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Mitten-Mahon Agreement

Its Significance

W. JETT LAUCK

At the Parting of the Ways

J. M. BUDISH

What Price Labor Education?

A. J. MUSTE

Wage-Cutting De Luxe

JOSEPH BROWN

In a Pennsylvania Cigar Factory

For a Greater Labor
Press

Auxiliaries Take on
New Tasks

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25 Cents per Copy

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

3 West 16th Street, New York City

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



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Labor Age

Whither Capital-Labor Cooperation?



Labor Keeps the Boat Moving While Capital Cashes In.

THE process of industrial mechanization goes on apace. It is being carried by Industrial Engineers in the service of Capital from the factory to the workers. The very mind of the worker must be converted into as much of an automatic tool of the employer as the worker's labor power. The new invention carries the deceptive label of capital-labor cooperation. Under this "cooperation" device, as seen by Flambo, the talented cartoonist of the "London New Leader", toil is the share of the laborer, while the employer leaves the steering to himself and the fruits of this "cooperation" go to the same employer, who now appears as the shareholder. Methods of high pressure salesmanship are employed to sell this modern mechanized

"capital-labor cooperation" device to the Henrys at the oars and wheels of industry. The Mitten-Mahon agreement is considered by some as one of the biggest "sales" of the new "capital-labor cooperation" scheme.

On the other hand, there are some who believe both the general "cooperation" plan and the Mitten-Mahon agreement to be of the greatest benefit to labor. It is one of the most momentous issues of the times. Labor Age is exceptionally fortunate to have this urgent question discussed pro and con by such competent authorities on the subject as W. Jett Lauck and J. M. Budish. We hope that our readers will give their most serious thought to the issues raised by their contributions in this issue which we feel should be helpful in clarifying the question.

Mitten-Mahon Agreement

Its Significance—Opening New Era of Industrial Democracy

By W. JETT LAUCK

THE Mitten Plan of industrial cooperation as applied during the past seventeen years in Philadelphia has lacked only one fundamental requirement as measured by Union standards and those of industrial democracy—the recognition of the Union as the basis of collective bargaining. In all other respects it has been in accord with the underlying principles and aspirations of the organized labor movement.

On the other hand, during the past five years, as a result of the new industrial revolution, far-seeing industrial leaders and financiers have, as an essential part of their procedure, recognized the theory that labor should be paid in accordance with its productive efficiency. This carried with it the freely accepted corollary that there should be no limit to the increase of rates of pay of industrial workers so long as costs were reduced and profit margins remained at a reasonable level.

This extraordinary change in attitude on the part of industrial management met with the enthusiastic support of organized labor. It was, in reality, a recognition in principle of labor's fundamental contentions. But the organized labor movement, chiefly because its energies and resources have been absorbed by the necessity of resisting the attacks made upon it by anti-union forces, have not had an opportunity to work out a concrete, constructive program, as the basis for practically applying the new principles and theories of wage determination which have been theoretically accepted by present-day captains of industry. Leaders in industry had no practical plan. The only comprehensive and successful one was the Mitten Plan in Philadelphia. The real significance of the Mitten-Mahon Agreement therefore, lies in the fact that by sanctioning the Mitten Plan, organized labor has now acquired a complete constructive program and method of procedure the practicability of which has been indisputably demonstrated by experience. With this it can practically work for and realize industrial democracy and "cash in" on the wage theories of the new industrial regime.

The New Industrial Revolution

Prior to the World War, gradual, evolutionary changes had been taking place in our wage theories and conceptions of industrial relations. The war period itself practically constituted an interregnum in the development of principles and standards of wage determination. After the armistice, however, the pre-war agitation was renewed with unprecedented vigor. Although advanced conceptions were advocated, and in some cases, sanctioned, there was no radical change in theory or practice actually developed until after the industrial and financial breakdown of 1920-1921, and the resultant period of depression.

It was the effort to revive the prostrated industry and trade of the country that finally led to the new industrial revolution through which the country has been passing during the past five years. Up to the beginning of 1923, a policy of wage deflation and general reduction in costs had been adopted in the attempt to revivify the trade and industry of the country. This procedure was unsuccessful. It was then supplanted by a radical change in the constructive attitude of industrial leadership. A new industrial revolution was inaugurated in the United States, the effects of which are well-known, and the accomplishments of which have become the marvel of the civilized world.

Far-seeing industrial leaders in 1923 finally took issue with those who since 1920 had adopted the fallacious slogan of "a return to normalcy" in the sense of a deflation of wages and prices to a pre-war level. It was contended that "normalcy" was a "vastly higher and more comfortable standard than 1913." It was pointed out further that industry during the past decade had shown an unparalleled growth in productive efficiency. Volume had been increased; labor had become more productive; higher wages had been made possible, and this, in turn, had enabled industrial workers to purchase more of the necessities and comforts of life. Foreign markets and purchasing power being restricted, it was, therefore, concluded that future prosperity was contingent upon further improvements in the living standards and purchasing power of labor. Wage rates, it was pointed out, might be indeterminately increased, labor and other costs as well as prices to consumers, greatly reduced and at the same time generous margins of profits maintained.

Scraping of Old Wage Theories

Old wage theories and standards were, therefore, scrapped along with obsolete machinery and methods. The productivity principle of wage-determination became dominant. Industrial leadership accepted in principle the "living wage", the theory that the increased productive efficiency of labor should be rewarded by a participation in net revenue gains, and unreservedly advocated high wages as an economy, and as the underlying basis of continued industrial achievement because of the dependence of mass production upon increased domestic, purchasing power and consumption.

A Concrete Method of Procedure

Although industry itself had become firmly committed to the new wage-theories, probably because of the pressure of the extraordinary industrial development which occurred, no concrete method was worked out for practically applying the new wage conception, or for guaranteeing to labor a definite share in the increased productive efficiency of industry. Very few industrial leaders

gave any thought to it. Organized labor, and wage-earners in general, on the other hand, as a rule, contented themselves with the gains which they received from declining prices, and by money wage increases which had been secured through the old, conventional methods of conference, mediation, and arbitration. This seems astounding, at first blush, but is fully understandable, when the aggressive movement of large and influential industrial interests to oppose and check unionism since the years 1920-1921, is recalled. Many large employers also during this period stimulated counter movements for so-called "employee representation" or "company unions". This fight against organized labor together with other adverse conditions with which it was confronted, largely exhausted the energies which it might have developed for working out a practical constructive plan for applying the new wage theories and for realizing the maximum results from cooperative and increased productive efficiency.

The Mitten-Mahon Agreement of last Spring came, therefore, at a most opportune time to supply the lack of a concrete constructive method of procedure to organized labor. In this lies its main significance to the labor movement. Its importance is also enhanced by the fact that the basis of this program is not visionary or academic, but to the highest degree practical. The underlying principles as well as the methods employed in applying them have had a demonstrated success under the Mitten Plan in Philadelphia since 1911. From the standpoint of either the public, the investor, the industrial manager, or of labor, the Mitten Plan's acceptability as the basis of the Agreement cannot, therefore, be questioned. It proceeds upon "economic accomplishment" as the foundation of cooperation between labor and management. As to wages, its provisions are:

1. The establishment of adequate basic standards, sufficient for a standard of living of health, comfort, and savings, for employes and their families, before net revenues may be used for a return upon invested capital.

2. The maintenance of the purchasing power of these basic wage-scales by having rates of pay automatically adjusted at designated periods according to changes in living costs.

3. After these satisfactory standards have been established, net revenue is next used to pay proper returns upon invested capital, and,

4. After these basic rights of labor and capital have been thus provided for, it grants to employes, over and above the basic wage-scales, the right of participation in net revenue gains resulting from union-management cooperation, economies, and efficiencies. This right may be worked out by several practical methods. Either by the management fee, as is now the case in Philadelphia, being divided equally between employes and management, or, by giving to employes an agreed upon share of net gains from economies and efficiencies. The latter method was formerly in force in Philadelphia until it was prohibited through court action.

Industrial Democracy Attainable

In addition to its acceptance of the new principles of wage determination the Mitten Plan, as adopted in the

SOUTHERN LABOR TO MEET

A conference which may prove to be of historical importance to the labor movement of the South will take place at Chattanooga, Tenn., October 20. Ten southern state federations of labor have been invited to send representatives to this joint conference which will discuss plans for organizing the unorganized, improving labor legislation and carrying on workers' education in the southland.

The call was sent out by T. A. Wilson, president of the North Carolina federation; W. C. Birthright, secretary of the Tennessee Federation and other southern labor leaders.

We hope to give an account of this meeting in a forthcoming issue.

Watch the South!

Mitten-Mahon agreement, also provides for a sound and complete realization of industrial democracy. Employes may, by use of their cooperative gains, collectively purchase stock in the company in which they are employed, and through their own trustees collectively be represented on boards of directors and participate in management.

Banks and other financial agencies may also be established, the capital stock of which is owned one-half by labor and one-half by management. The institutions, in addition to special services to employes, serve as a means of accumulating capital and credit, which may be utilized to meet the financial requirements of the undertakings in which management and employes are interested. Those enterprises, therefore, to which the Plan is applied may hope to free their policies from the influence of outside fiscal agents or the domination of investment bankers. The policies, in other words, are left to the determination of management and labor, the two factors most directly interested and competent to evolve policies. Furthermore, in the ultimate sense, labor becomes capital.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter

Stated in a summary form, the significance of the Mitten-Mahon Agreement to industry in general and to the organized labor movement in particular, has been that a comprehensive, constructive, and practically successful method of procedure is now available to both organized labor, and industrial management, under the terms of which the present-day, enlightened, principles of wage determination are accepted, with further provision for labor participation in the gains of productive efficiency, and for employe stock-ownership on a collective basis and the sharing with management and capital in the actual operation and control of industry. Organized labor has, in other words, adopted as a method of working procedure with management the most comprehensive plan of industrial efficiency, cooperation, and democracy which has thus far been developed. The Mitten-Mahon Agreement will undoubtedly become the precedent from which the organized labor movement will develop a new era of economic welfare and democratic achievement.

At the Parting of the Ways

Mitten-Mahon Agreement the Danger Sign at the Crossroads

By J. M. BUDISH

SO, we will tell the world. Our difficulties are nearly over. In any case the specific remedy has been discovered and its practicability has been "indisputably demonstrated by experience." Neither has it been patented. It is graciously and freely offered to all organized labor, and like that sesame opens the way to "a new era of economic welfare and democratic achievement." It is indeed distressing that the coming of the new era should have been unnecessarily postponed for seventeen long years, though "the underlying principles" of this new course of treatment "as well as the methods employed in applying them have had a demonstrated success under the Mitten Plan in Philadelphia since 1911."

To be sure this is rather a little hard on organized labor, and somewhat disappointing. We in the trade union movement used to think that we have had a constructive program during all these years of suffering and struggling. Well, it must have been a mistake, a kind of self deception. Organized labor has been groping in the dark; it did not have any complete constructive program and method. Neither was it able itself to develop any such constructive program and method. Until that lucky star arose in the City of Brotherly Love. Mitten is its name! And in the year of Grace, 1911, the new gospel—the Mitten Plan was brought into an unappreciative world. Seventeen precious years were lost. But in the eighteenth year of the Mitten era, organized labor embraced the Plan and lo and behold, by the Mitten sign the Trade Union Movement shall be saved!

