exposed as the hirer of private detectives to bribe preachers to order strikers back to the mills. But Raskob, smoother, more adroit, breaks up the Auto Workers Union by creating a checkoff company union for his 75,000 Flint, Mich., General Motors workers. No argument about joining Raskob's company union. You take a job, and presto: from your first paycheck are deducted dues and assessments. If you don t like it—well, there are 100,000 workers in Detroit and other auto centers who are looking for jobs.

Organized labor, it may be stated flatly, has no more powerful or dangerous an enemy anywhere in America than this same Raskob—pal of liberal Al Smith. He is the man who has thwarted the main organization drive planned by the American Federation of Labor in the past two years—the unionization of Detroit. Raskob doesn't believe in fighting unions—he kills them before they get started. When he fears unionism, he creates company unions. Otherwise he chains higher paid workers to his company through stock selling and insurance and terrorizes the others through keeping vast reserves of the unemployed at his nod and beck.

John P. Frey, then editor of the Molders Journal, now secretary of the A. F. of L. metal trades department—the department charged with automobile organization—denounced Raskob's company union from the floor of the Detroit A. F. of L. convention in 1926. "This company union", thundered Frey as he spoke from carefully prepared notes, "collecting $1,755,000 a year from its employes through a checkoff, is only interested in them while there is work. They make no provision for idle days, for layoffs." The $1,755,000 checkoff, said Frey, is "not bad financiering, considering that during the last six years General Motors has increased production of their employes 100 per cent."

Part of the Raskob policy, Frey added, was to swamp Flint with hosts of jobless workers through extensive advertising in the national press. The Poor Commissioners of the county in which Flint is located were obliged to condemn the Raskob labor market policy as loading the city with heavy tax burdens to care for the jobless and their stranded, poverty-pinched families.

Raskob, too, was one of the American dictators of industry and jobs who decreed that the United Mine Workers must be smashed. Let John H. Jones, head of Bertha Consumers Coal Co., for 37 years an employer of union miners, repeat the story as told to the Senate investigating committee:

"I m ready to sign the Jacksonville agreement," he said to miners' officials in June, 1927. "But I have been told by the purchasing agent of General Motors that I cannot sign the agreement at all and that I must conform myself to the policy of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. or they propose to ruin me." Pittsburgh Coal is the most militant of all anti-union coal corporations. Jones was selling 600,000 tons a year to General Motors.

Joseph Brown, in an article on another page of this month's LABOR AGE, traces Raskob's labor policy in Fisher Body Co., a General Motors subsidiary. "They now work harder and faster", Brown sums up in comparing the lot of Fisher Body workers now and before their company was absorbed by General Motors, "and the harder they work, the faster their wages seem to drop."

Laurence Todd, labor political writer at Washington, described Raskob's appointment as Democratic national committee chairman as a "stinging blow in the face of the organized labor movement" from Al Smith himself.

"Raskob," says Todd, "is a duPont executive by training. He has been treasurer, vicepresident and member of the finance committee of the E. I. duPont de Nemours Co., and through the duPont capture of General Motors from Durant some years ago he was placed in charge of the financing of the biggest non-union employing concern in the world.

"The only dent made thus far in the solid anti-union front maintained by General Motors under the Raskob regime has been the revolt of the company union in the Canadian plant at Ashawa, Ont., when some 2,500 workers joined the various trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. After a vigorous fight they compelled this Canadian branch to recognize the unions.

"In the huge plants of the General Motors in Michigan, especially, the industrial spy system is maintained at pitiless efficiency. Let a man become known in his section of the shop as a trade union sympathizer and he becomes conscious that his fellow workers are afraid of being seen talking with him. Let him propose any step toward unionism and he loses his job."

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Wages and the Five Day Week

Why Shorter Hours Tend to Increase Wages

By J. M. BUDISH

THE five-day week has become a paramount issue with American labor. The 1927 convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed the five-day week as the immediate goal of the working people of America. The resolution declares:

"It is a reflection upon the general intelligence of our nation that there still remain a few who oppose the shorter workday on economic grounds." Perhaps we should be less concerned with the attitude of non-labor circles, not to speak of groups hostile to labor. The progress made by the labor movement in shortening the hours of labor has been made as a result of incessant struggles, and there is no reason to believe that any future fundamental gain will be made without a struggle. Neither is organized labor ready to give up its militancy and depend entirely upon the mercy and good will of the employers. So what we should really be concerned about is the attitude of the working people themselves. In the final analysis it is the only thing that really matters. In the long run labor can depend only upon itself. Labor has nobody to thank but itself for the gains it made in its long and eventful history. Neither will labor want to share with anybody else whatever blame there may be due for any setbacks.

Let it be noted in passing that the shortening of the hours of labor is one of those fundamental gains which once secured are never lost. Unlike wages the hours of labor once shortened are very seldom lengthened again. Wage statistics have shown that real wages measured in purchasing power have changed very little. From 1899 to 1919, they have practically remained stationary and have even gone back slightly. It is only since 1919 that real wages have increased somewhat. As to social wages, that is, when the purchasing power of labor is measured by national production, we actually made no progress at all. With the only exception of 1921, social wages have in this century always been lower than in 1899. In 1927 they were still five per cent lower than in 1899. (See American Federationist, July, 1928, p. 832). So the gains made by labor in increasing wages have been to a large extent stolen from it by means of the increased cost of living and even more by means of the increased productivity of the workers. The only fundamental gain which once gained was retained without impairment and progressively increased, is the shortening of hours of labor. (See History of Hours of Labor, Proceedings, 1927 A. F. of L. Convention, p. 34).

The paramount importance of the five day week is fully realized by every section of the labor movement. But there are some who still raise the question, what price the five-day week? What effect will the five-day week have upon the wages of the working people? In the last issue of this journal I quoted statistics of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics showing that trades with shorter hours have as a rule not only greater hourly wages but even greater wages. Comparing the hours of labor and wages in nine organized trades in 1927, we find that as hours of labor go down from 54.7 a week (chauffeurs, teamsters and drivers) to 43.7 (building trades) wages go up from 70 cents to $1.32 per hour and from $38.51 to $57.81 a week, respectively. I also quoted figures from various unorganized and poorly organized industries for a series of years, all showing that as the hours of labor are reduced wages are increased. In some of these trades, like the boot and shoe industry and woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, a slight increase in hours of labor took place during later years (1924-1926) and during the same period wages went down.

Economics point to two main reasons for this inverse correlation between hours and wages.

Supply and Demand

The theory of wages is perhaps the weakest point of modern economics. Just because this problem is so vital, just because so many conflicting social interests are involved, theories of wages of most schools of economics are crude, perfunctory and involved. In some cases the wage theories are more apologies on existing conditions than efforts at the scientific discovery of the truth. Two factors are however generally recognized among the main objective economic causes determining the course of wages. These are *the supply and demand* of labor and the *standard of living* of the working people.

The supply and demand theory applies to all prices including the price of labor power, or wages. Working people do not need to know much about theoretical economics to appreciate the effect of the law of supply and demand. They get their lessons at the factory gates. When the labor market is glutted with idle hands for whom there is no demand, the workers who are lucky enough to have jobs have all the difficulty in the world to maintain their wages. Even in organized trades with strong Union control and with experienced Union members who have passed through the mill, it may be hard for the workers to maintain their wage especially when changing jobs. In poorly organized and unorganized trades a lessening of the demand for labor or an increase in the supply leads almost immediately to wage reductions.

On the other hand, when for some reason there is a great demand for labor and there are no idle hands available wage increases are in order. Such wage increases will be secured sooner by organized trades; but even unorganized trades will, in the end, benefit. During the years of the World War and Reconstruction the demand for labor power exceeded the supply and the wages of all classes of labor went up. In all the 28 years, from 1899 to 1927, there was only one year when social wages

were higher than in 1899, and that year was during the after-war reconstruction period (1921).

The immigration policy of the A. F. of L. is at least partly a crude attempt at bringing the supply of labor power more in accord with the demand for it. It is a crude attempt, because it misses the mark. For capital possesses greater mobility than labor. Limiting the immigration of foreign labor cannot prevent the emigration of capital to foreign countries. It is probably harder to replace American workers by immigrants in the industries of this country, than to invest in foreign countries, establish factories there and employ the workers of those countries right there for the production of goods which would otherwise have been produced here, by partly immigrant and mainly native labor. According to the Department of Commerce over one billion dollars of American money ($1,053,000,000) was invested abroad during the first six months of this year. Restriction of immigration may bar the importation of workers; it cannot prevent the exportation of jobs. It may prevent the increasing of the supply of labor power; it cannot prevent the reducing of the demand for it. At this writing a big U. S. corporation has transferred an order from a South American country for tens of millions of electrical equipment to its branch factory in Japan, thus depriving thousands of American workers of jobs, and reducing to that extent the demand for labor power here.

But whatever the merits of the policy to limit immigration as a method of regulating the supply of labor, the fact still remains that the labor movement appreciates the importance of the law of supply and demand. A reduction in the hours of labor, other conditions being equal, must have the effect of reducing the supply and increasing the demand for labor. What is more, the effect of shorter hours cannot be counteracted by the export of capital to any such degree as is the case with the limitation of immigration. A general shortening of hours reduces the supply of all classes of labor, most of which cannot be replaced either by the importation of immigrants or by the exportation of jobs. That is one potent reason why the shortening of hours of labor tends to bring about a higher wage level.

Standard of Living

The other no less potent reason why the reduction in the hours of labor makes for higher wages is the effect it has upon the standard of living of the working people.

Whatever the merits of the so-called iron law of wages (according to which wages tend to reach a level where they will be just enough to cover the cost of the bare means of existence) it in any case provides the limit below which wages cannot fall. What is more, when we speak of the means of bare subsistence we speak of something rather flexible. Even Ricardo who is considered the originator of the "iron-law" of wages was aware that the "natural" wages of labor estimated in food and in necessaries cannot be considered as absolutely fixed and constant, that "it essentially depends on the habits and customs of the people," or on what we call the standard of living. The standard of living thus determines the rock bottom limit below which wages cannot fall; in any case not without a great upheaval. For people will resist to the limit any effort to reduce their standard of living.

There are very few statistical investigations of the correlation between the cost of the means of subsistence, the standard of living and wages. But there is an interesting statistical investigation made by Prof. Henry Ludwell Moore (see his books, Laws of Wages, 1911). After a painstaking analysis of the correlation between wages and both the cost of the means of subsistence and the standard of living in some provinces of France, Prof. Moore comes to the following conclusion (p. 41):

"We now have definite quantitative solutions to the problems we set out to examine. The wages of unskilled laborers vary from place to place in the same country directly

1) with the cost of the means of subsistence,
2) with the standard of life,

the closeness of the relation being measured respectively by the co-efficient = .306 in the first case and the co-efficient = .628 in the second case. The wages of skilled laborers vary directly with the wages of unskilled laborers, the degree of association being measured by a co-efficient = .757."