You will object that it is gratuitous. It is. But unfortunately there is more to it. It is the danger sign at the crossroads.

A Critical Period

Labor is passing through one of the most critical periods in its history. Amid a clamoring business prosperity we are confronted with widespread unemployment. At the height of the busy season there are at least two million totally unemployed and many more millions working part time. Improved machinery and methods of production are continually reducing the number of workers at the same time that they are rapidly increasing the output. Admittedly this situation can be remedied only by reducing the hours of labor and increasing wages, thus increasing their purchasing power and providing a market for the output of industry.

But instead of wage increases which present industrial developments make indispensable, the millions of wage earners have been compelled during the last two years to fight with their back to the wall against continuous and most unscrupulous attempts at drastic wage reduction. Enough to mention the brutal attacks upon the miners and textile workers. Similar conditions

though in a somewhat less acute form prevail in practically every industry. In this offensive against organized labor Big Business has developed its system of ruthless terrorism to an unprecedented degree: police, constabulary, militia are goaded to inhuman brutality by a constantly kept well-trained permanent army of private "detectives" and agents provocateurs strengthened by the reserves of private company armies with machine guns, artillery, bombs and what not, backed and encouraged by the continually growing shameless disregard for the rights of labor on the part of the courts. While thus seeking to destroy the already existing labor organizations by direct and open warfare, organized, entrenched and profiteering capital aims to prevent further organization by sugaring the yellow dog contract (whether expressed or implied) with company-made "industrial democracy" with all its schemes of "employee representation" "Company Unions" and "welfare capitalism."

Neither should we close our eyes to the situation within our own ranks. Having unbounded faith in the inherent invincible power of organized labor we need not shrink from the most searching self criticism and analysis. Without entering into the consideration of the ever controversial subject of cause and effect it will suffice for our purpose to refer just to the non-controversial facts. During the last several years and "good times" notwithstanding, the ranks of labor have not been growing. The trade unions have been losing ground or at best only marking time. Here and there processes of disintegration have set in. Some demoralization in the ranks cannot be lost sight of.

Under these conditions critical consideration and re-consideration of ways and means was natural and inevitable. A great deal of thinking has been taking place lately within the labor movement with regard to methods and even principles. Practice and theory have been under fire of criticism both among leadership and among the rank and file, more restrained among the first and more restless among the latter. Unfortunately, perhaps also inevitably, there was meanwhile some drifting; here and there a great deal of drifting, and drifting is always down stream.

The Traditional Policy

What has been the traditional policy of the trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L.? Fortunately there are enough authoritative expressions on the subject. The preamble to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor states the principle or theory:

"Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and

will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will **permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.**" (bold type is mine).

The fundamental conflict as between the interests of the capitalist and laborer is clearly recognized. In the words of President Gompers before the Industrial Commission (1913) "no means" are known "by which the interests of the employers and the workmen can be harmonious in the full and broad sense of the term". Accordingly, as President William Green put it, "*Organized labor relied almost exclusively upon its economic strength.*" In principle labor depended upon its own organized strength. In practice it developed a "job and wage consciousness" rather than a class consciousness.*

Mechanization Makes Radical Change Indispensable

As long as craftsmanship and skill were important factors in industry this method based on an ideology of job and wage consciousness was sufficiently effective to make it work. But industrial conditions changed. New and improved methods of production have to a large extent eliminated the dependence of industry upon skilled labor. The mechanic has been replaced by the machine. Industry has become mechanized. The less skill a trade demands the more easily can it replace its own workers by the surplus labor of any other trade. The mechanization of industry makes it next to impossible for the labor movement to depend upon the manipulation of the demand and supply in the labor market of a single trade. In addition industry has become exceedingly centralized. According to the 1925 Census of Manufacturers, one third of the manufacturing establishments employed over 90 per cent of the wage earners and produced almost 95 per cent of the total output of industry. The financial centralization has been even greater. Through trusts, holding companies and mergers the bulk of industrial enterprise is controlled by a comparatively small group of industrial and financial interests.

These developments which took place after the war brought the traditional methods of the labor movement to a kind of stalemate. A radical change became indispensable. The question was and is which shall it be: Shall labor continue to depend mainly upon its own organized strength and change its methods in accordance with the changed industrial conditions, that is developing wage and job consciousness into class consciousness? Or shall labor, on the other hand, continue its method of job and wage consciousness and change its principle, that is instead of depending mainly upon its own organized strength, it shall henceforth put its dependence primarily upon the good-will and cooperation of the employers?

Shall the answer to mechanized mass production be extensive mass organization based on the aroused self

consciousness and human dignity of the working people? Or shall it be sporadic unionization based on the toleration and even cooperation of "enlightened" employers, who may be ready to let us prove to their satisfaction that we can deliver the goods with the same degree of economic excellence and effectiveness as their own private company-union? The first road leads to the extension of all lines of jurisdictional demarcation, from craft unionism to industrial unionism. The second road leads to a further contraction of the present craft divisions by new lines of demarcation based on the individual enterprise, from craft-unionism to plant or company-unionism.

The Two Roads

The first road implies the awakening of the great masses of the working people to self expression, to a personal active interest and participation in all the struggles and activities of the organization. The second road implies the transfer of the centre of gravity of all union efforts into chamber, into the conference room, leaving the great membership by the very nature of things, outside. The first road leads to the strengthening of all the ties of unity and solidarity between *all* working people, putting their loyalty, attachment and devotion to the *entire* labor movement over and above any craft and industrial divisions. The other road makes the loyalty and obligations of every group of workers to their respective "cooperating" enterprise *superior and above* their loyalty and duties towards the other workers of the same industry, not to speak of organized labor as a whole.

One is the road to a greater and strengthened labor unity and solidarity; the other involves the dividing of labor against itself. There is no dodging the issue. Labor has reached the parting of the ways.

The Mitten Plan in itself would be of no special significance. The history of the labor movement records hundreds of similar plans of "employee representation", "industrial democracy" and "profit-sharing" which have come and gone and left little or no trace behind. It is not necessary to question the motives of Mr. Mitten. That here and there are well intentioned employers bent on paternalistic welfare work is neither new nor questioned. The difficulty here is that in the most cases even the best of such paternalistic intentions are of the kind with which the way to hell and destruction of the labor movement is paved.

So the Mitten plan itself would be of little or no significance. But unfortunately there is a drifting tendency which makes the Mitten-Mahon agreement acquire the significance of a danger sign at the crossroads. There seems to be a tendency upon the part of some of the responsible leadership of the Labor Movement to put less reliance, in fact all too little reliance, upon the organized strength of labor itself. We come across such misgivings and doubts as, "During the formative period organized labor relied almost solely upon its economic strength while today it places immeasurable value upon the convincing power of logic, facts and the righteousness of its cause... The trade union movement has been passing through that period when physical controversies and the tactics of force

* Compare Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement. 1928, Macmillan, N. Y.

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were most effective; it is now in a period when its leaders must seek the conference room, and there, by exposition and demonstration, convince conferees of the justice and wisdom of labor's position".

The full significance of the above statement will be realized when we remember that organized labor has always put very great emphasis upon the convincing power of logic, facts and the righteousness of its cause. No one will accuse the A. F. of Labor that since its very foundation it ever neglected any opportunity to get into conference with the other side or to try to convince conferees of the justice of its position. Except that in the final analysis, if and when the other side *would not* be convinced, (because of the fundamental disharmony between the interests and points of view of labor and capital) organized labor had sufficient faith both in the righteousness of its cause and in its own strength not to shrink back from "physical controversies and the tactics of force", or simply to strike. The above quoted expression would seem to indicate that drifting tendency to question not so much the sole use of economic strength (which was never the case), but all and any dependence upon it; the tendency to consider the conference room as the last resort. But what if the conferees, because of their antagonistic interests and conflicting point of view cannot or will not be convinced? The quoted remarks would apparently suggest the answer, that in that case labor has to take a back seat and abide the result.

Leads to Disruption of Organized Labor

This drifting tendency found a striking embodiment in the 1928 Mitten-Mahon agreement. President Mahon of the Electric Railway employees is not quite as enthusiastic as W. J. Lauck. He does not see the millennium knocking at the door. He appreciates that the agreement is a "radical change" quite open to criticism.

Still he believes that this agreement "is a step in the right direction, an effort at laying the foundation for the establishment of cooperation that ultimately will bring economic justice and fair play, not alone to the workers but to humanity itself."

Let us see. But perhaps the simplest test to which it should be subjected is at least the test of practical accomplishment. What did the union gain under this Mitten-Mahon Agreement. And at what price?

The Mitten Plan, developed in 1911 after a defeated strike, in the usual way of every Company Union. In the words of the report of the Executive Council approved by the A. F. of L. Convention, 1927:

"The Company Union is a development of personnel administrators. For administrative purposes it was necessary to have a medium of communication between management and workers.

"Two general purposes have been behind Company Unions. A hostile move to displace trade unions and an effort to provide a channel through which the company could have collective relations with its employees"... in order "to control and influence the workers". The primary purpose in the latter respect admittedly being to secure the utmost efficiency upon the part of the workers, both in quality and quantity, speed up production, and increase output to the limit of human

energy, ability and endurance. And last but not least to secure the proper frame of mind upon the part of the workers which will make them accept voluntarily cuts in wages whenever the Company thinks it must have in order to meet competition, bad times, etc.*

The origin, purpose and effect was in no way different than of the common Company Union. The fact that the employees were accorded somewhat greater benefits or that the social welfare program is somewhat wider, cannot change its character.

The Simple Test

At the time of signing the Union did not gain a single new member. The company on the contrary gained a guarantee of immunity with regard to its present company unions in Buffalo and Philadelphia. Now, as to the future, when the Mitten Management will acquire some new railway line. The Union may then make the apparent gain of securing union control without any too great effort, and with the friendly cooperation of the company. But measured in terms of real conditions the workers on this unionized property will not have gained anything at all as compared with the non-union workers of the old Mitten lines. What is more the agreement will have been brought to them ready made, almost exactly in the same way as it came to the present non-union employees of the Mitten Management. But there will be this vital difference. Any dissatisfaction there may be among the non-union workers against the Mitten Plan is now blamed by them on the employer, whereas on the newly unionized properties the workers will inevitably put the blame on the Union. Secondly in order to live up to the agreement the Union will have to take over or at least share in the function of the personnel management for securing the greatest possible results. In the mind of the workers who have been brought into the Union under a wholesale arrangement in the making of which they had no share, the Union may thus appear as a mere additional agency of the Management. What inducement will there be, under these circumstances, for the workers of the present non-union lines to vote for joining the Union? Unless the Mitten Management shall prefer to put the burden and responsibility of speeding up the workers upon the Union rather than upon its own personnel management. But such an arrangement would convert the Union into a mere attachment or agency of the employer. Such a desire is certainly not looked for by the Union—but the danger of its leading that way is undeniable.

Now if the Mitten-Mahon agreement was merely one of the routine understandings between a union and an employer there would be little cause for alarm. Unions are some times successful in getting what they want, while at times they are compelled to agree to less favorable conditions. The moment, however the Mitten-Mahon agreement is put up as a program as something for labor to follow, as the beginning of a new era it becomes a very grave and serious menace. Beware of the road that leads to the disruption and death of the labor movement!

*See Amended Answer, etc., of A. F. of L. in I. R. T. Case, Volume II., Pages 912 to 1055.

Wage-Cutting De Luxe

Fishers Lower Production Costs

By JOSEPH BROWN

IN 1922, the Fisher Body Corporation leased the buildings of the Cadillac Motor Company located at Amsterdam and Cass Avenues, for five years. A sign was placed on the roof informing the world that it was now Fisher Body Plant No. 33. Alterations were made in the building, and the necessary machinery and equipment was installed. A group of workers was recruited from Plant No. 10 to start production in the new plant.

A number of workers protested that they were getting ten dollars a day at Plant No. 10 and that they would not receive that much in the new plant, as it would take weeks before the plant would be producing peak production. Their objections were overcome by the positive assurance that they were guaranteed ten dollars a day until the production had reached a certain point, when they would work on a piece work basis, as before.

In about a month the factory was going full blast. The piece work rate for paneling doors was one dollar. All the door panelers completed ten jobs daily, making \$55 per week. These workers had been formerly working on Peerless and Cadillac bodies, and now they were working on Oakland doors exclusively. They did not have to work hard, as any of them could have completed their day's work in six or seven hours.

A month later, the price was cut to 90 cents per job. This evoked but little resentment; the workers merely made two extra doors and thereby earned \$10.80. A few months later, the workers in that department were told that the price had been cut to 75 cents per door.

Production stopped immediately and the men gathered in groups and indignation ran high. They decided that they would not panel doors at that price and before the straw boss could locate the superintendent, the panelers had walked out. The next day, a meeting with the superintendent resulted in an agreement that a certain part of the work the men had been doing by hand, would now be done by others on machines, also that the 75 cent rate was to stand. The panelers now had less work to do on each door, so the cut was not as drastic as it would have been otherwise. The panelers went to work again and now turned in fourteen jobs per day which amounted to \$10.50 per day.

Fishers Improve "Technique"

The Fishers had been trying for a long time to make a die that would stamp out a door panel in one piece. They finally succeeded in making a die which would stamp out the panel in two pieces. This improvement cost a welder, a number of torch solderers and finishers their jobs.

It also resulted in the price for door paneling being cut to forty cents. The skill of the workers was disappearing rapidly as the work was being simplified. The

idea of joining the Auto Worker's Union did not occur to them. They had the idea that they were entitled to ten dollars per day, and if the piecework rate was cut, the remedy was to produce more. So the panelers "stepped on it" and turned in twenty-five jobs per day, thereby making their daily pay of ten dollars. Now the panelers had to work harder as they could no longer get out their day's production in six or seven hours as before. But shortly afterward, the price was cut to 35 cents. The panelers now worked faster than ever and turned in twenty-nine jobs per day, thereby receiving \$10.15.

Cheaper Labor

In the meantime, Fishers had been having a new factory built at Pontiac, which is about twenty miles from Detroit. It was stated at that time that the new factory cost two million dollars to build and equip. It is located about a mile from the Oakland factory. When the new factory was ready, the machinery and equipment were moved there from Plant No. 33. Most of the workers refused to go to the new plant.

In due course of time production was started and the foremen were instructed to cut the price of all operations twenty per cent. This brought the price of one door down to twenty-eight cents. Most of the workers were new men, in many cases the sons of farmers and they had no ten dollar a day tradition behind them. After they became familiar with the work of paneling doors, they turned in thirty-three doors per day, making nine dollars daily. Conditions grew worse steadily and it was not long before the price dropped to twenty-five cents. Surely rock bottom had been reached at last! Not so fast. From twenty-five cents the price was cut to twenty cents. The workers now worked harder than ever before, completing forty operations per day.

All complaints about the worsening conditions were met invariably with the reply, "If you don't like it, you know what you can do." The workers were helplessly bewildered. They were producing more than ever before, and the more they produced, the less wages they received.

However, rock bottom had not yet been reached. The price dropped from twenty cents to eighteen cents, then to fifteen cents. Workers were quitting continually and being replaced by new men.

From Bad to Worse

From fifteen cents the price dropped to twelve cents. It is only a question of time before the straw will be piled on that will break the camel's back. The writer is unable to state what the price for paneling doors is now.

The foreman of the department once said that he intended to cut the price until the cost of paneling a door was nine cents. Since the cut to twelve cents took place

Editorial Comments by Readers

In a recent issue we invited our readers to contribute their comments on various articles appearing in LABOR AGE as well as upon various questions facing the labor movement.

All such communications should be confined to the issues under consideration and should be limited to no more than 500 words.

Brother Ebert starts the ball rolling, as follows:

ARE TRUSTS GETTING BETTER?

Editor, Labor Age:

I have read M. H. Hedges' articles in Labor Age with interest and profit for some time, but I am somewhat puzzled by his latest contribution, "Bigger and Better Trusts," especially in view of some facts disclosed in other articles appearing in the August issue. For instance, the title itself, "Bigger and Better Trusts." Where are the trusts that possess both of the qualities embodied in this phraseology? Are they to be found in the electrical industry, for example? Is the General Electric Company with its non-unionism and paternalistic hypocrisy a bigger and better trust than any of its fore-runners?

Turn to the article in the August issue, "Body by Fisher," and note the degrading transformations in the lot of the skilled workers that took place as the trusts in the auto industry grew more powerful. Turn also to the article on Raskob, and note the enslaving influences that the auto trusts have upon conditions of the workers in the mining industry.

Now it may be argued that trusts must be viewed as superior, technological and economic developments. Granted. But I should think we ought not to be concerned with that so much as with their labor phases.

Mr. Hedges asserts that "the prediction of certain classical economists that the middle class was destined to disappear is not borne out." It may be contended that the modern mergers prove the increasing ascendancy of the middle class and that the myriads of white-collar slaves have nothing to do with the growth of an ever numerically larger working class that is robbed and exploited by the owning class. It may be argued that the farmer class—one of the many middle class elements—is now flourishing more than ever before. It will be remembered that in the Jacksonian era it was the dominant

economic and political class. But isn't it a fact that many farmers are drifting into the employ of these self-same auto mergers so well described in the August issue of Labor Age?

Can one contend that the ratio of retailers increases in effectiveness as the chain store systems grow more widespread? Or that university professors have really more influence on education than the power utility trusts? That, in short, the middle class is much in evidence despite its increasing impotence?

Mr. Hedges seems to argue not that disappearance implies a loss of economic and political control and general social effectiveness, but a literal disappearance in numbers only. Of course, one may well say that the middle class is increasing in numbers, and that instead of disappearing they are appearing in numbers that are overwhelming. But, then, one might also add, "But what does that amount to, anyway? The stage army makes a good showing when it comes to filling the stage; but when the real players come on the scene they fade into the background and their existence is forgotten. They are supernumeraries only."

One thing that Mr. Hedges says we can all agree upon, namely, "This is no time for shibboleths, militant manifestos and slogans, but for hard thinking." What shall Labor do in view of the development of the super-trusts? That is the question.

JUSTUS EBERT.

Brother Hedges' Reply

I have read my article again in the August number of LABOR AGE and cannot understand why Brother Ebert could possibly get the conception that I was boosting for bigger and better trusts. The whole article guarded by facts is depreciative of the tendencies which it depicts.

Personally, I think that we in the labor movement have suffered considerably by a too ready explanation of economic changes in the easy terms of Marxian philosophy. This does not mean that I do not appreciate what Marx did for economics, although I do not subscribe to some of his views. What we need most is to see what has actually happened and adjust ourselves to those conditions, not to mythical conditions.

M. H. HEDGES.

two years ago, it is very likely that the foreman now has realized his nine cent ambition.

Now let us trace the history of the Oakland door. For paneling that door, the successive prices paid were: \$1.00, 90 cents, 75 cents, 40 cents, 35 cents, 28 cents, 25 cents, 20 cents, 18 cents, 15 cents, 12 cents, ???

While this price cutting was going on, the door panelers had the dubious satisfaction of reading full page advertisements in the newspapers extolling the car for which the door was made. These ads. stated that in this instance the Oakland Company, "was now able to offer greater values to the public due to improved methods and lower production costs."

The history of this door is identical with the history of every operation in body building. Not only have the door panelers gone through this process, but the framers, set-up men, molders, finishers, door hangers, trimmers, etc. have had the same experience. The more the workers produced the less wages they received.

Never was the time for organizing the auto workers more propitious than now. Divested of their skill by machinery, speeded up to the limit of human endurance, with wages growing ever smaller, the auto workers are more responsive to union propaganda than ever before. The crying need of the auto workers is a powerful industrial union.

Auxiliaries Take On New Tasks

Women to Prove Their Mettle

By CARA COOK

Believing that the staff and equipment of the School should not lie idle during the summer months, Brookwood Labor College has conducted summer institutes of one week or more for the past four years. Groups of between 25 and 50 trade unionists have gathered for these sessions to discuss the problems of their particular industries and of the Labor movement in general, while working in a regular vacation on the side. Last year the women captured the idea with a week's institute for auxiliary members, the first of its kind. They repeated it this year on a larger scale, as described in the accompanying article.

“**A**UXILIARY” groups of “wives, mothers, sweethearts and daughters” of trade unionists have for some time been gaining increased recognition by the labor movement as necessary organizations for backing up the purposes and achievements of labor. Arising often out of an immediate need, such as strike relief work or a union campaign, the women's organizations in the past have functioned briefly and then, acutely conscious of their “auxiliary” nature, settled back on their laurels or lapsed into semi-social, dues-paying, convention-marching, ritual-bound organizations.

Around some of the older auxiliaries there still clings an aura of formalism. Their Women's Pages in the official journals exist rather through the tolerant courtesy of the editor than because of the dynamic messages they carry. Considerable formality still exists in the conventions of auxiliaries which meet simultaneously with the men's conventions, and which suffer endless speeches on the Function of Union Auxiliaries and the Duties of Trade Union Wives, without any very strenuous post-convention attempts being made to put these admirable ideals into practice.

Of late, however, a new note has been creeping into auxiliary activities. For one thing, the women with spunk and a little imagination have come to the conclusion that they don't care to be “auxiliary” to anything,—that there is plenty of work for them to tackle in the labor movement on their own account, and that no amount of condemnation or pleading by them is going to ingratiate them with the men's organizations until they get out and “do their stuff”.

An Educational Approach

The most significant aspect of this “new freedom” is the adoption of the educational method of approach. “The Women's Auxiliary and Workers' Education”, “Women's Auxiliaries as a Field for Mass Education”, and “Workers' Wives and Education” are some of the

significant titles of recent articles on this subject. Labor's better half is going in strong for education!

This is, of course, a natural sequence of the general workers' education movement, itself still young and growing. Labor has turned to self-education as one of the most hopeful means for a better social deal, and now Labor's women-folk are organizing their educational activities to the same end.

The outstanding experiment of this educational tendency of this awakening auxiliary movement (apologies to the House that Jack Built!) seems to me to be the recent institutes held under the auspices of the Machinists' Auxiliary educational department, of which Mrs. Grace B. Klueg is chairman. In the same class should be mentioned such conferences as the one held at Unity House in July, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League and the auxiliaries of Wyoming Valley, Pa.