The same author tells us that a co-efficient between .50 and .75 is considered a high correlation.

In other words, wages of unskilled laborers change directly with the change in the standard of living. And since the wages of skilled workers rise and fall together with the wages of unskilled workers, it is clear that the standard of living is a potent factor in the determination of the level of wages. An increase in the standard of living tends to bring about an increase in wages.

The hours of labor are perhaps the most important single element determining the standard of living. This is recognized even by the most orthodox economists. Alfred Marshall in his Principles of Economics, recognizes that "it is true that no class of workers who are devoid of leisure can have much self-respect and become full citizens; some time free from fatigue and free from work are necessary conditions of a high Standard of Life." (p. 789). The objection that people do not know how to use their leisure is met by Marshall with the simple fact that "it is only through freedom to use leisure as they will that people can learn to use leisure well." In any case leisure is the most essential element of a high standard of life. Shorter hours of labor provide such leisure and accordingly tend to raise the standard of life. And a higher standard of living makes for higher wages, or at least provides a higher level below which wages cannot fall. A higher "natural" minimum wage provides a better starting point for increases in wages above the minimum level.

Orthodox economists express only one fear as to the effect of a general shortening of the hours of labor. They fear that it may reduce total production, and thus reduce the total national income. According to Alfred Marshall, "Capitalists and employers may indeed bear a large share of the burden; but they are sure not to bear all." In our case, however, there is no such fear. What we suffer from now is technological unemployment; that is, the capacity of our means of production and modern technique is substantially greater than the profit paying demand. A reduction in the hours of labor

A. F. OF L.'S DEMANDS SPURNED

ORGANIZED labor is at the cross roads. To make possible its effective functioning the leadership of the A. F. of L. made certain demands upon the Republican and Democratic parties. Among the demands the following stand out:

1. **Legislation to prevent the issuance of injunctions in industrial disputes.**
2. **Reaffirmation of the rights of free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage.**
3. **Opposition to industrial conscription.**
4. **The establishment of the 5-day week for government employees.**
5. **The payment of prevailing rate of wages on government work.**
6. **The substitution of income, estate and inheritance taxes in lieu of the proposed sales tax.**
7. **The ratification of the child-labor amendment.**

As loyal members of organized labor we must support our officers. But this support is contingent only upon our concept of the correctness of the policy and the success with which it is accompanied. When industrial policies advocated by labor leaders continually fail, these leaders are set aside by the membership. Success is the test of leadership.

What have the millions of American workers gained from the dominant political parties which the growth of humanitarianism would not have given them? Weapons such as the right to strike, to picket, to assemble are being paralyzed by the judges and the police power. Through the injunction abuse labor's efforts have been paralyzed by the denial of even constitutional rights. So menacing has this abuse become that either labor destroys it or it will itself be destroyed. What happened to labor's modest request for eliminating the **injunction abuse?** The platforms of both parties evaded this vital and fundamental labor issue—the Democrats being more liberal in the use of phraseology.

It seems strange that the guarantees of the first amendment to the Constitution—free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage—must be reaffirmed and yet these basic principles of Americanism, these rights which are indispensable to the functioning of our unions are ignored by both parties. How utterly bankrupt in courage must these parties be when they dare not unequivocally assert principles that gave America its birth and its worth?

The use of war legislation, however judicially and innocently worded, to frustrate labor's activity is only too well known. As efforts are now being made to conscript labor in the next war, the leaders of labor demanded a specific platform declaration against labor conscription which means slavery. The Democratic Platform completely ignores this demand while the Republicans are at least hypocritically courageous enough to say they will conscript labor and capital. Imagine a Republican administration trying to conscript capital? It is to laugh! Woe unto labor if such a measure is enacted into law.

The present unemployment situation brings into striking relief the ever growing danger of technological unemployment caused by improved and more productive machinery. Should this problem continue the spectre of unemployment will not only be a constant one for millions but will grow at an unprecedented rate and put the organized workers at the mercy of the anti-union employers. One method of meeting the situation in part, is the establishment of the five-day week. A great impetus in this direction would be given if the government, as a great employer, would lead the way and force private employers to compete with its more humane policy. What did the political parties do about it? **They ignored labor's demand in their platforms.** A similar fate overtook labor's demand for the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment, and for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for work done under government contract.

What has labor gained by its non-partisan political tactics? Its most important demands which should have been granted without **equivocation or evasion were completely ignored or else smothered in evasive or meaningless phraseology.** Besides, we are witnessing the interesting spectacle of labor divided in its political activity. The leadership of the railroad brotherhoods, which are at the mercy of the party in power, endorsed the Republican candidate while many American Federation of Labor Unions have endorsed Smith. If the A. F. of L. endorses neither candidate it admits the bankruptcy of its policy. Is the spectacle of labor fighting on the political field the wisest political policy? Cannot labor develop a policy where it will vote politically as it fights economically—as a UNIT? Unless the leaders of labor face this issue squarely, unless they give it intelligent consideration labor's outlook is dark indeed.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

in our case cannot possibly lead to a reduction of the total national income, because it cannot possibly reduce the output of our industries. Its only effects will be (1) to reduce the great reserve army of unemployed by increasing the demand for labor power, and (2) to raise the standard of living.

It is because of these two objective, potent economic reasons that the general introduction of the five-day week is bound in the long run to make for higher wages, if even it should in some cases have to be introduced at the same hourly rates as that prevailing under the present longer hours. That cannot change the objective economic effect of a universal five day week. Needless to say that these objective effects can and should be strengthened by the conscious and purposeful efforts of organized labor. The general five-day week provides a better objective economic base, thus assuring greater success for the continuous struggle of organized labor for a better and freer, life—when the working people will control their own lives.

Flashes from the Labor World

New Bedford Strikers' Ranks Firm as Gibraltar

When labor has its own Carnegie medals for bravery, workers like the gallant 27,000 of New Bedford's cotton mills will be duly decorated. In the meantime their heroism after three months of privation on the picket lines must go down in the annals of labor history as one of the glorious struggles of the 20th century.

Sullen mill owners, counting on hunger, spies and demoralization in strikers' ranks, declared they would open mill gates the first Monday after Independence Day. Obligingly, the mill barons' Mayor Ashley called out the national guard after the guardsmen had refused to volunteer for strike duty. Ashley, indebted to William M. Butler, former Republican national committee chairman and his fellow-members in the Cotton Manufacturers' Assn. for sundry gifts, had every cop and ex-cop in the city out too, to intimidate the strikers and to guard the scabs.

But the cops and the guardsmen marched up the hill—and then they marched down again — for less than one worker per mill passed through the picket lines that Monday monring. Such solidarity, such fighting spirit deserve something better than Carnegie medals. Relief must be labor's reward to its soldiers in the front line trenches. About $3,000 a week is going into New Bedford now and that has to be split among 60,000 men, women and children in strikers' families. Double that $3,000, fellow workers!

Paterson's 16,000 silk workers have 691 bosses. In such anarchy, such confusion, the 8-hour day is being smashed, wage standards sliced, workers driven into sweatshops. Sturdily the Associated Silk Workers hold aloft the 8-hour banner, the while they organize. Memories of the great 1913 strike still live in Paterson; the employers have just about broken the thin string of patience.

* * *

Slowly unionists throughout the north awake to the implications of the south's great industrial drive. At first we thought it only had to do with cotton goods. But every sort of mill and factory is going up in the Carolinas, in Georgia and Alabama. No unionist's standards are safe while bosses can sneak into the country's industrial backyard, hiring workers for $2 to $4 a day.

Down in the Old North State, Alfred Hoffmann, Brookwooder and heavy-hitting organizer for the Hosiery Workers has a Piedmont Organizing Council building up unionism in the building trades, printing trades, hosiery mills, tobacco factories. The A. F. of L. is backing up the Piedmont Council.

In the near future $170,000,000 in mills and factories is being invested along the lines of the Southern Railway, which is only one of the Dixie roads. Texas is clamoring for new industries. Watch out, workers, as sectional competition tears down your standards. With millions out of work in the north, other millions are going to work in the south. How will it all end? Think that out.

* * *

Like heat lightning on a sultry summer evening are the quick, fitful strikes of the unorganized workers. Flint auto workers, Bayonne oil workers, Troy collar workers — here and there workers, bewildered, speeded up past endurance, goaded, seek relief, protection, guidance. Troy collar girls heard about the new Bedeaux system of paying their wages. It meant speed-up and wage cuts, They struck. They didn't quit the Cluett, Peabody factories, they just cut off the motors and stayed by their machines. For three days they sat by their machines, reading, playing cards, singing, but not working. Then Cluett, Peabody gave in.

Who knows the pulse of unorganized workers? Who knows their mental attitudes? Who knows how to organize them, to train them in self defense? Skilled workers, seemingly secure behind strong union walls, must pay more attention to the tens of millions of unskilled and semi-skilled. The chasm between the two classes of workers must not become too wide.

* * *

With bated breath Cresson miners speak of the suffering in the nearby camp of Portage. Hungry and destitute themselves, they can yet say to the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief: "Go first to Portage. There 8,000 families, an entire community, have been living for over a year on 93 cents a family a week. Yes, we are in a bad way here, but our brothers up the line aren't even able to go to the relief stations, they're so weak."

* * *

Unemployment insurance is taking the edge of the clothing worker's fear of dull seasons. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has just signed up New York employers with an agreement to put 1½ per cent of their payroll into the job fund. In Chicago and Rochester, Amalgamated members are also protected. Union lithographers have local insurance funds in a dozen cities. How does your union take care of the situation?

* * *

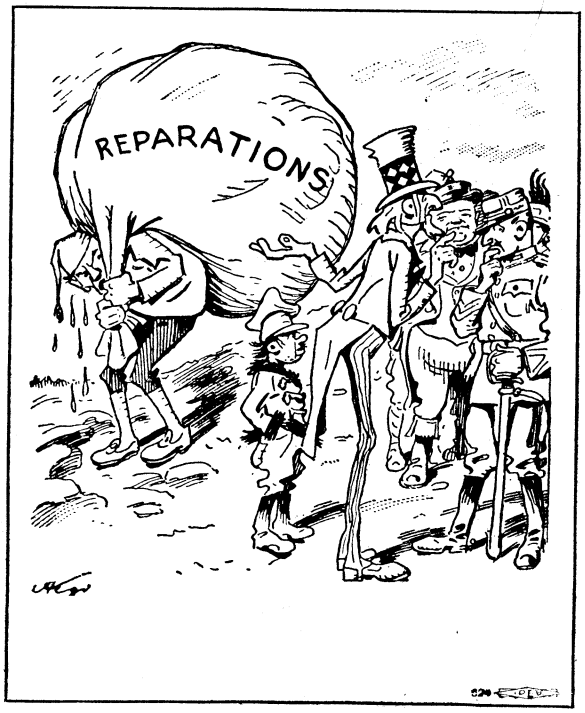
Reading, Pa., has put over the most dramatic labor organization campaign in recent times Maybe it is because the city has a labor administration with James H. Maurer as an alderman. Maybe it's because the Hosiery Workers know how to do such things. Maybe it's because the Federated Trades Council heeded Jim Maurer's advice to can the dignity stuff, get out and make a noise, shout and talk unionism. Anyway the Join the Union drive proved big stuff for a town whose low wages and open shops are stenches in the nostrils of all decent unionists.

A calliope covered with union slogans travelled up and down business streets, corner meetings were held every night, for the first time unionists spoke to non-union hosiery workers at the very mill gates. 30,000 copies of the Reading Unionist, special drive paper, were distributed every Sunday morning on every doorstep.

Other towns that feel they need to put a punch into union work might drop a line to Reading's trade council. It knows how.

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

Foreign Affairs



Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

Simplicissimus (Berlin)

Germany continues to call attention to its reparations burden. It makes no bones about wanting the Dawes plan revised and at every opportunity the matter is raised. Closely involved with this is the demand for the complete allied evacution of the Rhineland. Furthermore Germany wants a settlement that will fix definitely what she must pay her war creditors.

Seldom has an anti-war proposal been greeted with so much cynicism on both sides of the ocean as has Kellogg's plan to outlaw war. On the one hand, Europe has no confidence in our State Department. The feeling is general abroad that Kellogg's move has been made to aid the Republican party in its presidential campaign. On the other hand, North, cartoonist in the Washington Post, reflects sentiment in this country. "Sure, I'll sign anything." says armed Europe. And until something is done about cutting down armaments on both sides of the Atlantic, this cynical attitude is bound to prevail. It becomes clear that Kellogg's outlawry of war is a misnomer, and gives no assurance of peace.

Fascismo's wind-bag can't be very cheerful these days In view of Nobile's ill-fated Arctic flight. But Mussolini's braggadocio knows no bounds. Now he threatens to invade Austria if any move is made toward Austro-German unification.

"Body by Fisher"

How a General Motors Concern Cuts Wages

By JOSEPH BROWN

THE Fisher Body Corporation until about ten years ago produced high class bodies. Highly skilled workers were employed, who, although unorganized, made higher wages than the organized building trades workers.

The corporation made enormous profits and expanded tremendously. They opened new factories in various parts of the country. (They now have 44 separate plants in Tarrytown, Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Louis, Flint, Oakland, California, and other cities.) They had no competition worth mentioning, and the General Motors Corporation took practically their entire product, guaranteeing them 17 per cent profit on all their bodies.

At that time the slogan "Body by Fisher" meant something. The framework of the bodies was made of fine oak. Poor material was rejected and the inspection was very strict. First-class workmanship was the rule. The Fishers made huge profits. The workers were well paid and did not work very hard. The buyer of a car with a Fisher body received an excellently done job.

Contentment of the Workers

During the summer of 1920, the metal finishers, panelers and molders at Plant No. 10 in Detroit, where I worked, received from fifteen to twenty dollars per day. To give an instance, six workers were engaged putting cowls on Cadillac cars. They received $1.85 per job. They turned in nine jobs one day and ten jobs the next day, receiving $16.65 for the first and $18.50 for the second, thereby averaging $17.57½ per day. Each of these six workers received $96.20 per week. Others received a little more and others a little less. But one can say that the average daily wage at that time was sixteen dollars per day.

That summer an agent of the American Body Company of Buffalo appeared in front of the factory at noontime on several successive days and distributed typewritten slips of paper which stated that skilled aluminum workers could make twenty dollars a day if they would go to Buffalo to work. The companies were competing for skilled men. The market favored labor at that time.

Fishers Compete

Not having any serious competition, Henry Ford up to this time had dominated the cheap car market. But about 1920 or 1921 the General Motors, which had acquired a 60 per cent stock interest in Fisher Body in 1919, decided to compete with Ford for control of this market. Change after change came in the plant with lightning rapidity.

The conveyor line system was introduced into factory after factory. New machinery was installed and the whole organization was rearranged for the mass production of cheaper bodies. Huge machines were installed in the various mill rooms of the Fisher plants into which scraps of wood are fed. They are grooved, glued and pressed compactly together and finished boards and planks are produced. Cheaper grades of wood are used and a pillar post which is about four feet long may now be composed of five or six different kinds of wood.

One read in the newspapers of that time a report of the proceedings of a lumber dealers' association, holding a convention in Detroit, that a representative of the Fisher Body Corporation informed the delegates that the Fishers were doing all in their power to aid in the work of forest conservation.

Effects on the Workers

The Fishers embarked in deadly earnest into the warfare for the domination of the cheap car market. The installation of labor-saving or, to be more exact, labor-displacing machinery went on continuously. Piece work rates were cut almost weekly. Jobs were divided into smaller and smaller operations.

What has happened to the highly paid, contented Fisher employees? Thousands were displaced by machinery. They now work harder and faster, and the harder they work the faster their wages seem to drop. Fisher workers are now engaged in monotonously repeating a small operation just like the Ford workers. They no longer receive time and a half for overtime. In fact, in some cases they receive nothing at all for overtime. On one occasion at the Pontiac plant the men working on the line were compelled to wait for two hours for jobs to come through. Some trouble had developed in the wood-working department and production was stopped temporarily. The men became impatient and wanted to go home for the day. Strawbosses scurried around assuring the workers that production would be resumed in a few minutes. As time went on the workers were threatening to leave. They were told that those that left would be discharged. After two hours' delay, production started again. The men worked like mad for the rest of the day in a futile effort to catch up again. At four o'clock they were informed that they would have to work two hours overtime. Those involved were all piece workers and were forced to spend eleven hours in the factory instead of nine. They received no compensation whatsoever for the extra two hours.

Incidents of this kind are common. The workers have been divested of this skill by machinery. Their places can be refilled in a short time by inexperienced men, and in some cases their places have even been taken by women.

The Struggle for Control

Will conditions at the Fisher Body plants improve in the future? One glance at the latest prices of the four principal cheap cars will tell the story.

	Coach	Coupe	Touring	Roadster
Chevrolet	$585	$595	$495	$495
Ford	495	495	395	495
Whippet	535	535	455	525
Chrysler	670	745	695	670

Note that the Chevrolet is approximately one hundred dollars higher than the Ford, and that the Whippet is about fifty dollars lower than the Chevrolet. Chrysler is right on the heels of the other three. The difference in price is even slighter than the figures indicate. The Chevrolet contains extras that are not on the Ford cars. The Chrysler is a better built car and is about the same price when the difference in quality is considered. Such cut-throat competition can result in only of two things: either the elimination of the weaker concerns and the survival of the strongest, or the amalgamation of the auto corporations. At present merger after merger is taking place.

Recently the Locomobile and the Durant combined. The Pierce-Arrow and Studebaker companies are becoming one concern, and the Dodge Brothers and the Chrysler have merged. Chrysler stated in an advertisement recently that "both dealers and public may look forward to the benefits which the consolidation of such resources will produce." If the workers in the Chrysler plants have not grasped the significance of that statement yet, they will later on.

The Outlook and the Challenge

During the boom times of 1920 the workers were not interested in the organization of a union. But since then the changes described above have made them more receptive to union propaganda. The interests of the auto workers require a strong industrial union, so that the attempts of the auto magnates to push the auto workers down to Asiatic standards of living may meet with effective resistance.

Fruits of Ford's Speed-Up

Monotonous Toil Breeds Machine-Like Men

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

IV.

It would be unwise to conclude these articles without a word as to the gifts of the great god Ford to his loyal and contented workingmen. Some few years ago Ford hit on an idea—or one of his hired men did—of making the public think that he is a good kind-hearted old gentleman and the workers think that they are getting a hand in the spoils. This was the much trumpeted "investment plan". By this plan the workers are allowed to invest up to one-third of their bi-weekly pay in Ford "investment certificates" until their total investment is equivalent to one year's wages. The company in one of its booklets says, "Employees are permitted to deposit a portion of their earnings under the Ford Investment Plan, under which they are guaranteed a return at the rate of six per cent per annum on all multiples of fifty dollars deposited; and the Board of Directors may, at their discretion, return a higher rate. The returns so made have never been less than 12 per cent per year." Sufficient comment on this is the remark passed by a colored worker in my hearing, "They don't need a limit on the deposits. Who could save up two thousand bucks out of twenty-five and thirty bucks a week?"

Ford's Welfare Department

Ford, not believing in charity, employs all sorts of men commonly called disabled, such as legless, one-armed, blind, deaf and so on. He gives them all the work they can do, and "each is happy and self-respecting, holds down a good job and does his work well." Henry, out of the bounty of his heart, does not want any man to lose his self-respect—except when it stands in the way of profits. There are also the Ford stores, which sell foodstuffs very cheaply and make profits. They used to be open to the public, but the retail stores, egged on by the chain concerns, set up such a howl that finally Ford closed the stores; only employees can get their groceries, shoes, and medicines there now. Then there is also the Henry Ford Hospital, whose rates are so high that no average Ford worker can ever see the inside of it—even with the special rates for such workers. The welfare department also maintains a real expert and grants emergency loans. This department was unknown to the Ford workers with whom I talked. But such features look nice in Ford propaganda. And of course, there is the inevitable band and the singing society, whose members do no hard work and provide the company with good advertising. Welfare is just as much a pious fraud in Ford's as it is everywhere else.

There are several other schemes which aim to keep the workers contented, but space forbids my going into them here. These instances I have spoken about are but indications of the hypocrisy behind the Ford organization.

V.

Now as to the results. In the plant itself, the men have become dull, machine-like creatures. They become used to their monotonous toil and they want no change. This applies especially to the older group of workers, those between 30-40 years old. The younger men resent the speed-up intensely. They take it out on their mates, for if anything just goes wrong for a moment the anger that blazes forth appals you. And outside the factories, if you happen to touch a sore spot the worker can say nothing else than "them goddamed bosses," and other less printable expressions; he just blows off. This resentment, if directed into right channels, would be invaluable, but as it is now, it spends itself in useless personal quarrels. This lack of social resentment—I mean resentment of the whole production

system—is also due in large part to the fact that most of the young workers in Ford's think that they are going to be there only temporarily; they know that Ford works you to death and the only reason they are in it is because they can't get jobs any place else. It seems unthinkable to them that they could be condemned to a Fordized life. Naturally, it is hard to interest them in organizing.