The first of these institutes was held at Brookwood Labor College last summer and was described in LABOR ACE for September, 1927. The second one was also held at Brookwood, from July 22-29, and marked considerable progress over the first. The 30 women represented three times as many organizations this year, including the coal miners, machinists, lithographers, typographers, plumbers, painters, engineers, post office clerks, and teachers. Moreover, all but four of the delegates came on their own hook this year, whereas most of the members of the first institute came on scholarships. Evidently they wanted to come enough to pay the \$20 that a week of study and play at a Brookwood summer institute costs.

Discussions in the Wee Sma' Hours

The system which has seemed to work out best for these institutes is to hold a lecture and discussion in the morning, one in the evening, and to leave the afternoons free for recreation, auto trips, swimming, and rest—although the last somehow gets scant attention. This does not allow either for the midnight and early morning sessions carried on in the dormitory bathrooms, corridors, rooms and elsewhere!

Such discussions are usually initiated in some such fashion as the following:

Voice From Tub: “Have you seen that new movie, ‘The Street Angel?’ I thought it was fine.”

Voice Through Tooth Paste: “Yes, I saw it; that was the week the Pathe News showed the Carranza funeral pictures. Wasn't that sad! You know I never thought about the Pathe News showing so many militaristic pictures until that speaker on peace mentioned it this morning, but come to think of it, there are a lot. I think I'll stop and tell the manager next time that I don't like that kind of news pictures, as she suggested.”

V. F. T.: “Yes, that helps some, I suppose, but don't

you think it is more important to strengthen our unions first, so that our opinions about war will have some influence?"

V. T. T. P.: "Well, that sounds fine, but how fast are you going to get anywhere that way? It's better to concentrate on little things, and. . ."

Figure in Kimono, entering: "What's this, are you talking about women's auxiliaries and peace,—well *my* idea is. . ." and they're off for another hour.

The scheduled sessions of the institute included talks on Women in Industry by Fannia Cohn of the Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Workers' Education by Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers' Education Bureau; History and Present Issues of the American Labor Movement, by A. J. Muste, chairman of the Brookwood faculty and leader of the institute; Vocational Education, by Rebecca Shapiro of the Teachers' Union; Women and World Peace by Josephine Schain of the League of Women Voters, and Manumit School for Workers' Children, by Nellie Seeds, Director, with a trip to Manumit for illustration.

Trade Union Children

The subject of child training came up several times. These women are mothers as well as trade unionists' wives—in fact three of them brought their children along, and one family had three generations represented.

The formation of mothers' study groups was advocated by Dr. Benjamin Gruenberg of the Child Study Association. Mothers can pool their experiences in this way, and "find out that their child is not an unusual animal, but quite normal in his reactions. In the process of complaining in order to get help, moreover, mothers often find out that half the trouble is with themselves," he said.

Women's auxiliaries as agents for correcting the evils of the present school system were emphasized by Abraham Lefkowitz, Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers. No democratic process of learning can occur, he said, when schools are regimented and over-crowded as our large schools are today. Neither can a vital contact between teacher and pupil be set up when teachers live in constant fear of losing their jobs if they allow freedom of discussion in their classes. School boards must be remade by the election of members sympathetic to Labor; a job in which auxiliary groups can take an important part.

The chance for women to be active politically was also emphasized by Mabel Leslie of the Women's Trade Union League, in a talk on Labor Legislation. Social legislation benefitting workers is the result of slow, hard work,—gaining a guard here on the painter's scaffolding, a ventilating fan there to sweep out poisonous gas fumes, and compensation provisions to cover unemployment, accidents and occupational diseases, "of which there are 200 known kinds and an indefinite number of unknown."

In lobbying women are better than men, Miss Leslie said, and in arousing public interest in their own communities and getting letters written to legislative representatives, women, who can get around more and talk more than men, are a big factor.

The educational work of women's auxiliaries was set forth in a paper by Theresa Wolfson of Hunter College, who explained the increasing interest in educational activity of which we have spoken by the fact that "it tells the WHY to workers' wives of the very things they have experienced, and places upon them the responsibility for intelligent action and some control over their own problems.

"The kinds of information in which they are interested and which may form the basis of group study include, 1. Facts about the industry in which their husbands work, its control, its labor policy, its working conditions. 2. Trade unionism, what it is, its functions, its history and the contributions of women's auxiliaries to it. 3. Home management and the problems of consumption—spending the family income; cooperative buying and union label products. 4. The child, his home training, his school education, and his up-bringing as a good trade unionist's youngster. 5. Women in industry, their wages, working conditions, and relation to the labor movement and society. 6. The legal status of women in their own states and in the United States."

Control of Power Resources

The menace to the consumer of increasing monopoly of power control was pointed out by Harry Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy. In the coming electrical age, with machinery steadily augmenting the army of unemployed, who is to own the sources of electrical power and reap the benefits therefrom? What have experiments proved as to the feasibility of public ownership? Why are the private power associations spending millions of dollars to smuggle anti-public ownership propaganda into school text books, and to buy over professors and lecturers? And, in answer to the question, what can the women's auxiliaries do about it?—Know your own electricity rates, and why you pay what you pay; become informed on local utilities and power companies, their stock ownership, their labor policy, their political relations; check up on the text books in local schools; dig up facts about public ownership in Canada and elsewhere.

A "testimonial" meeting at which the delegates passed around advice and experiences was held on one evening, and again the idea cropped out that what is done, we must do ourselves. The results of intensive union label campaigns were reported. Strike relief work among the coal miners, helped on with a concert and a little publicity, was described. The advantages of being independent politically were advanced by a delegate, formerly living in Wales, England. And Mrs. Klueg spoke of the formation of the Machinists' Auxiliary educational department, and the slow progress and hard work it involved.

"But out of such work in the auxiliary movement," she declared, "comes a new vision of the labor movement as a whole, not confined to a single craft or city, but uniting all workers throughout the world. And there comes also a great enrichment and broadening of one's own personal life, through new knowledge and increased contacts, and a happiness in being able to do a little something towards making the world better for those who are coming after us."

In a Pennsylvania Cigar Factory

Intelligent Insistence on Rights Commands Respect

By EDITH KOWSKI

Edith Kowski, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, graduated from Brookwood Labor College in June, and after using up considerable shoe leather finally landed a job in an Allentown, Pa., cigar factory. Conditions of work there are described in the following extracts from one of her letters. Edith left the White Owls in July to go further south with two other Brookwood graduates, to pick up work in some southern textile mill and study its conditions. We hope to print more of her observations later.

DO you want to know something of how the rest of the world slaves? At least in that part of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania known as Allentown? Something especially of my two weeks' experience in a cigar mill in that city?

Firstly the thing that troubled me much was that I saw so many, many young girls going to and working in the mills, and when I remarked about it to the "Y" secretary, she answered, "Yes, 40 per cent of the girls between the ages of 14 and 16 years work in the mills of Allentown". I found through questioning them that they marry young and not because they want to get out of the mill, for, it seemed, they all expected to go back to work after they were married; they wanted either to help buy a home or a car. And some said, "What should I do home alone, when I can work in the mill and earn *money*?" Their last thought on earth or the thing furthest from their minds was education. They couldn't see what use one could make of it.

Many of the mothers work until a few months before the baby is born, and when the kiddie is six months or a year old, the mother goes back to the mill, leaving her child or children, as the case may be, with some mother on the same street, who has too many kiddies of her own to leave to go to work, or with some married woman who keeps boarders. You can imagine the care these kiddies get. Many mothers, too, work in the silk mill on the 2 to 11 p. m. shift, some of them earning, and this is high, \$20 a week at weaving. This shift is a straight through shift, the only stopping that is done is at quitting time; no time is taken off for meals. They eat and work at the same time. Although they are piece workers, if they stop they must work an hour later. The shift is originally a ten hour one, but doing without a meal hour, makes it only nine working hours.

Now, for the cigar mills. Brothers, when you leisurely blow the smoke from a "White Owl" cigar or any other cigar made by the General Cigar Co., into the breeze; give the girls that have made them a thought, and in the future smoke only union made cigars; at

least you can hope that the conditions and hours aren't quiet so bad.

Working in a Humidor

In case there any among you who as the hot house flowers, like neither the sun, or object to getting sunburnt, working in these mills from sunrise to sunset is a sure protection for you, and as a safe-guard against becoming shriveled up, since windows are only opened a few inches on rare occasions, (because the stock dries up and the *Company loses money*) the room is ventilated by a water system that keeps it like a humidor. In this atmosphere the majority of the girls work from 6:45 a. m. until 6 p. m. with a scant 45 minutes for lunch. They get 85 cents for making 1000 cigars. If they make 4000 cigars on the average every day of the week the number of the machine is hung on the honor roll. These honor roll girls earn a little over \$18 per week, (some honor!) for being the best slaves, and that isn't one half. The State Law, framed and hanging on the wall, has the inspector's signature attesting to the fact that only 54 hours are worked in this mill. Either the inspector is one of those liberal fellows who throws in an hour or two for good luck and still calls it 54 or else the manufacturers don't believe in signs or maybe can't read English. Anyway I believed enough in the sign to refuse to work over 54 hours. Half the girls didn't know what was on the posted state law and when they did, it didn't trouble them much, they worked and would work. It meant more money, as long as the machine was kept going.

Every girl must clean her part of the machine at noon and night, and on Saturday with soap and water and Dutch cleanser wash the brass and nickel on the machine. And wash the bulbs and shades of the electric lights over her head, too, and sweep the floor. I rather naively asked the head foreman whether he didn't think the girls ought to scrub the floors, too. This work, by the way, is all done on their own time. They get no extra pay for it. Every girl must buy an apron (it costs about 90 cents) and wear it at work, and launder it herself, of course.

This firm employs a whole floor of about 300—14 year old girls. They put the bands on the cigars for \$7 or \$8 per week.

I was supposed to receive \$12 a week; but couldn't stand a steady week of that grind, so I made the munificent wage of \$10, having stayed out a day each week.

Presenting the Union Message

The workers are so docile. When a few saw that I gained my points by kicking they then were willing to listen when I told them they could get better conditions if they went out on strike. The boss, I said, would be forced to give in to their terms, for inexperienced workers, are all he could get to take their places and

INJUNCTION EVIL REACHES CLIMAX



The journal of the United Mine Workers of America, whose cartoon we reproduce, asks, "How much further will the injunction go?" Certainly it can't go much further. And until this vile weapon is destroyed, we must expect to have our organization campaigns stifled and our strikes severely handicapped, except where it can be defied intelligently. It becomes clear that only through organized and independent political efforts will Labor be able to make an end of the disgrace and menace of injunctions.

they (the inexperienced) would break enough machines in learning so that the boss would be all too willing to give in to their demands. They said "Yes, that sounds good but we could never do that here." But I told them it could and would be done and it won't be long either, even though they seem to love nothing better than to slave for endless hours for wretched pay and miserable conditions.