So much for individual results; let us glance at the social implications of the low-wage-speed-up "American plan." A couple of years ago the Rockefeller Foundation uncovered such a pest-hole of prostitution in this city that the newspapers and the police had to make the public believe they were doing something about it. The city is still rotten with prostitution. There are two contributing factors: the ten-cent stores and department stores supply the women, because of the notoriously low wages paid to women workers; factories, like Ford's, supply the men. Not that prostitution is limited to the working class; but quite a large percentage of the patronage of the houses of prostitution comes from the young workers. They can hardly be blamed. Here they are, working all day, sweating over some monotonous, uninteresting job, under a constant mental and nervous strain. What more is to be expected than that the young fellow will go the limit when he is free, in order to lose himself? Not having the ability to dose himself with intellectual opium, as "tired radicals" and such people do, he simply gratifies all his animal desires. This is partly an explanation also, of why prohibition has never worked in the city. The worker can always drown his bitter memories in hooch. In order to live, the worker simply has to forget the machine; and the only way he can do that is through wine and women.

Exhausted Workers

The other outstanding social result is the difficulty of labor organization. In the first place, when the workers finish a day's work they are tired. I have gone out with Ford workers going to the afternoon shift. Over the whole street car there was an air of animal tiredness; the men were beaten, and they knew it, and they did not care so much. After all, they were simply machines. I have also come home with Ford workers at midnight. Then there are two kinds: one group which is fatigued, tired of life and all that it implies; they are listless and bored, with dull eyes and dead, white faces; another group, tired and angry, ready to take offense, snapping and snarling at all around them—just another expression of that same physical weariness which makes you indifferent to everything except rest and sleep. You can't talk to men like that about organization, for that would drag in the machine, and they don't want the machine; and it would involve danger and blacklisting — and they prefer their twenty-five dollars a week to nothing at all. In the factory itself there is no chance for personal contact, as I have explained elsewhere in these articles, so that propaganda cannot be carried on inside the plant. As a result, this whole organization problem is one which baffles even the most enthusiastic radical.

These articles were not intended to be exhaustive; they have merely served to expose some of the more obvious falsities of the Ford propaganda. This situation is but one of the whole exploiting machinery built up in this city, for every plant is rapidly following the example of Ford in speed-up and wage cutting. General Motors, now intensifying its competition with Ford, is carrying on a gigantic price-cutting campaign, and the workers have to pay for this in lower wages. Ford, in order to keep in competition, has to follow suit. In both cases, the worker is left holding the bag. At this time, the inevitable result of such policies is just coming to the fore. Never in all my contacts with workers have I seen such seething discontent as has been brewing in the last two or three months. The call for organization of the auto workers is not only now more urgent but more strategic; this city, stronghold of the "American Plan", is the logical point of attack. Ford, above all, stands out preeminent in this shameless exploitation of the wage-earners; he employs over a hundred thousand workers. Attack him and you attack the rest. The whole situation demands the stopping of this damnable slaving of men. Auto Workers, unite!

On Ford's Job Line

A Bitter Experience

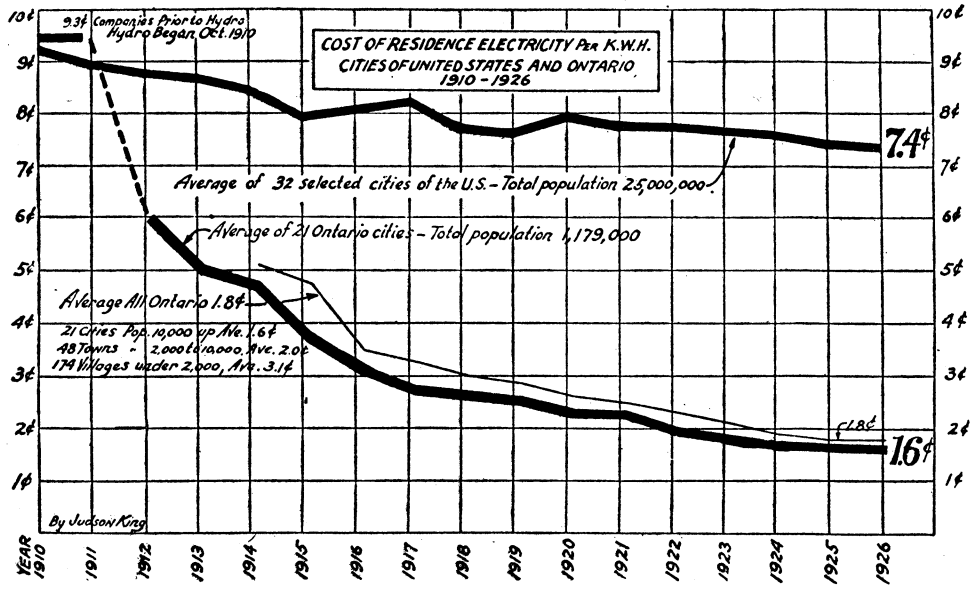
The writer of this article, a graduate of Brookwood Labor College, "hitch-hiked" westward in June to find work, there being none in his own trade, the cloakmakers' industry, in New York City. His first stop was Detroit, where he tried to get work in a Ford plant. He got only as far as the employment entrance. What a Ford plant looks like to a job-seeking "needle-pusher", is described below.

FIVE o'clock in the morning; I breakfasted at the counter, and at 5:30 was on the way to the River Rouge plant. The two trolley cars, hitched together, were packed (memories of New York subways)—the crowd, a conglomeration of nationalities and colors. Most of those sitting were still half asleep, and the rest looked tired. The cars dragged on endlessly; no bumps, no rush, just a monotonous hour and a half ride.

Now we can see the great chimneys stretching to heaven, belching forth heavy clouds of dark smoke that spread slowly over the sky. As we near the factories, those asleep automatically wake up, stretch and yawn. We are on Ford ground now, one far stretch of low buildings, with long chains of cars, and bridges, many bridges, above us. First stop, second stop, third stop—

We walk the five or more blocks from the last stop to the employment office. A continuous stream of peo-

POWER TRUST'S TOLL



This chart by Judson King, Director of the National Popular Government League, tells the story. From it we see that the average price of electricity to consumers in Ontario cities was 1.6c per kilowatt-hour, while the average price to domestic consumers in these American cities was 7.4c per kilowatt-hour.

If we add 2.4c to the Ontario price for extras such as taxes, etc., as Mr. King suggests, the electrical interests are still mulcting American consumers of 5 cents per kilowatt-hour. Figure out what that means to your electric bill.

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ple pouring out of cars and busses, disappear into the buildings; columns of men walk up, over, down the bridges, and into the buildings.

In a large square, fenced in piece of land, those seeking jobs line up. It is not quite seven, but a line of a thousand or more is already formed, single file, beginning a few paces from the old wooden office door, all around to the gate entrance. Many wear heavy winter coats, and their faces are blue with cold. The mornings are cold in Detroit, where the winds blow across from the big lakes. In many places waste paper is scrambled together and little fires started around which groups shuffle to keep warm.

Opposite the employment grounds is the foundry where Mr. Ford casts his own iron ore. Every now and then an open car attached to an engine, stops near an opening and at once, with a roaring clatter, huge chunks of flaming metal are poured into the car, a bell rings, the engine whistles and the car moves on, spreading thick clouds of smoke. For a minute sky and earth are a blur of smoke; smoke and dust whirl into our faces. When it blows off, we see two men in the opening, holding long iron bars which they use in loading the molten metal. They jump back and forth quickly to escape the flying tongues of flames.

After eight, and still the line, now double, keeps growing. The office is still closed. "What's wrong with them in there? If they have no jobs, can't they come out and tell us so, and not leave us out in the cold?" my neighbor asks bitterly.

For a moment the line begins to move, but it is only the impatience of the crowd.

Ford trains keep running by, attached to Ford locomotives, hauling Ford coal.

Through an open window near us various hanging hooks are seen moving slowly,—the Belt, endlesly moving forward. In the center, on a wide metal platform that parallels the moving belt, stands a husky fellow, his head turning in all directions, watching the men below him. He is the straw boss. As we watch, he runs over to a man and furiously shakes his fist at him,—then a swirl of smoke blots them out.

Suddenly two bangs sound at the wooden door; the line starts to move, faster, some begin to run, soon all are running. Voices yelling, laughter.

"Hey, what's this all about,—nothing doing today."

Now they are running back to the gates,—somebody cries, "Line up". The crowd halts, jumps back in line, seeking a nearer spot to the door, but again, laughter; it is only somebody's idea of a joke.

Silently the crowd moves off; a small group sticks at the front of the line. How long will they stay there; nobody knows. Maybe an hour, maybe half a day, perhaps all night. Two policemen appear, "Nothing doing around here, boys; go on home. There is no use you staying here and getting choked with smoke."

"Will they open up again?" someone asks helplessly.

"How the hell do we know what they are going to do," answered a cop. The crowd breaks up, and slowly disperses into the murky morning.

The Worker's Reaction to Rewards

His Attitude to Different Wage Systems

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

THE policies of modern industrialism cannot be understood without an inquiry into the attitude of the workers to various methods of wage payment. For example, the alleged general hostility of trade unions to piece rates, that is to say, to payment by results produced, does not exist, and has never (with the exception of the brief incipient stage of modern trade unionism) existed. True, there have been, and are, trade unions that are intensely hostile to wages by the piece, but there have been and are quite as many that are nearly as strongly in favor of them.

Now the topic of the present essay is closely connected with the psychology of labor solidarity. Yet this latter problem merits a special and all-sided discussion. For the moment, the reader's attention is directed to the relationship between the principle of fair economic reward for labor, on the one hand, and the various forms of wage payment, on the other.

Time Rate and Piece Rate Methods

For generations past, spinners, weavers, and many other classes of operatives, have been paid almost exclusively on a piece-work basis. There certainly has been no widespread desire to depart from this.

On the other side, skilled building operatives, and certain grades of skilled machinists, may be quoted as representative of the straight time basis of wage payment. But their opposition to piece-work clearly cannot be regarded as proof of any general tendency toward the time rate system of remuneration.

Well, the truth of the matter is that the attitude of trade unions toward methods of payment by results (piece-work) differs in accordance with the character of the job and the nature of the particular system of payment proposed by the employer.

The building trades are a case in point. The skilled builder has objected to payment by the piece. The reason is plain. He considers that the nature of the material with which he works, or the weather, and other conditions under which his work has to be done, make it impossible for piece-work or similar system to result in fair remuneration according to the amount of effort expended. Furthermore, he may allege that payment by results leads to scamped work and to loss of craftsmanship. Yet the objection mentioned first is at the root of his inveterate opposition to piece-work.

The spinner or weaver, on the other hand, is reasonably assured that a piece-work system of wages will result in remuneration at least approximately in accordance with effort expended. Even as the skilled carpenter is loath to accept nothing save payment by the hour, so the spinner is usually determined to be paid by the piece.

Needless to say, piece rates once fixed should not be maintained unchanged despite improvements in methods of production. Still, as a common observation, the most modern and prosperous establishments in large-scale industry are those which afford the highest amount earned by the workman in a given time. Unfortunately, the majority of the manufacturers take the short and wrong view that the greater the cut in piece rates, the larger the increase in the given concern's profits.

Mass Production and Piece-Work

Now an instructive example as regards the workers' attitude to wage methods is offered by the engineering industry. Self-evidently, the more highly standardized a process becomes, the easier it is rendered to devise a form of payment by the piece that will give rewards roughly proportionate to efforts. Accordingly, therefore, we find, especially in England, that while the highly skilled men, working on individualized processes and often on non-repetitive jobbing work, tend to be hostile to payment by results, the less skilled, employed mainly on repetitive work, are usually wholeheartedly in favor of piece rates.

Turning, again, to a familiar and well unionized American industry, one may reasonably assume that it is the increase in the proportion of standardized jobs in the modern mechanized garment factory that is chiefly responsible for the significant growth of late years in the proportion of needle trade workers who are employed under some system of piece-work. And if the present tendency toward mass production, with the accompanying standardization of jobs, continues, one may certainly expect payment by results to go on increasing side by side with it. In Soviet Russia, too, piece-work is preferred by the government for the purpose of increased production, while bonuses may be given for increase in the amount of work and production.*

The workers, however, are right in rejecting one or another of the "fancy" methods of wages devised by the "efficiency experts" during the World War and afterwards. The workers may reject such premium bonus methods either because they are bad in themselves, serving one-sidedly the ends of the employer, or because the workers simply do not understand them. And it may be said in a very generally valid manner that any wage system which the ordinary workers cannot understand is bad, whatever its other merits may be. It will inevitably lead to a deep-seated resentment on the part of the workman, and plant in him the conviction that he is being fooled. This is conducive to "soldiering" and other restrictions on production.

On the other hand, if only the mental attitude in a factory be right, the workers will set their own standard of output. And as the majority of mankind, when placed

*M. Price: Labor Protection in Soviet Russia, New York, 1928, p. 65.

Textile Workers in Heroic Struggle

Deserve Unstinted Support

By FRANK J. MANNING

THE twenty-seven mills involved in New Bedford's strike threw open their gates on the morning of July 9th in a mute invitation to the 30,000 strikers to return to work. But New Bedford is still on strike! "No reduction," cried thousands of workers as they assembled on the picket lines at their respective mills. "Down with the ten per cent cut," came from the orderly but determined picket lines of the United Textile Workers of America.

At half-past seven, while the sun was shining gloriously on the cheerful pickets, the mill gates were gloomily closed. A cry of joy and a thunder of applause shook the city. The strikers gave themselves up to unrestrained joy and entered into a "solidarity march" which ended at Labor Temple, where an impromptu celebration was held. In the afternoon about 9,000 of the jubilant strikers assembled at a huge mass meeting where they adopted a resolution: "In view of the fact that the textile workers of New Bedford have demonstrated that they know how to conduct a peaceful but effective strike, we call upon the Mayor of this city to disband the National Guard which he has caused to be sworn in for strike duty. We do not need the guardsmen. Our victory does not hinge upon violence. We are going to win this strike by the might of our united and intelligent action." The next morning the Mayor demobilized the National Guard.

In view of the hardship and suffering of the strikers during these thirteen weeks of strike, their solidarity and determination is remarkable. What is more phenomenal is their good nature. The conflict has not yet checked their laughter or dimmed their hopes. This struggle symbolizes to these exploited textile workers all the wrongs of these last seven years of autocratic exactions.

New Bedford's strike has become a crusade; a cause which is going to be carried to its climax principally by women, who form 60 per cent of the Army of Emancipation.

No one has expressed the emotions of the mill operatives more pungently than Father Noon of St. James Catholic Church when he said: "The day of the wage cut in the cotton industry has gone by. *The workers of New Bedford will never return under the cut.*"

The manufacturers refuse to admit they are beaten. But the question of victory for the strikers is only a matter of FOOD. They and their children are crying out to Labor and its friends to come to their aid in this significant economic struggle which has become a beacon light to all of the exploited textile workers of the country.

Together with the oppressed coal miners, the textile workers form the front line of Labor's offensive. Let those in the rear supply the ammunition for these shock troops and participate in a glorious victory of enlightened Labor over decadent feudalism.

Send contributions to New Bedford Textile Council Strike Relief, P. O. Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

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and kept under just conditions, is both honest and honorable, that standard of output will prove in the long run to be satisfactory.

The Collective Piece Work System

Thus, of foremost importance is what system of payment by results is adopted. Men who are perfectly ready, and perhaps eager, to work "piece-work" will often reject some or other of the "fancy" systems. Recently, therefore, these premium-bonus methods, particularly as far as England is concerned, have been going fast out of fashion. A return to simpler methods has been fairly general. This, in its turn, has visibly made easier the progress of payments by results, which method scarcely had met with any trade union opposition worthy of mention. A recently published, well documented study by Henry De Man dealing with the new psychological trends in German trade unionism, has brought to light an exactly similar development.**

However, pure and simple "straight piece-work" as a counterpart to the customary straight time work is in itself neither novel nor very progressive. In Europe, to begin with, another tendency has been at work with increasing strength side by side with the spread of the "straight piece-work" or the ordinary sort. This is the tendency to replace individual by collective systems.

Collective piece-work, too, is hardly a totally new thing, for there have always been a number of jobs, such as the textile finishing and dyeing trades, in which it is quite impossible to distinguish the output of any one worker. The product is in such cases that of a group or squad working together and making a collective contribution which can by no means be decomposed into the contributions of the individuals comprising the group. Yet far more attention than is the actual case ought to be paid to the working out of collective methods of wage payment.

No one form of wages is ever likely to suit all industries. But the system of collective piece rates may well afford an important means of advancing industrialism along the lines of more and ever more raising both the wage standard and the solidarity of labor. Fair collective piece rates may increase the workers' earnings and at the same time lower the labor cost of production.

**Hendrik De Man: Der Kampf um die Arbeitsfreude, Jena, 1927, pp. 253-271.

Workers' Wives Assert Themselves

Eager to Be Effective in Labor Movement

By FANNIA M. COHN

UNITY HOUSE has recently harbored a conference of women somewhat unlike the conferences which so often take place in this beautiful home of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at Forest Park, Pa. The conference alluded to, took place on June 30 and July 1, and was under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliaries of Wyoming Valley and the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League. Trade Union women and wives of union men asked themselves why the women of the laboring class are so powerless whereas the women of the middle-class, the business and professional workers have, in many instances risen to power, socially and politically.

From the discussion that followed and from the response of the audience it was concluded that nowadays it is not so simple a job to be a wife, mother and housekeeper. It is especially true that workers' wives seem to be the group in their sex to be least favored not only by economic, but also by social conditions. Here we had men and women experienced in labor and social movements citing before these hard-working housewives problems of unemployment and the misery that it brings with it. These women, it seemed to me, could not explain why the worker should be punished by unemployment and starvation for his increased productivity and efficiency.

Mother's Influence

Again they were told that all too often the mother is the greatest obstacle in the organization of working girls in the trade unions. Daughters still insist on consulting mother about their personal problems, the joining of a union included. Very often we hear mothers say, "Oh well, Jenny, stay away from the organization; it is all right for your brother, he is a man. But why should you bother about a union? Leave it alone."

The contrary could have been expected if the mother were enlightened on the aims of the trade-union movement because it is in mother's interest, who as the housekeeper, has to keep things going and make both ends meet, to see to it that daughter, who is employed in industry should be organized. Higher wages would enable daughter to make larger contributions to the family budget which would make it possible for mother to send out some of her work, as for instance, the laundry. Above all, it would enable her to buy time-saving machinery for the home. This, of course, introduced the problem of the cost of electric power and the question arose why should the utility corporations charge prohibitive prices for home consumption so that the use of electricity becomes an impossible luxury for the worker's wife, whereas in reality it is a necessity. If the worker's wife was relieved of some of the drudgery of work by the use of time-saving devices, she would enjoy much more leisure which she could use for her personal development as well as for labor and social activities.

There is another interest connected with the organization of women, when we realize that out of eight million engaged in industry only a few hundred thousand are organized. It is an established fact that working girls are more exploited because so few of them are organized. The danger of this lies in the fact that they are becoming competitors with their fathers, brothers, and sweethearts. This is true because labor conditions in one industry have an influence upon other industries.

Woman's Place in Industry

The oft-repeated cry that women's place is at home, that women are in industry temporarily and therefore the labor union is not much of her concern, was refuted by the fact that hundreds of thousands of married women are in industry today. Many of them are mothers who, in addition to their factory work, have to take care of their children. And this the conference realized is due to the fact that women are not paid sufficiently for their work and therefore cannot afford any help in their housework. The Institute agreed that since women are working in industry there is no reason why they should not use every means in their power to lighten their burden; and the best instrument in this case, they realized, is the labor movement. The union, the workingman's protection, can just as well be employed as the working woman's protection in her struggle for a better life. Despite the fact that many girls are temporarily engaged in industry this Institute still saw the wisdom of their belonging to the union and fighting for their rights because women as a whole are a permanent factor in industry. True, as many of them said, when a girl marries she is apt to leave the factory, but it is only to become the wife of a worker and the mother of workers. This offers her an exceptional opportunity to utilize the knowledge and experience which she had acquired.

The Institute earnestly considered the problem of the public schools. They realized that while the Labor movement is responsible for the establishment of the free public school system in the United States, it does not, unfortunately, actively participate in its development. Hence the formation of a policy for the public schools which affects millions of workers' children, is left to persons who are not interested in the labor movement and many others who do not understand. And no wonder, then, that the texts that are used in the public schools deal with captains of industry, commerce, wars, and similar subjects; hardly a word is said about the labor movement and its pioneers. And often parents are astounded to learn that their children are not only not in sympathy, but often antagonistic to labor. The Institute was shocked when it was told how the Utility Cor-

poration magnates, by their own confession, have prepared and distributed scores of textbooks in the public schools to propagate their ideas inimical to public interest. These women thought that it is not enough to create such an institution as the public school system; it is most important that the labor movement should have a voice in its management. Therefore, they resolved that the women's auxiliaries should insist that organized labor be represented on the Board of Education, and they have a permanent committee to study the problem of the public schools in the light of modern experimental education.

The women were amazed by the volume of business done in this country while their husbands are unemployed and they are suffering acutely. This Institute realized that something is bad in our present system, since perfection in machinery has become a curse instead of a blessing to the worker; and they argued that the only remedy against unemployment is to make labor a charge against industry just as rent, management, and capital. This, they thought, could be achieved by having unemployment insurance provided to carry through the worker and his family during a dull season and that a more permanent basis be established for eradicating the unjust conditions under which the mass of the citizenship of this country is working and living. The suggestion was, therefore, made that shorter hours and higher wages and an unemployment fund be established as the first step to that end.