When 5:30 p. m. came and the machines were still running, I asked the foreman for an o. k. to go home, told him I was used to working a 44 hour week in a union shop and getting twice as much pay, that I was tired. "You're tired," he asked, and I said "Yes, I am tired." "Well, you are supposed to work until the machine stops," he said. "Well," said I, "I did enough work and I am tired." "All right," he agreed. "Then go on home." The second night I did work. The third night I walked out without asking and the fourth night he himself closed down the machine at 5:30 and said I could go home, and after that I left at 5:30 every night. One morning after I had been out a day, my chair had disappeared. The forelady said there were no extra chairs around; the foreman said the same, the head forelady dittoed the other two with a growl like the wolf of Red-Riding-hood fame. So I hid me to the head-foreman and told him I would not stand all day at work, that unless he saw to it that I got a chair I would report it to the office. Surely the company wasn't so poor it couldn't afford a few extra chairs. In an hour I got my chair, and directly after I got one of the best machines to work at, although I had only

been there a week. The rule is that learners must wait their turn for machines, the time being from two weeks to three months. The girls were dumbfounded. Before that they said (of course behind my back) "What in hell is she always kicking about!" But at the last triumph, they became friendly and smiled, and that's when I made my little union strike talk to them.

The foreman, by the way, told me he hailed from Ohio. He said they had a 50-hour law there and the state was strict in upholding it. I asked him if he knew Mr. Bigelow who was mainly responsible for putting through that law. He said he didn't, so I advised him to look him up, that it wouldn't do him any harm to learn more about people who are responsible for getting better working conditions for the workers, especially since he brags about coming from Ohio.

Inducements to Stay

And the funniest part of all is, when I told the foreman I was quitting he sent the forelady over to urge me to stay. "You will get used to it, and I'll see that you get a good crew to work with," she said. I told her I would never get used to such conditions nor to working for such miserable pay; but that I may come back some day to organize the workers into a union, so that all would have better conditions. Well, she was *sorry*, I was leaving, anyway. And so I bid adieu to my first job this year, having added perhaps nothing toward making the workers load a bit lighter, but *experience* to work with in the next cigar mill I land into.

Flashes from the Labor World

Hundreds of Gallant Strikers Arrested in New Bedford

The way to defy injunctions and police bans on picketing is—to defy them. That is the advice given workers by the American Federation of Labor, but it has taken plucky New Bedford cotton mill strikers to show how to carry it out in face of the inevitable hostility of city officials, police and courts. Because they believe peaceful mass picketing is their right, nearly 500 strikers have been jailed; more than 1,000 arrests have been made; nearly a quarter of a million dollars have been posted in bail-bonds; and many strikers face two years in jail.

First pickets were jailed for "parading without a permit." Then it became "rioting". Police compromised later to permit 25 strikers to picket each mill. Then that was cut to three. As a result nearly every active striker in New Bedford, from Secretary William E. G. Batty of the Textile Council down to the humblest Portugese spinner has been jailed and given sentences ranging from two to six months. On one day 275 pickets were thrown into a jail fit to hold less than a hundred.

In these days when too many are discouraged because labor's fighting spirit is low, every earnest member of the labor movement will rally to the financial aid of these heroic 27,000 textile workers. New Bedford has earned the gratitude of American labor for a thrilling, noble demonstration of its ability to fight against the reduction of a standard of living already miserable. Let no one in labor's ranks say there is little to do when little children go hungry because their parents refuse to allow an average \$19 wage to be cut to \$17.10. In every city and town, rally your fellow workers to the aid of New Bedford.

* * *

Poor old Gen. Apathy! Not only did strikers boot him out of New Bedford, but he finds all North Carolina in revolt. The Old North state is organizing, unionizing, demanding a slice of the profit melons which are so large and juicy in the south. And if North Carolina can fight for unionism, don't say that New York, Penn-

sylvania, Illinois and California can't. Art Shields, Federated Press correspondent who is surveying the south for labor, reports the North Carolina Federation of Labor brimful of cockiness and confidence. Thousands of Winston-Salem tobacco workers—they make your Camels and Prince Albert—are lining up in the union. Building trades report big membership gains. The Piedmont Organizing Council has made the old state perk up, rub its eyes and doff its bonnet to organized labor. International organizers grown gray in the movement say they never saw the like of it. If North Carolina can do it, why can't you?

* * *

Pepperell Mfg. Co.—you see the name often in ads—started the textile wage cutting campaign in New England last winter right before Christmas. Reliance Mfg. Co. is notorious as a prison labor boss in making work shirts and children's clothing. These two prize anti-labor firms have joined hands to produce a line of children's playsuits that reek with poverty wages and prison labor. Pepperell—makers of sheets in northern mills—turn out the cloth in Alabama mills which is taken to Alabama prisons to be made up by convicts employed by Reliance. These misery-laden goods are offered on the market as Honor Bright and Yank Junior rompers. Union mothers will avoid them like a plague. And union housewives will remember too that they don't have to buy Pepperell sheets. Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., at Salem, Mass., turns out Pequot sheets made by happy men and girls protected by a solid union organization in the United Textile Workers.

* * *

Massachusetts state branch of the A. F. of L. met in Salem to toss out as constructive a week's piece of business as any state federation in the country can show. They stood rock-fast for the 48-hour law for women workers in textile mills and then demanded that the legislature expand that law to include all women workers. These labor men and women want no girls toiling in factories of

any sort after 6 p.m. and so they demanded that, too. Then they want the private insurance graft cut out of workmen's compensation by establishing a state fund. The sore issues of injunctions and yellow dog contracts were also included in a labor platform that candidates for election this fall must accept if they want organized labor's quarter million votes.

* * *

Bob Dunn, indefatigable researcher in non-union industries and Federated Press correspondent, is prying the lid off Detroit's bunk-glorified auto industry. And did he find the five-day week? Not much. Right now they're working 50 to 60 hours a week turning out snappy new models, although this winter half these workers may be stamping the ground before employment offices as raw winds howl down from Ontario. The nine-hour day is prevalent, he finds, with overtime worked at straight pay and average wages much lower than the \$1,800 of 1925. Wage cuts are epidemic, the bosses taking one plant or department at a time to keep workers from rebelling together. Let's get on with that job of organizing Detroit.

* * *

Anti-A. F. of L.: That's the charge against Brookwood, only resident labor college in the country. The A. F. of L. executive council said so, in excommunicating Brookwood from the official department. Teachings, the council said, were "not in tune" with A. F. of L. principles. As a matter of fact, all Brookwood teaches is the imperative need of organizing American workers in those vast deserts of organization, autos, steel, meat packing, tires, machine making. If that is treason, then we need more of it. Brookwood's directors, every one of them a staunch trade unionist, have requested a hearing before the council inasmuch as Brookwood was tried and found guilty without the least opportunity to defend itself.

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

Wuxtry! Another Peace Treaty Signed

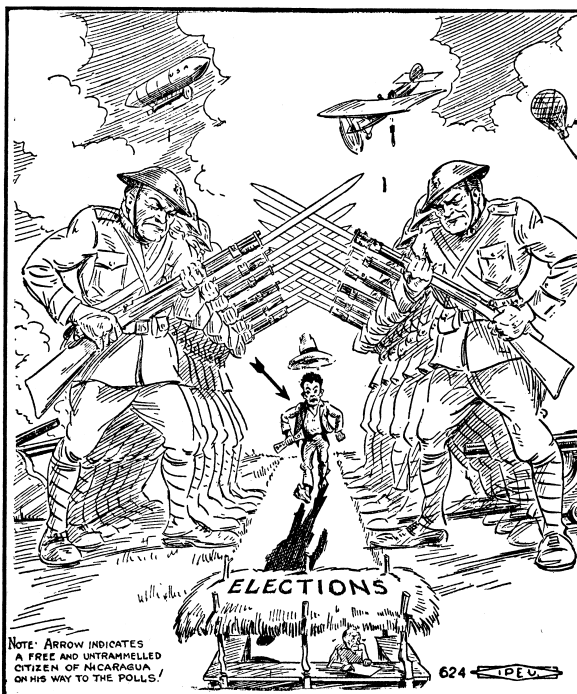


In a remarkable, sardonic cartoon Flambo in the "New Leader" (London, England), portrays "the doves of peace," namely, the Powers, descending on Paris to sign Kellogg's "peace" treaty.

It was interesting to note that on the day newspapers played up in large type the signing of this document, there appeared an Associated Press despatch with the information that in Europe there are as many soldiers as in 1913, just before the World War, though the defeated Powers, Germany, etc., were prohibited from maintaining armies. Russia is the only great Power which has effectively reduced its armed strength, from 1,200,000 in 1913 to 545,000 at present. With all that Europe remains an armed camp. Neither have we heard of any reduction in armaments anywhere since the signing.

England has just indulged in a little mimic warfare for the edification of her jingos. As America's Secretary of State neared Paris "invading" airplanes attacked London, and, of course, demonstrated that city's millions could be wiped out with poison gas bombs. "The London Daily Herald" sees this bit of falconry as threatening the peace of the world, for the demand has arisen for more airplanes to attack possible enemies.

John M. Baer has drawn for "Labor" (Washington, D. C.) a vivid picture of Kellogg's idea of a peaceful election in Nicaragua. European newspapermen were so indiscreet as to mention America's treatment of this unhappy little country, while "Nervous Nellie" was over there, but no diplomat annoyed him with any such reference.



What Price Labor Education?

Free Criticism Indispensable to Rising Class

By A. J. MUSTE

A GLANCE at the American labor movement reveals some interesting facts. We are merely listing these facts for the movement without comment or attempt to interpret them.

There are about four million organized workers in this country. Something under three million are in the A. F. of L., the rest in various independent unions.

The percentage of trade unionists to total employed population is over 50 in Australia, over 40 in Austria, about 35 in such countries as Great Britain and Germany, but not more than 12 in the United States.

In recent years trade union membership in this country has barely held its own though we have been passing through a relatively prosperous period which in the past has always meant growth in union membership.

At certain strategic points the American labor movement has suffered severe defeat in recent years. The railroad shop crafts were terribly weakened by the 1922 strike. The needle trades unions are a shadow of their former selves. The United Mine Workers who a few years ago seemed the very backbone of the A. F. L. have well-nigh lost all control in the soft coal industry.

If you analyze trade union figures you find organization fairly flourishing in the building and printing trades, railroad transportation groups and a few miscellaneous skilled trades. Labor has little if any strength in the great basic American industries.

The United States is the only important industrial country where labor does not have its own fairly adequate political party and where there is not a flourishing cooperative movement. Labor education is likewise feebleness here than in any other important industrial country.

In the offensive, against labor weapons are used in the United States which are not tolerated by the workers in any other land: company unions, injunctions in labor disputes, the industrial spy system, the yellow-dog contract, all these are home made U. S. A. products.

Power of American Capitalism

At the same time the wealth of our capitalists, the resources and power at their command, with which to buy off or to terrorize the workers is simply stupendous.

Now if on the whole you are satisfied with this state of things, with the United States in the Coolidge era, if you think you get good wages and conditions, if you are content with what the system is bringing you and your fellows in goods, material and spiritual, then none of the facts to which I have referred will worry you much. You will not even worry about the seeming weakness of the labor movement, for if things are going pretty well in spite of that, why object? You will accept the idea of the labor movement as a highly respectable peaceful partner of capitalism, even though seemingly a very minor partner. There are some people

in the American labor movement who frankly take that position.