But what about old age? "Should we be separated from our lifelong friends, our husbands, after a life of struggle for ourselves and creation of wealth for others; the aged husband and wife be separated and sent to the homes for the poor?" Why, some said, should not this state and industry provide security for the industrial soldier as it does for the military? Here the wife of a member of the Pressmen's Union said, "Why does our Union provide a home for the aged members and exclude us, their wives? Were we not their lifelong comrades and friends in their struggle for subsistence? Why then should we be separated from our husbands when we are old and feeble?" As one speaker said: "What about establishing a joint old age home for men and their wives instead of only for men." And the opinion was expressed that a demand be made upon their International Union that provision should be made and funds provided to take care of the wives of the aged members as well as of the members.

All this and other problems were presented to the conference by Miss Cara Cook, Miss Edith Christenson, Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Miss Mary Kelleher, Mrs. Grace B. Kleug, Miss Ada Rosenfelt, Mrs. Lulu Sager, Miss Rose Schneiderman, Leonard Craig, Charles Gardner, Clinton S. Golden, James H. Maurer and John A. Phillips.

Serving the Movement

What was most in the minds of these women was, how could they best function in the labor movement. It is true that their cooperation and assistance is sought by the men in their industrial struggles, when the husbands carry on a strenuous fight for a decent livelihood and for more leisure and freedom. But this Institute realized that they are only consulted in an emergency, and that after the struggle they are neglected, and their advice and assistance are no longer solicited.

At this point discussion came up of the functions of women's auxiliaries in the various international unions. We were told how the auxiliary to the International Association of Machinists was formed twenty-five years ago during a strike and about its good work since then. Its further development has been due to the vigorous educational program it has pursued. All agreed that Workers' Education can be the best medium through which workers wives may be enlightened. The opinion was expressed that the auxiliaries can become the organization through which wives of the trade unionists can function as effectively as their husbands, through their union. This is necessary because the labor problems are tied up with the happiness of their homes and persons. The importance of effective auxiliaries, some of the women insisted, can be used as a means of self-expression and personal development. As one woman said, "I would rather wear myself out than rust." And another woman said, "I have gained much by my activities in the auxiliary. I felt myself growing, I was developing steadily." "But," said another woman, "I do not think our husbands want us to be active and 'meddle' in the labor movement. They think we have plenty of work to do in the house. That should keep us quite busy." "Well," argued another, "that is the reason why we need an effective women's auxiliary. There we can get a better understanding of our own conditions and problems and learn how to solve them. And after we do understand all these things, our husbands will not only listen to our opinions, but they will have more respect for us."

This led up to the discussion of a National Council of various women's auxiliaries within the labor movement. The conference was most inspiring. It was interesting to notice the awakening of selfconfidence in the wives of the trade unionists, who because of shortsightedness, were neglected by the labor movement. The leadership did not realize the great social force that the women can be to the movement once they are enlightened about its aims and character. They, the women, with their feminine consistency and persistency, would give their unqualified devotion to it. They would bring in with them the freshness and enthusiasm which a new group is apt to bring to a movement.

The workers' wives, as a group, alone do not exercise any influence in our social, political and economic life. It is encouraging to notice that here and there women belonging to this group are coming forward, willing to assume leadership and having the inherent talent for it. What they need is encouragement in their own abilities.

One of the excellent suggestions which aroused enthusiasm was about a workers' Red Cross to assist the "wounded" on Labor's battlefield. Another suggestion was that Christmas cards bearing labor's greetings should in the proper season at parties be distributed among the children of workers.

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.

NASH WALKOUTS—AND SOME LESSONS

Sector of Automotive Working World Is Heard From

THEY are walking out, off and on, in the Nash Automobile Works in Kenosha. Like the occasional stiff breezes which come in off Lake Michigan, these spasmodic walkouts may be forerunners of a storm or merely playful reminders that storms are possible.

The duco rubbing department has had four walkouts in three weeks. All of these have resulted in temporary victories. Each demand has been granted at the end of each rumpus. Other departments have secured their desires, by the threat of walkout alone.

One thing is well worth noting in connection with these off-and-on strikes. They have been successful, as far as they went, purely because the company needs production now and needs it badly. The new Nash model is rushing to the market. Eleven hours and more of labor are the rule inside the Nash plants at this moment. In a few months, perhaps, the slack period will set in. There will be no such cry for production and more of it. Hundreds of workers will be thrown out of work again—and will have to float elsewhere or wait for another mad rush. The average wage of the Nash worker over the year, as a result, cannot come to more than $25 per week. Unionism, intelligently handled, alone can make headway against such fluctuations of employment, and win permanent good for the men.

The workers of the General Motors Co. in Canada have learned something of this lesson. They have organized industrially, in a Federal labor union. That is also what the Nash men want to do, and will probably do in the long run. A number of them, at any rate, realize the folly of walking out every other week for this particular grievance and that particular demand. Unionism, if successful, would stabilize their relationships with the management, so that they could make some headway in efficient bargaining.

The organization of the automotive workers is one that can only succeed through a mass walkout, with effective publicity right from the start and with a large relief fund raised as a consequence of the publicity. In an industry that should be in the van in good conditions because of its great prosperity, the workers are the victims of undesirable conditions and of uncertain employment. Low wages and long hours afflict them.

Some thought has been given to "selling" unionism to the auto manufacturers. We can see little hope there. It is only by soundly thrashing one particular group that the others will think of coming into line. The automobile manufacturers are rapidly moving toward trustification. Nash is one of the few remaining "independents", and his business is of such large proportions that to call him an "independent" is almost absurd. The massive power represented by these hugely profitable concerns has made them arrogant feudal masters. Labor spies abound in their plants, and the thought of compromising with unionism is the farthest from their minds at this hour.

Industrial unionism—mass walkouts of entire plants—extensive publicity secured by picturesque methods—large strike funds raised out of the publicity: These items sum up in general terms the automobile organization problem. On the fervid and intelligent working out of their details rests the future of successful unionization in our most virile industry.

THE MERGING OF MERGERS

A BLIND man can see that the process of trustification, so alive in the automobile industry, is rampant everywhere.

The big banking interests are taking an active part in pushing forward a solidification of all industrial groups in a like field, into one or two gigantic corporations. Just as Chrystler gobbles up Dodge and Studebaker plans to absorb Pierce-Arrow, and General Motors has its eye on all auto manufacturing, oil and public utility mergers go merrily forward.

Perhaps the most stunning amalgamation of all has been the consolidation recently of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company with the Mackay telegraph, cable and radio systems. Wall Street talk has it that International Telephone and Telegraph will shortly take over the communications business of the Radio Corporation. Otto Kahn, in the Chicago JOURNAL OF COMMERCE predicts that another year will see the coalescing of all the Eastern railroads into one system.

In short, merging of corporate interests has proceeded perhaps more rapidly in 1928 than in any preceding year. And the lines of financial interest connecting each, through the few big banks of Wall Street, is speedily making them one unit in their joint exploitation of the American people.

We mention this development, not so much to suggest political remedies as industrial ones. It is evident that workers under any one of these great systems cannot hope to combat them, except here and there and then partly by employer-sufferance of unionism, until the workers themselves have "merged" and "consolidated". We can see no answer, from the labor angle, to what is so actively going on in the corporation field, other than effective and rapid moves toward industrial organization.

SEATTLE IN THE LIMELIGHT

OLE HANSON put Seattle on the map. Time killed this newspaper hero as it exposed Harding, his corrupt Ohio Gang and Coolidge of Boston police strike fame. But Seattle is news once more. Recently its board of education, subservient to the dictates of the Power Trust subsidiary in Seattle, forced each member of Local 200 of the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the A. F. of L., to sign a Yellow Dog contract.

The charter of Local 200 is still alive even though the press reports compliance with the wishes of the Board of Education. Mr. W. B. Satterthwaite, President of the Local, refused to sign the Yellow Dog contract in order to bring the case before the Supreme Court of the United States. We rejoice in the stupidity displayed by the Seattle Board of Education in forcing the Yellow Dog contract upon the teachers not only because it will help enlighten the intellectuals who need it, but also because it will prove to the unbelieving teachers that they are being punished for trying to preserve the schools from the pernicious propaganda of the Power Trust.

The teachers of Seattle are fighting not only to preserve the citizen rights of teachers but to save the cause of public education from the domination of those who want to use the schools for selfish purposes. Shall the schools and the teachers be free to teach the truth as they see it or shall the schools be transformed into propaganda agencies of Big Business? Those who believe that the teachers must be liberated from the grip of fear which now clutches them, those who believe that our schools should be dedicated ot truth rather than to power trust falsehoods or other anti-social propaganda, should rally to the cause of the teachers of Seattle both financially and morally. This struggle to save the schools must be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States be the cost what it may. All lovers of freedom and members of organized labor will rally to the cause. Send your contributions to Florence C. Hanson, 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

STATISTICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL PROSPERITY

THE workers of America must be rolling in money! Do you doubt it? Then read the numerous magazine articles in which the economic statisticians tell you with an imposing array of statistics, that the organized workers have increased their wages from 40 to 50 per cent since 1914 and the unorganized workers about 30 per cent. In a word, unionism pays not only the organized workers but even the unorganized.

But how much of that prosperity is enjoyed by the 150,000 starving striking miners? How much bread and butter is it buying for the 30,000 New Bedford textile strikers? How much joy is it bringing to the locked out full fashioned hosiery workers at Kenosha? How much of this statistical prosperity is being enjoyed by the two millions of unemployed? How much by the Pullman Porters with their princely earning of about $90 per month? The prosperity is purely psychological.

How is this psychological state of prosperity demonstrated? By calculating *hourly* wages thus leaving out such minor items as *unemployment*—seasonal, cyclical or technological. Labor is not fooled. It is more productive than ever. But while wealth accumulates at an unprecedented rate, while a few workers have improved their status, the vast mass of workers find it hard to make ends meet because wealth is so unevenly distributed.

Labor must meet the issue of psychological well-being with a vigorous organizing campaign, a struggle for unemployment insurance, with a determination to bring about a fairer distribution of wealth and a limitation to the injunction abuse in order that its economic militancy may bring real and not psychological well-being to all.

CORRECTION

Inadvertently an error occurred in the article "The Mind of the Woman Worker" by Herman Frank in the July Issue, p. 19.

The second sentence from the beginning should end with the following words: ".....the consequence of various psychological causes".

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

V. The United States Census

THE word "census is derived from the Latin equivalent of "assessment", which probably explains why censuses have been looked upon with dread. The counting of heads has always been associated with taxation and military purposes and is no doubt the basis for the various legends and beliefs about the calamities that overtake a community after a census has been taken. It took the necessities of modern democracy to overcome superstitions about censuses. The United States constitution provided that representation and direct taxation should be apportioned to the states according to population and that for that purpose a census should be taken every ten years. Accordingly an enumeration of the population was made in 1790, thus instituting the first regularly taken census in the history of the world. Great Britain followed in 1801 and other countries soon afterwards.

As was to be expected from the purpose of the first American decennial census, figures were merely collected to show the number of the population of each state. The whole report was published in a small pamphlet of fifty-two pages. It soon dawned upon students, businessmen, and legislators that as long as a census was being taken, additional effort and money could be expended to collect other information besides that needed for apportioning representation and direct taxation. Little by little new items of interest were added until the census takers were swamped. At first the work was in charge of the United States marshals who hired temporary assistants as inexperienced in census taking as themselves. Ridiculous errors were discovered by critics, such as the enumeration of more deaf and dumb negroes in certain communities than the total number of negroes in them. In 1850 an improvement was made by centralizing the direction and tabulation of the census at Washington, D. C. It was not until 1880, however, that the marshals were relieved of census taking and the work assigned to a superintendent and a corps of one hundred and fifty supervisors. Ten years later a permanent Census Bureau was at last established. At the same time hand methods of analyzing the returns were abolished and the tabulating machine invented by Herman Hollerith came into use. A card was made out for each person in the country and holes punched in it in various positions to indicate the details about each individual. When the cards were run through the Hollerith machine the making and breaking of an electric current resulted in the automatic counting on a dial of any detail or combination of details that was desired. The Eleventh Census of 1890 was the first made in the modern style. While advances can still be made —for example, we still do not know by actual count how many employers, employees and self-employed there are in the United States—the American census is a model of accuracy and fullness of detail.

It is difficult to describe the United States census of today. The mass of raw material it contains can be cooked up by research workers into the most relishing dishes. There are thirteen bulky volumes of statistics: four on *population,* namely, number and distribution of inhabitants, general report and analytical tables, composition and characteristics of the population by states, and occupations; five on *agriculture,* namely, general report and analytical tables, reports for states and counties in three parts, and irrigation and drainage; three on *manufactures,* namely, general report and analytical tables, reports for states, counties and principal cities, and reports for selected industries; and finally, one volume on *mines and quarries.*

A convenient summary of the above-mentioned volumns is supplied by the "Abstract of the Fourteenth Census," consisting of 1303 pages. It can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for $1.50. The Census of Manufactures is now taken every odd-numbered year, and the Census of Agriculture every five years. The 1925 issues of each are now ready. In addition to the volumes indicated the Bureau of the Census, now within the Department of Commerce and, therefore, within the province for so many years of Herbert Hoover makes other reports, such as those on telephones and telegraphs, finances of cities, and cotton and tobacco.

The census findings are made known as soon as they are available, first, through statements to the newspapers, then mimeographed sheets, then pamphlet bulletins, and lastly, complete volumes. Various portions are reprinted for the use of those who are interested in special topics, such as a single industry, which can then be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents for a nickel or a dime. Every library carries the main census reports and the larger ones all. For those who want to buy single volumes or bulletins there is at their disposal "Price List 70—Census Publications," which can be obtained for the asking from the Superintendent of Documents. The Bureau of the Census at Washington, D. C., will answer specific inquiries as to information which it may have tabulated but not published, such as the importance of various cities in the men's clothing industry at the biennial census of manufacures; or if the Bureau has collected material which it has not or will not tabulate, such as the number of persons speaking Pennsylvania Dutch exclusively a generation ago,—"Jim" Maurer will correct this injustice to his people if he ever gets to Washington,— you may do the job yourself during your slack season by going to Washington and being put on the government's payroll for a dollar a year. After all, then, if ours is not a government for workers, it is to a certain extent one for research workers.

For Your Own Research

Locate in the Census of 1920 the number of men and women in your industry in your city, the number of child workers in the country, and the number of farm tenants.

In Other Lands

THE KRASSIN TO THE RESCUE

Russia Earns World's Gratitude

WHEN the Italia with General Nobile and his men sailed for the North Pole most people looked upon the expedition as a Fascist advertising stunt. Indeed no one dreamed it would lead to one of the greatest international events in the history of the present century.

When the Italia came down to icy terra firma and radioed appeals for aid Amundsen, the ancient foe of Nobile, in a spirit of medieval chivalry, rushed in a French plane to his rescue only to get lost himself.

A Swedish plane had better luck than the Norwegian explorer. It found the Italia, took off Nobile, but got damaged in a second landing.

Two more Scandinavians in a sled driven by a Holland boy of 16, tried to rescue some of the disabled Italians only to get marooned themselves with one of their party left on the stormbound trail blinded and dead before they were saved by a Swedish and Finnish manned plane. The Finn made the fifth nation represented in the rescue of the Italia.

Soviet Russia comes in as the sixth nation in the great drama and with its ice breaker, the Krassin, the Red Republic bringing a flash of light into a cloud of darkness and gloom and relief to a despairing world.

The Krassin rescued 15 men from the icy jaws of death in the bleak polar regions. It did its work with an efficiency that is nothing short of marvellous. The Krassin crew did more: it displayed a heroism and a spirit of sacrifice unmatched by any other people in the world.

Every man who has returned from the Italia expedition, both explorers and rescuers, will be honored for all time and given riches to keep them as long as they live. That does not apply to the crew of the Krassin. Honors they will get from the Soviet it is true but wealth, money, vaudeville engagements and special articles will not be theirs, for things of the heart, the urge to do good or actual achievement are not capitalized in the Soviet Republic. Russians and their government will be satisfied that a big day's work and mighty good job were done. They know the heroes on board the Krassin covered themselves with imperishable glory. Therein lies the great difference between the capitalist system or old order and the new or Soviet regime.

The Dutch laboring boy, Van Dongen, the employe of the Holland-Spitzbergen Coal Company, demonstrated that a son of toil can be as good a hero and as brave a man as any of those who are nurtured in the laps of luxury among the middle and the upper classes.

The Krassin and its brave crew has done more to bring about the recognition of the Soviet Republic by the United States and all other countries than all the pamphleteers and orators who claim to represent the new order of things.

As a Fascist advertising stunt the Italia expedition to the North has not been a success. It, however, kept people's minds off the rebellion against Italian rule in North Africa and away from the shaky financial condition of Italy.

LABOR PARTY SPLIT REMOTE

The sensational manifesto sent broadcast throughout Britain by Maxton and Cook has not caused a split in the Labor Party, which is fortunate, but it has created considerable discussion all over the country.

Many leaders expressed surprise, while others did not conceal their hostility to the manifesto. The Liberal leaders hoped the document would be a prelude to a split or to dissension within the ranks of the party that would nullify its work if not wholly wreck it.

Both Cook and Maxton have disclaimed any intention of a split. They stated to reporters who interviewed them that a split was the farthest from their minds. One good thing was accomplished by the manifesto. It has promoted discussion and has ended the inertia and torpor that was smothering the party. It will also give the left element, principally the I. L. P., new life and more confidence. The National Executive Council of the Independent Labor Party endorsed the Maxton-Cook proposals and ordered meetings in support of them all over the country.

Industrial conditions continue bad and as a result of the prolonged depression in the coal and the steel industry the number on the dole has increased and the number of men who are unable to pay their dues in the unions has alarmingly increased.

American, French, Belgium and German competition in the steel and iron trades; Italian, French, Japanese and other countries in the cotton and silk industries are the chief causes of the continued depression in England. To offset this the findings of the Mond Commission with its brotherhood of Capital and Labor and Co-Partnership proposals was endorsed by the conservative and moderate leaders in the unions and in the Labor Party.

Sir Austen Chamberlain for the government has accepted the Kellogg peace treaty proposals.. As Canada, the Irish Free State and other Free Dominions had ac-

cepted the United States document that is supposed to outlaw war the English Cabinet had no other alternative but to accept. The Labor Party did much to force the hands of the government which has been trying to create in Asia and Africa Monroe Doctrine zones and to gain international legal recognition for them.

There was a dramatic tinge given to the passing of the votes for women bill by the death of Mrs. Pankhurst who died the day the act was passed its final reading in the House of Lords.. Mrs. Pankhurst had gone back on the principles of the suffrage movement and had lined up with the Tory reactionists several years ago. Had she lived Mrs. Pankhurst would have been nominated for the Commons at the next election.

GERMANY'S DIFFICULTIES

Public dispatches and private reports from Germany do not agree regarding the prosperity of the Reich. We also find a different interpretation on the political conditions obtaining there. This is not surprising. Any frank American citizen now visiting Europe on his holidays could tell a story there regarding American conditions and prosperity that would not be in accord with the accounts published in the papers at home or abroad nor in the paragraphs of the platforms of the major parties now battling for control of the country.

We are informed that the life of the Socialist government is not going to be entirely a bed of roses. It is not down for a long and prosperous life. Some shrewd men in Berlin give it a year or two at most. Had the Socialists a complete majority over all parties its road would be much easier. As it stands now the Socialists, though the only party of progress, as differentiated from the Communist which is avowedly revolutionary, has a hard row to hoe. This is due to economic conditions and to the strain of trying to meet the reparations to Belgium, France, England and Canada.

The effect on the rest of Europe is not very pleasant for the Reich, in order to meet the demands of the Dawes Plan, must sell its goods in foreign markets cheaper than any other country as well as maintaining low standards at home.

A great industrial crisis would wreck the government and cause a general election. There is one satisfactory thing in the German situation and that is few want a dictator and the Fascisti are most unpopular all over the Reich including reactionary Bavaria and Pomerania.. Hugenberg, the Northcliff-Hearst of Germany, is agitating for a dictatorship, but instead of meeting with success he is finding his party, the Nationalists, torn into shreds and factions to the despair of the Kaiserites and the old guard of the landed aristocracy.

One reason for the unpopularity of the Fascisti is the treatment of the Tyrolese by their new Italian masters. Reports from Tyrol once the freest spot in the world convey the impression that the Italian rulers are resorting to every form of persecution and political brigandage that any tyrannical government could invent. German minorities in other parts of the new Europe are treated scandalously and subjected to persecution and annoyance that has a medieval color. And all in violation of the League of Nations and its promises to protect minorities as guaranteed in the treaties signed at Versailles and proclaimed to all the world as the last word in international justice by Woodrow Wilson, the last Democratic president of the United States.

RECOGNIZING RUSSIA

Humanity cheers the Italia rescue according to the cartoonist in the Louisville Courier-Journal. He calls it "Recognition of Russia." Our State Department, however, remains obdurate. When its attention was directed to an invitation sent to the Russian heroes to visit this country, a spokesman raised the question of "undesirable aliens!"