There are many who do not take that position. You can go into any labor gathering and hear the most conservative and respectable labor men express the utmost concern about the movement. If you do not accept things as they are and you do want a strong and vital movement, then in face of the facts I mentioned at the beginning you realize that American labor is up against a most puzzling problem, a gigantic task, a bitter struggle.

In that case you will feel very strongly that labor must do some tall thinking, that labor needs education, and must develop its own educational program and system, since it would seem as silly to let your enemy run your mind as to let him run your union—in fact, it would appear obvious that if he runs your mind, he certainly will run your union too, whether your mind realizes it or not?

Many workers understand this, and the American labor movement has also officially rendered at least lip service to the idea of workers' education.

Education Is Based on Thought

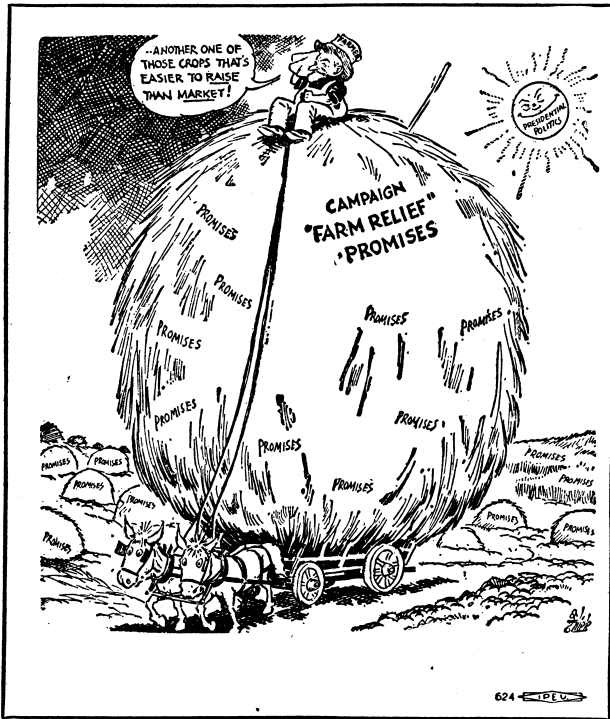
All genuine education, however, requires two conditions, which often make trouble. There must, in the first place, be a real clash of opinion, of minds, and there must in the second place be freedom. Otherwise no thinking, no education.

That it is only when minds confront a real dilemma, when there is a genuine clash, that education and thinking take place, is a commonplace of psychology and history. Any beginner knows it. To begin an educational program, therefore, by barring people who hold certain views, by forbidding the discussion of certain opinions, by evading certain issues, by letting in only "your own kind," is to make thinking and education impossible from the start. You may under these conditions get pupils to memorize doctrines and dogmas, to feel pleasant emotions, to find excuses for their prejudices, to sing lullabys to their minds. Not anything else, however.

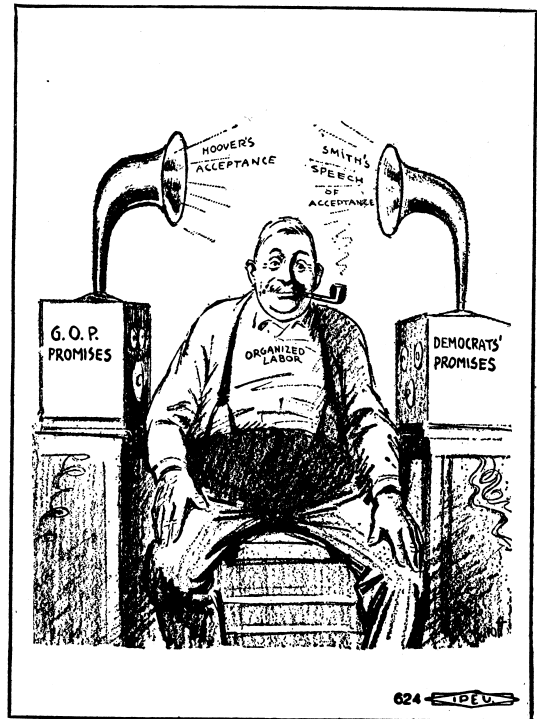
By the same token, there must be an atmosphere of freedom if there is to be an educational process. If anybody is to be frightened out of expressing his opinions, if teacher or student is to be censored, if a class must arrive at a certain conclusion or else be stamped as heretics, destructionists and what not, then again there can be no education.

People always realize that this is true for the other fellow and kick against dictation from him, just as the A. F. L. for example has repeatedly denounced suppression of opinion in schools and colleges and has insisted upon academic freedom. It is never quite so easy, however, to allow freedom as to demand it. The

PROMISES, NOTHING BUT VAGUE PROMISES



Chicago Tribune



Dallas News

Will Rogers, in one of his "Anti-bunk" statements, said that farmers who believe the promises of either Hoover or Smith deserve a punch in the jaw. That's putting it bluntly.

And how about Labor? The A. F. of L. is neutral, so it has been announced. Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters International Union, has resigned from the Executive Council because Smith was not endorsed by the A. F. of L. On the other hand, a goodly number of unions are for Hoover. Labor enters the presidential campaign, therefore, with divided forces. What a spectacle!

Abe Lefkowitz's question is worth repeating: "Cannot Labor develop a policy where it will vote politically as it fights economically—as a UNIT?"

difficulty is a real one, and theorists should not take it too lightly. The process of thinking, of examining old beliefs, of pressing on to new views is always painful for individuals or groups. Where there is freedom, foolish and mistaken views may temporarily at least win allegiance.

Facing the Difficulty

There is no simple way out of the dilemma. You have to make your choice. Individual or organization, you shut your mind and take the risks involved, or you think and take the risks involved in that.

Whether as a member of the American labor movement today, you will choose the first or the second depends finally, I think, upon your attitude toward the situation I pictured at the start. If you accept the situation as it is today, then you will want to be left at peace, you will think that workers education is not much use, you will magnify the mistakes made by labor classes and colleges, you will resent the disturbance that results from their discussing and experimenting and consider it not worth all the fuss it makes.

If you are not satisfied with things as they are today in the country and in the movement, if you regard that situation as fraught with material and spiritual danger to the workers and to organized labor, if you are genu-

inely concerned about the condition of the labor movement, then you will consider it of the utmost importance for the workers to think, to learn, for labor to examine the position calmly, objectively, ready to cast aside old ideas and methods and to adopt new ones if necessary, willing to experiment. In that case you will believe the workers education movement is vital and fundamental. You will not carp at the mistakes and faults of the labor classes and colleges. You will give them the freedom to make fools of themselves which they need if withal there is to be genuine thinking and education. You will gladly take the risks involved in the development of labor's own educational program and system.

We may close with a historical note. Whenever any group, class or organization has outlived its usefulness, has no reasonable justification for existence left, it shuts down on thinking and criticism, it puts down the lid, it seeks to impose its orthodoxy by force. A rising group or class, a growing organization, always insists on freedom, is disposed to experiment, and develops its own educational institutions.

Do we genuinely want labor education along with labor unions? Or shall we take company unions and company-unionized education?

For a Greater Labor Press

To Enlighten Masses on Important Issues

By FANNIA M. COHN

THE most effective means of reaching the minds of the multitudes is the press. No one will dispute that the press can be a great force for good or evil since public opinion is created and controlled by it. The complexity of modern life and the growth of population in the big cities make the press paramount. No longer can we impart our ideals or interpret the happenings of the day by the spoken word. And of the printed word, the press is the most powerful medium. There are 50,000,000 newspapers sold daily in the United States. The number of readers are multiplied several times because one paper is often read by an entire family. When we consider this, we realize the importance of the press. We also realize that dependence becomes less and noticeable. The daily press becomes an immense business and requires millions of dollars to operate. The readers' pennies cover no more than the cost of the white paper. It therefore, becomes, increasingly dependent upon advertising. Not only do the editorials express the interests of big business, but the news columns too are devoted to the financial interests. That was very well demonstrated at the hearing of the power interests before the Federal Trade Commission. The representatives of the National Electric Light Association admitted that they had prepared statements dealing with electrical power which appeared in the columns of the daily press as impartial news.

Appreciating the power of the press, every group in society considers it important, in order to safeguard its existence, to establish its own press. The Labor Movement is beginning steadily to realize the importance of the press, especially during industrial disputes, when it is essential to bring the facts before the workers and the public whose sympathies depend upon an understanding of the issues. Nor is it less important in time of "peace" that organized labor be constantly in touch, not only with its membership, but also with the public.

A recognition of these facts no doubt persuaded the labor movement to establish its own press and publicity services. According to the labor press directory issued in 1925 by the Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, there are published by the Labor Movement in the United States and Canada 108 publications by the following organizations: American Federation of Labor—4; National and International unions—84; independent trade unions—20. The directory also lists 297 publications printed by local districts or state labor bodies in 41 states. No one can dispute the fact that the general press is hostile to the labor movement. If labor is to succeed as a popular social force, it must have its own information and propaganda spreading agencies.

The Appeal to the Eye

These publications have no doubt served the labor movement in time of distress. They are still performing valuable service, but do we take full advantage of them? Most of our magazines, I am sorry to say, have hardly improved since their first appearance. Their covers are unattractive; too much vague matter is printed on the cover; the type is small, the paper is thin; there are no margins, the eye tires looking at it. The managers of the weekly and monthly periodicals take much pains to have the physical side of the publication attractive. The cuts are carefully planned; the headlines are suggestive. This is as far as the physical appearance goes. Their contents too, can be so improved as to appeal to the reader.

The worker has the interests of the citizen, the husband, and the father in addition to trade-union interest. All that happens in the world concerns him. Events have to be interpreted to him in the light of modern life and economic conditions. A dry record of facts which appears now in most of the trade union press makes no appeal to the reader and it certainly does not inspire to action. Nowadays news is recorded everywhere in an interesting manner and events are dramatized and emotionalized before the reader. Experienced journalists, with a knowledge of human life should discuss labor problems in the press. We should make a distinction between presenting facts about labor problems to students who use them for reference, and presenting these same facts to workers in which their life, trials, and tribulations are reflected. The labor press, if it is to serve its members and become a service of enlightened, should be "humanized". Even the dry reports which now "adorn" its pages can be made readable and appealing. They can be so played up as to appeal to the mind, heart, and ambitions of the workers.

Need for Trained Journalists

And what about the worker's family? Cannot our labor press become a family organ? Why not have in the articles that which appeals to the wife and children of the members? A press, in order to be effective, must have all the elements to which human nature responds; the tragic, the dramatic, the comic—the human side of life. Our press can become a great force within the labor movement, if questions, which concern the reader as a worker, are discussed by experienced journalists who can think, analyze, and who have an understanding of the psychology of their readers, and who can, in addition, write beautifully.

For instance, today the labor press can do much in

LABOR AGE

exposing the prosperity myth. This would enlighten the workers about their own conditions, and it would enable them to draw conclusions about what they are getting out of the prosperity that the Republican Party boasts about.