MEXICO'S PLIGHT

The unfortunate assassination of General Alvaro Obregon is a tragedy to Mexico and especially to the organized workers whose industrial status has been greatly improved by the Revolution which made the incorruptible and courageous Plutarco Elias Calles President. Under President Calles Mexico inaugurated a progressive, reconstructive policy which is well on the road to success.

The unfortunate assassination of Obregon has given the enemies of organized labor their opportunity. Luis Morones, President of the CROM (Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor) has been charged with complicity in the murder of Obregon. The object of the attacks upon Luis Morones seems to be to create a public sentiment which will make possible a successful onslaught upon labor with a view of destroying all it had gained by revolution.

The organized workers of America regret the assassination of the President-elect of Mexico and hope that the guilty persons will be punished. When the smoke of propaganda clears away, it will be found that President Calles and organized labor may yet save Mexico from the anarchy which foreign exploiters would like to see prevail.

"Say It With Books"

SEARCHING FOR A LABOR PHILOSOPHY

A Theory of the Labor Movement, by Prof. Selig Perlman. The Macmillan Co. 321 pp. $2:25.

THE frontispiece of this book tells the reader that Prof. Perlman has developed some startling ideas of the nature of forces determining the economic life and has also evolved what might be termed "the ultimate philosophy of the labor movement". The reviewer eagerly seized upon a volume which would give the ultimate philosophy which the thinking workers have sought for centuries only to find that instead of a philosophy the book presents an evolutionary history of the struggles of labor against both the capitalist and the intellectual with his ideology.

Prof. S. Perlman, a former Marxian, no longer believes the underlying assumption that labor is God's chosen group to work out a new social order. Labor's real urge, according to the professor, is the control of the job and not the control of industry sought by the intellectual who is trying to foist his ideology upon labor. Prof. Perlman s convictions have been strengthened by the failure of the Socialist and I. W. W., and he explains this failure by showing that there is a natural clash between the job ideology of labor and that of the intellectual who regards labor not as a concrete force dealing with everyday problems of hours, wages, conditions, etc., but as an "abstract mass in the grip of an abstract force". He believes the labor ideology will dominate not only because capitalism is too strong in countries like America, England and Germany but also because the intellectual has underestimated the resistance power of capitalism and because intellectual rationalizing must succumb to the superior trade union mentality and leadership.

The reviewer has no fault to find with the analysis of Prof. Perlman as to the need for the dominance of trade union mentality over that of the intellectual rationalizations about the ushering in of a new social order through independent political action. Labor must dominate and that the intellectual must place his ability at the service of labor is recognized by all intellectuals who have had real contact with labor and its problems. But Prof. Perlman seems to ignore the fact that the intellectuals have failed not because of their faith but because they have been dominated by the Messiah complex instead of the service complex. Labor is in the doldrums just because the job ideology is in the saddle and the service ideology in eclipse. Labor needs the faith of the Marxian concept of industrial control as an energizing force which moves mountains. Without this religious inspiring ideal labor is just a mass of robots without power to resist except as a large inert mass.

The analyses of the labor movements in Germany, England, Russia and America are admirable and show a mastery of the historic method. His best chapter is his interpretation of the failure of the Russian ruling class as contrasted with the success of capitalism in America, Germany and England and especially in Germany and England where Socialism and the intellectuals are strong. In Russia, as in France at the time of the French Revolution, no strong feudal class with the will to power had developed to challenge the power of the Romanoffs. Even with the quick development of capitalism the capitalists did not develop a will to live by their class power but through government favor in the form of bounties. tariffs, etc.

In discussing American labor Prof. Perlman stresses that labor seldom dreams of shouldering the risks of management as embodied in the Plumb Plan because its psychology is shaped by economic opportunity. He shows that the Russian peasant was a **land communist** when the landlords had a monopoly of the good land but a **land individual** when the Russian Revolution destroyed their power; in a word, economic conditions determine their reactions. Hence the American worker believed in "laissez faire" when economic opportunity was unlimited as in the 80's; became anti-monopolistic with the restriction of economic opportunity by rise of trusts and with the acceptance of the trust, they adopted a trade union philosophy dominated by job control. In a word, labor shifted from the optimistic psychology reflecting unlimited economic opportunity to the pessimistic psychology of limited opportunity which necessitated control of the job and not the control of management.

In America, the strength of capital, its policy of benevolent capitalism as embodied in Company Unionism has stunned labor so that it seeks to disarm the suspicion of the public and win over management by co-operation as in the B. & O. Plan, the Mitten Plan, the New Wage Policy, etc. If Prof. Perlman, as a tired but intelligent and analytic radical, had a little more of his old Marxian faith left, he would realize that its gradual acceptance by labor would act as a leaven and an energizing and enlightening force giving it a steady direction away from the slough of despond into which it has been unfortunately sinking. Without this ideal or faith labor lacks a moving force.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

LABOR AND THE COURTS

"Interborough Rapid Transit Company against William Green, et al, Brief for Defendants". Workers Education Bureau Press, New York, 1928. 479 pp. Price $3.

THE brief for the defendants in the I. R. T. case which has just been published by the Workers' Education Bureau is a formidable document which deals not merely with the individual injunction involved in that case, but also as Professor Herman Oliphant says in the preface, with that larger economic structure whose stresses and strains caused this particular dispute to emerge.

The grievances of labor against the courts are of old standing. Practically since its very formation, the American Federation of Labor felt itself impelled to make vigorous declarations and protests against the readiness of the courts to allign themselves with the employers. As early as 1892 the convention of the A. F. of L. complained that in a certain case the judge became virtually the attorney for a giant corporation and a common prosecutor of striking workmen. In 1893 the A. F. of L. again, discussing injunctions, declared the court decisions to be a reckless disregard of the spirit and intent of the American Constitution and undoubtedly an invasion of the laborers' rights. In 1899 the convention of the A. F. of L. instructed the administration to seek legislation to curb the power of the courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

The protests of labor against the hostility of the courts has continued since then but with practically no results. On the contrary, the injunction abuses of the courts grew ever more flagrant and violent. Equally grew the abuses of declaring any law favorable to labor, unconstitutional. In 1907 the A. F. of L. convention demanded that the lower courts shall be deprived of the right to pass on the constitutionality of any law and that the Supreme Court of the U. S. shall be able to do so only by unanimous vote. In 1908 the abuses grew to the extent that the A. F. of L. d cided in convention that it would be best for the unions to refuse to be represented in injunction proceedings by legal counsel since the trend of the court decisions is for the usurpation of the toilers' right. These protests are continued in 1925 when the convention again reaffirms its advice to trade unions to continue to protest the legality of injunctions and declare their activity wholly without the jurisdiction of the equity courts. The convention further finds that it would be an impossible effort to enlighten hostile judges but that it is necessary to secure legislation curbing the power of the equity judges.

The case of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. offered an opportunity to bring forward the grievances of labor in a manner which would command attention. For the first time an injunction was sought against the entire American Federation of Labor. The case also involved the extremely important questions of the Company Union and the Yellow Dog contract. There were two phases to the case: the legal and the great social and economic problem involved. The lawyers in the case, Messrs. Blau, Perlman and Polakoff and the assistant counsel including Prof. Herman Oliphant, naturally had the immediate task of winning this case. On the other hand there was the question of the larger grievances of labor against injunctions and the courts in general. Perhaps these two tasks are not entirely compatible. In any case, the brief acquits itself perfectly with regard to the legal phases of the problem. Its arguments against the validity of the Yellow Dog contract are unassailable and the brief contains many invaluable hints to any labor lawyer who will deal with injunction cases.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said with regard to the wider, and perhaps more important part of the problem. To prove its particular case the brief is ready to admit the existence of bona fide Company Unions, is ready to overemphasize the fact that no strike is involved and that the Unions are almost as useful to the industry and employers themselves in the long run as they are to the workers. Appearing before the Industrial Commission in 1913, Gompers in reply to a question stated: "I know of no means by which the interests of the employers and the workingmen can be harmonious in the full and broad sense of that term." The brief, however, works on an almost entirely contrary assumption.

The book on the whole, giving the views of many experts on various phases of the questions involved, and especially with its keen legal analysis of numerous court decisions, is a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject and would be indispensable to any student of the question.

J. M. BUDISH

ON INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The Problem of Industrial Education, by Arthur B. Mays, The Century Co., New York and London, 1927, 416 pp. $2.25.

THE old apprenticeship disappeared when production methods were revolutionized by the introduction of power machines, leaving industry without adequate means of recruiting its ranks with trained workers. A comprehensive study of the modern problems of industrial education is, therefore, most welcome. Professor Mays in this, his latest, book on the subject discusses the economic and social significance of an up to date system of training individuals for active participation in industry.

He proposes a new system of coordinated industrial education in which there are three important elements involved: (1) industry, (2) the school, and (3) the young worker. As can be readily realized, the workers furnish the young people who are to receive the training. Thus, the problem is of vital interest for labor.

Prof. Mays submits that the new form of cooperative apprenticeship promises a more flexible device for industrial education and that its success in meeting modern conditions will be determined largely by its ability constantly to provide for changing methods of work. In accordance with such views, he examines and constructively criticizes our educational and administrative policies and offers practical suggestions for improvement. An interesting section of the book is devoted to a discussion of the retaining of the female wage earner.

Although written in the form of a text book for classroom study, The Problem of Industrial Education is fit to satisfy the general reader. It contains a great number of selective references on vocational training and kindred subjects. Like the companion volumes of The Century Education Series, this book can be helpful in the important task of revamping our antiquated public instruction systems.

HERMAN FRANK

'Jim' Maurer's Message To Labor Age Boosters:

At the present moment, when the American Labor Movement stands at the crossroads of its career, there is one force which stands out particularly in the valuable work it is doing. That is the magazine LABOR AGE and its Labor Age Service Bureau.

These two agencies have shown, by practical demonstration, that the unorganized can be organized. They have answered the spirit of defeatism which has come over the American workers, by a courageous and effective call for a real fight leading to victory. They have analyzed the movement, in a friendly and constructive way, and have not hesitated to point to those steps which will give the workers power and freedom.

A great deal of devotion has been put into this job, and I feel no hesitancy in asking you to help us during this summer season. We would like you and 199 other friends to secure 10 subscriptions of six months duration, at $1.00 for a subscription. This will enable us to do the work we must do, during this slack season for magazines and like ventures.

Budenz has not been content to edit the magazine from an office, but has gone out into the field and fought with new and resourceful weapons for the workers. His organizing and publicity activities have attracted nation-wide attention. The courage and intelligence that he has put into this work deserve your support, if there were no other reason for spreading the gospel of LABOR AGE.

I am sure that you have been moved enough by the energy and militancy of the magazine and its bureau to give us this help in this small way, and at the same time get over the message to other fighters for the workers' cause.

JAMES H. MAURER, President

Young Workers: We have a proposition to put to you about getting subscriptions for LABOR AGE. Come in and talk it over with our business manager.

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