If the labor press is to become the workers' guide and an educational medium, it must widen its sphere of influence. Millions of dollars are being spent by the unions on their own press, and this can be made more useful to the movement than it is at present. The labor press is financed by a compulsory subscription which is included in the union member's regular monthly dues. Thus, the entire membership receives our publications. The compulsory subscription has its advantages and disadvantages. When one purchases a newspaper, it is assumed that he will read it. But one can never tell whether the compulsory subscriber to the trade union journal reads his labor newspaper or not, whether it meets with his approval or not. This is another reason why greater care should be taken in the conduct of the trade union press.

And what about the young trade-unionists? Is there anything done by our labor press to enlist their loyalty to the labor movement, to inspire them with it as a great social force? Special articles must be written for them since young people have ever, responded to new and progressive interpretations of social and economic questions. The revolt of youth is now being recognized and discussed in the press of each group, by religious, schools, college or scientific publications. Young people fret and fume when they are constantly reminded, as is done in the trade union press, of the achievements of the older generation. Young people resent and reject the constant reminder that everything that is great and noble in the labor movement has been accomplished by their predecessors, and the best they can do is to obey and accept the principles and policies laid down by them as if this were the last word. Young people always want to feel that they, too, are functioning in our social and economic structure, be it a trade union or other social institution. They, the young, want to feel that they too should make their contribution, and that their cooperation is invited.

Since the world war the mind of mankind is in revolt. Old ideas are being repudiated; new ideals are not as yet fully established. There are great forces in process of change. If few see them, most of us feel them. And this state of mind is expressed, especially by the youth of the nation and of each group. The schools, colleges, universities, and even liberal and religious organizations recognize this fact and they treat their young people accordingly. It was interesting for me to attend a conference of students held in Columbia University. The young men and young women discussed no other question than how to abolish the present capitalistic system which they believed had outlived its usefulness. They earnestly discussed ways and means of hastening the transition period and of guiding the change from the old form of society to the new, which they considered inevitable. They were concerned in their planning of the transition period to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and destruction. President Butler probably considered it wise to

let these young people discuss the problems of interest to them in the university classrooms.

Open Discussion Best

We, in the labor movement, should no less consider the sentiment of our younger people. We, too, should find a way of interesting our young trade-unionists in the labor movement, and stimulate in them an interest to reveal their minds in our press. This can be done by having discussions appear specially for them that will be of an educational and stimulating character. The labor people who find, in the light of their experience, the discussions of the younger generation, and their suggestions for solution, impractical, can state their views in the same pages. Guidance based on free discussion is always effective. Our labor press can become a great educational medium, only when it will cease repeating the accepted conventional, economic, and political formulas and conclusions.

Why should the worker be interested in such educational material in his own publication which he finds in the daily, weekly, and monthly commercialized press? To attract the attention and to stimulate an interest in the membership, workers' education in the press must be based on a new conception. It must give a new interpretation to the economic, social and industrial problems. The pages of labor publications should be dynamic, the contents fearless, and the workers' lives, interpreted in the light of modern conditions.

It should encourage him to fight for a better world in which the happiness of the mass of the people and not the comfort of the few who possess the wealth of the nation which the workers help to produce, will be the social goal. Some trade unions are making an effort to improve the physical appearance and the contents of their journals. Limited space does not allow me to analyze all of these publications. Therefore, I will cite as an example one of them. That is the Electrical Workers' Journal. A successful effort was made by that organization to improve its publication with the result that now its appearance and contents appeal to the mind, imagination and emotions of the readers. While it contains articles of a technical character, dealing with trade matters, it also intelligently discusses social and economic problems. It gives to them an enlightened interpretation that reflects the workers' lives and conditions under which they live and toil. What has been accomplished with one journal can be done with many more. The trade union press, even with its meager resources, can be converted into a powerful instrument for the labor movement; it can be an influential force in the unending struggle which it wages for the workers to gain a position in our economic structure that will enable them and their families to lead better lives. It can become the guide and exponent of ideals in accordance with modern times. It can mold public opinion by enlightening the workers on the questions of the day. But to achieve these, the trade union press must world they live in, and who understand the sentiments be conducted by men and women who understand the and aspirations of the masses and can give expression to them.

The Young Worker's Mind

His Handicaps and Needs

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

THE modern industrial mill does not spare the plastic and delicate period of adolescence. This is largely because children and adolescents can be easily made into instruments of another will. Innumerable social evils arise from placing children fresh from school in contact with the impersonal forces of modern capitalism without adequate organized protection. But the modern industrial system is prompted by the spirit of profiteering and reckless and ruthless competition. As a result, the stress and press of production seem to absorb the new generation into the machine.

At a time of life when every human being is spontaneously overflowed with new emotions, when "conversion", "falling in love", "wanderlust", and other such noble as well as ignoble experiences have to be faced, the vast majority of boys and girls in industrial countries are caught in the wheels of mechanized industry.

The Choice of a Career

Now, do these millions of boys and girls find their vocation or the service for which they are most fitted? Clearly not. They find "a job", if they can, but not a vocation. The psychological "set", that is to say, the mental tendencies and outlook upon life, of the adolescents and children in industry, then, is prematurely and mechanically fixed. It follows from this that the generations are run into similar moulds more readily than they would be if no one entered industrial employment until his or her mind and character had already passed through adolescence.

In the complex economic society of today the task of choosing a career for a boy or girl wisely is becoming more and more difficult. The facts of industry in a large town are too many to be grasped by an individual workman, unless he has the guidance and inspiration of a labor organization. One form of the organization of the labor market for boys and girls is through the Juvenile Departments of the Labor Exchanges, operated under State or municipal direction and control. In dealing with young wage-earners, the Labor Exchange has to solve three problems. First, it must assist boys and girls to choose a career (vocational guidance). Secondly, it must assist them to find work of a suitable kind. Thirdly, it must assist in the supervision of the boy and girl, when placed, with a view at his or her future education, both technical and general.

Ambition and Initiative Killed Early in Life

Under the prevailing industrial conditions, the attitude of the young worker towards production is formed in his most impressionable years.

"Most healthy, normal people, especially in their youth, demand beauty, color, and adventure from life," writes an English social psychologist with a personal

experience as worker in a machinery shop.* "But for the young worker these are virtually shut out. Life takes a drab hue from the very beginning. His glimpses of the poetry of existence are caught through the drifting factory smoke; he is deafened by noise, choked by dust and grime, tired out by strain."

With the rapid growth of the factory system, and the parallel decline of domestic and artisan industry, the opportunities of industrial and technical education through the old-fashioned apprenticeship are next to nothing. It is virtually impossible to find sufficient industrial work of an educative kind to go round among all boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. This position makes it incumbent on the community to protect youth—through effectual Child Labor Legislation. Thus, and thus only, will there be checked the physical and moral deterioration caused by work that provides for the young wage-earner neither mental stimulus in the sad present, nor satisfactory economic prospects for the uncertain future.

The Urgency of the Need for Self-Expression

Adolescence, as a time of mental and moral upheaval, a plastic period when influences for good or evil may mould the whole future of the youth, is a period of intensified feeling and often of storm and stress. The typical adolescent is, first of all, intensely interested in himself. He is learning both self-respect and humility; he is beginning to discover alike his capacities and his limitations. In the second place, he is interested in his fellows. He has tested both the force of social pressure and his own power over his fellows, and is discovering the meaning of society and of his intelligent membership thereof. Finally, he is beginning to be aware of sex.

Thus, in early adolescence the three principal and fundamental interest-systems of the average man are already fairly well defined.

Now, as regards the young worker the three primary interest-systems, as a rule, are underdeveloped. In relation to them, feeling is more often than not undisciplined, knowledge too fragmentary, power of expression almost lacking.

In the first place, the young worker has had little opportunity for self-development. This is the inevitable result of modern capitalist conditions. At the crowded home he has never known solitude. In the public school, the adolescent's experience has been of a similar character. At work, again, he is simply a hand, the tool of the foremen and supervisors.

None the less, the young worker's interest in himself is enormous. Although inarticulate, he is tremendously sensitive. He has an indefinite capacity both for self-assertion and for self-abasement. He craves individual

* R. M. Fox: *The Triumphant Machine*, London, 1928.

American Supremacy Tested

At Conference on Five-Day Week and Unemployment Insurance

THE Conference called by the Labor College of Philadelphia on the Five-Day Week and Unemployment Insurance and held at Bryn Mawr College on Saturday and Sunday, July 28-29, disclosed the open secret that whatever there may be to the great American prosperity, very few workers have seen much of it lately. On the other hand, considering the very many features that secure the workers' lives across the seas, in spite of their admittedly lower standard of living, in peace of mind and contemplation of the future labor in Europe may be in a more blissful state than here in America.

Pages of deep thought have gone into expressions of wonderment at the benevolence of American employers, with their social welfare work, their kindly and meticulous care for the well being of their faithful servants in all forms of insurance. Yet when someone sits down to tabulate the tallies, putting down actual figures where gooey gushings flowed before, we find that in this land of unstinted good fellowship, just a bare 37,000 workers out of a possible total of 30 millions, are covered by some form of unemployment insurance. Certainly this will prove a shock to those who sing pæans of praise for our benevolent capitalism. And even these 37,000 who are gathered under the protecting roof cannot look with any degree of unconcern towards the future. At any time, whether through a weakening of the union, a shift in the market or through a change in the bosses' temper, they may find themselves out in the cold with the other 29,963,000.

Unemployment is something to think about. People are predicting a cold winter and a bare one—for the workers. If there were from four to eight million without jobs during the winter just passed, there is every likelihood that these figures will be left by the roadside when the harvest shall have been gathered, when the highways shall have been built, and when all the other seasonal trades shall have curled up for another term of hibernation. Even now, when the rush is on, employment cannot make use of all those who have labor to sell. So the question arises: Short of a revolution—a doubtful immediate remedy for unemployment—what can the state do to protect those whose incomes are

shorn despite themselves? And the conference came to the conclusion that the only adequate relief is national unemployment insurance. After all, why not? We insure ourselves against hail, fire, swimming the English channel and what not. We take out insurance for nicely trimmed coffins and nicely polished tombstones. Why not take precautions against adversity while we are alive; why not insure ourselves against the basic danger, the cutting off of our income?

There is no reason on earth why it shouldn't be. The obstacle towards the path of such achievement is our mode of thought. We are an allegorical people complexed against common sense in facing modern realities. We would rather tax ourselves for the upkeep of private charities where we love to expose the entrails of those coming for relief, rather than tax ourselves for assuring in an adequate manner a minimum subsistence as a social obligation to those whom society cannot gainfully employ. Such action is European. Thoughts change, however, when needs press persistently against rationalized argument. Workers without jobs, many of them and for long periods will hurry a change of opinion about social legislation of all kinds.

The conference also talked about the five day week. What could be said about the five-day week that wasn't said in favor of the ten and then the eight-hour day? Reasons for shortening of the worker's term of labor are old and are just as applicable now as they were forty years ago. Health, leisure, culture—all are involved in the argument. And besides, thanks to our modern efficiency, the five-day week is already too long a period of employment. Production is outrunning our economic capacity for profit paying consumption. Let's ease up. Good, meanwhile the average number of hours worked by women in industry is 53. That was said at the conference and it must be true.

Altogether, the 150 workers, delegates and friends who attended this conference, got as pretty a bird's eye view of American benevolence and American insecurity as could be formulated in two days. They know better now when they hear about American supremacy.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

sympathy, attention, and understanding—that satisfying intercourse with others, hitherto denied him, through which his bubbling personality may be stabilized and developed.

The impulse to self-expression, which can be satisfied by personal intercourse with congenial adults, as for instance the rare, truly qualified for their task, boy club leaders, must, if denied this outlet, find other channels. One of the commonest of these, in the case of young girl workers, is an all-consuming passion for cosmetics and clothes. It has been suggested, by seasoned and sympathetic teachers in schools for older boy and girl wage earners, that the true explanation of this passion

lies here, rather than with the much abused sex-instinct, as is usually imagined.

Yet, in spite of the narrowness and monotony of experience which is responsible for the arrested intellectual, moral, and aesthetic development, there does exist among young workers, and among young working girls most clearly so, an intense aspiration to greater values of life, a certain crude idealism, which could and should be awakened, developed and utilized by the labor movement. In this case, above all others, the success of the efforts of the young workers' leader will depend largely on the intensity of his own faith in the highest values and aspirations of labor.

AGAINST LABOR ORTHODOXY

And In Favor of More and Varied Forms of Unionism

THE labor movement is hard pressed on all sides. It shows a tendency to decline in membership, power and influence. Many reasons have been given for this regrettable situation. Among them are the preponderant influences of capitalism, as expressed in its control of government, the press, pulpit, university, movie and radio, and the introduction of the company union.

To these have been added the defects of labor unionism itself, namely, its refusal to organize negro, women, youthful and unskilled workers; its craft divisions and unwillingness to adopt industrial forms; its undemocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, "management unionism", etc., etc.

No doubt all these causes militate against the labor movement.

But there is another vital cause that has received little consideration. This is the attempt to create an absolute labor orthodoxy, or labor union dogma. This labor orthodoxy consists in compelling uniformity to the dominant type of unionism and leadership only.

This kind of orthodoxy is not evident in any other sphere of modern activity. For instance, we do not witness in industry, adherence to any one fiscal, legal or technical form of organization.

Even more prevalent is the diversity of forms in employers' associations. They have chambers of commerce, boards of trade, manufacturers' associations and other variations galore. For instance, here's an item from the American Printer showing the wide diversity of organizations in the printing industries,

How the Bosses Do It

"A joint meeting of eighteen printing trade organizations in Chicago was held May 25 in the grand ballroom of the Stevens Hotel. . . . Those participating were members and guests of the following organizations: Calumet Ben Franklin Club, Chicago Club of Printing House Craftsmen, Chicago Electrotypers Association, Chicago Paper Merchants Association, Chicago Photo-Engravers Association, Employing Bookbinders Club, the Franklin Association, Lithographers National Association (Chicago Group), North Side Printers Guild, Old Time Printers Association, Open Shop Employing Printers Association, Master Printers Federation of Chicago, Chicago Association of Trade Typographers, Chicago Estimators Club, Commercial Printers, Supplymen's Guild and the Printing Association."

Why can't the labor movement have something similar, especially in these days of transition, when experiments in new forms of organization seem necessary? Why, for instance, must the labor movement ostracize, outlaw and destroy an organization trying out the industrial form of organization in comparatively unorganized industries, as has been the case in the past in the auto and textile industries? Why must the labor movement insist on craft

jurisdiction, even when the same means dismemberment or destruction of organizations giving every indication of thriving industrially? And why must the labor movement wage war on organizations that give evidence of an anti- instead of a pro-capitalist basis?

A Stifling Uniformity

Isn't there enough room in the nine-tenths unorganized workers for more labor organization forms? Will not an increase in labor organizations in general mean a boost to the labor movement in particular; where now every attempt to fit it into a procrustean bed of conformity and uniformity means the amputation of its most vital elements of aggressiveness, enthusiasm and growth?

Despite its comparative success in other fields, it will be argued, that a multiplicity of organization forms will be detrimental to labor. Also, will the same argument be heard, despite the decline of the labor movement as a result of the attempts to force it into one common mould. The labor movement, apparently, hugs the delusion that only by throttling itself will it be able to grow; a delusion which all the facts to the contrary ruthlessly expose.

"But," it will be said, "this sort of thing is not tolerated elsewhere, and should not be tolerated here." This statement is open to question. In Great Britain, the Trade Union Congress does not insist on only one union in one trade. Where more than one union exists it recognizes both; leaving to both the question as to who shall finally prevail. In Germany, the industrial unionization of the labor unions, allows for the continuance of the craft union; and in France there is no attempt to make division a justification for outlawry and destruction. Other methods are used to secure adjustment, agreement and consolidation. Why shouldn't that be the case here? And isn't it the case, as in some recent events, like the Passaic and Colorado strikes, where the alleged outlaws are strong enough to compel favorable recognition?

We in the United States Labor movement need to be a little broader and more tolerant. We need to substitute fraternal cooperation for internal conflict; co-operative existence for absolute extermination; or else we'll get nowhere, except to further loss of membership and decline in prestige and power. This goes for both the new and the old schools of unionists. Both of these schools exhibit the same destructive strivings for mastery; the same ruthless disregard for the existence of the other. Both should seek to moderate their attitudes and seek a medium through which growth and not decay is both likely and possible.

ALOYSIUS SENEFELDER, JR.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

VI. THE SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS

ONE of the numerous services established by Herbert Hoover which has endeared him to the American businessman has been the "Survey of Current Business." This publication presents weekly and monthly the statistics which intelligent capitalists need for the most profitable conduct of their business. The "Survey" was started shortly after Hoover had become Secretary of the Department of Commerce in Harding's cabinet. It was in line with Hoover's passion for service to business through the introduction of scientific methods. It is surprising that the American labor movement has not made fuller use of the data that the Department of Commerce has compiled regularly for the use of businessmen. Information that is useful to the "bosses" is equally essential for the workers. The wage-earner's battle today is fought as much with statistics as with strikes. The exact economic status of an industry, the general industrial outlook, the level of prices, the extent of employment—are all of strategic importance in determining when strikes are to take place, what demands should be made and what strategy should be used.

For years the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce has been publishing "Commerce Reports", a weekly survey of foreign trade, wherein American manufacturers and merchants have been kept informed about market opportunities and trade regulations abroad. Hoover felt that a monthly supplement giving information about the economic situation at home would be immensely appreciated by businessmen. The result was the "Survey of Current Business." The first issue was dated July 1, 1921. It was compiled, as it still is, by the Bureau of the Census together with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and the Bureau of Standards. Fifteen hundred copies were printed and distributed to trade and commercial journals, important business houses, trade associations, public bodies and economists but not trade unions. These were asked to give constructive criticisms. The next issue dated August 1, 1921, was marked No. 1. The July 1928 issue was No. 83.

As a result of numerous suggestions the "Survey of Current Business" has become probably the most remarkable compact summary of economic information in the world. A typical monthly issue will contain 48 pages, distributed somewhat as follows: page 1, preliminary summary of the month previous to the date of issue; page 2, monthly business indicators, consisting of two dozen charts showing the trend over a period of five years for such items as manufacturing production, wholesale trade, price of 25 railroad stocks, business failures; page 3, monthly business indicators giving figures for 45 items divided into 10 classes; pages 4 and 5, business conditions in the next to the last month before the date of issue; page 6, wholesale prices for 32 commodities shown in charts; page 7, wholesale

prices for about 70 commodities; page 8, three charts covering 1920 to 1928 depicting new building contracts and automobile production, mineral production and railroad ton-mileage, and factory employment, manufacturing and electric power production; pages 9 to 14, review by text and charts of the principal branches of industry and commerce; pages 15 to 17, indexes of business; pages 18 to 23 new detailed tables; and pages 24 to 48, tables showing the trend of business movements. An index by subjects appears in the table of contents on page 1.

It was clear from the beginning that if the "Survey" was to be of the greatest usefulness three things would be necessary: first, the statistics would have to be made available sooner than it was possible with a monthly publication; secondly, the data would have to be compiled in an easily comparable form at stated intervals to avoid the necessity of going back month by month in order to obtain information for a long period of time; and thirdly, the information collected by numerous private agencies and governmental body ought all to be included in the publication. Each of these ends was accomplished. At first, mimeographed sheets were sent out weekly to subscribers who needed the material in a hurry; today a printed weekly supplement with charts is distributed. At the beginning comparative long-term summaries were made quarterly; now they appear semi-annually in February and August, thus making it possible to obtain statistics for the preceding calendar year or half-year as the case may be. As to cooperation with statistical-gathering organizations, that has been carried out with great success. In the semi-annual numbers consisting of 148 pages the sources of data are given. At present the list of cooperating agencies covers four closely printed pages of the "Survey", divided into four groups: (1) almost 50 governmental departments, federal, state and foreign; (2) more than a hundred commercial and trade associations; (3) about forty technical periodicals; and (4) a slightly larger number of private bodies.

The "Survey of Current Business" is sold to subscribers by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., for the low price of \$1.50 a year. Single copies may be bought for ten cents, though the invaluable larger semi-annual numbers in February and August cost twenty-five cents.

For Your Own Research

1. How do the New Bedford strikers know the production of fine cotton goods for which their district is noted? (The "Survey" is the only public source for this information.)

2. What are the dividends paid by the New Bedford cotton mills? (The "Survey" publishes figures supplied by Sanford & Kelly, New Bedford brokers.)

3. Look up in the "Survey" the statistics for employment, labor-turnover, five-and-ten-store sales and corporation profits.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD

OUR AIM:

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

ASTOUNDING ACTION OF A. F. OF L. AGAINST BROOKWOOD

Friends Urged to Demand Fair Hearing for Labor College

THE recent action of the A. F. of L. Executive Council urging all its affiliated bodies to withdraw support from Brookwood Labor College is simply astounding.

This action was taken without any one officially connected with Brookwood being informed that such a step was contemplated. Brookwood was not informed about the charges, was given no copy of the evidence on which they were based, nor any hint as to the source of the charges or evidences.

Speaking plainly, Brookwood was found guilty without a trial, without even the pretense of a hearing. This although every single director of Brookwood is a member or officer of an A. F. of L. union, the labor directors who have a majority vote on the Board of Directors being men and women of such standing in the trade union movement as Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Miss Rose Schneiderman, Robert Fechner and Fred Hewitt of the International Association of Machinists, Phil Zeigler of the Railway Clerks, John Fitzpatrick and others.

In the course of a few hours after the report of the Executive Council's action appeared in the newspapers more than a score of trade union officials signed a telegram to President Green urgently requesting that Brookwood be given a hearing before the decision be finally put into effect. Many labor men and women, as well as educators, have since seconded this action. LABOR ACE joins in the demand that Brookwood be given a fair hearing.

We venture also to ask one or two questions. This action of the Executive Council had to do with workers' education. The Workers' Education Bureau of America is supposed to be "the arm of the A. F. of L." which represents it in this field. Why was this matter of condemning a labor college affiliated with the W. E. B. not brought to the attention of the Executive Board of the Bureau?

According to some of the press reports the A. F. of L. acted on the basis of a report submitted by Vice-President Matthew Woll as chairman of the

A. F. of L.'s Committee in Education. There is at least one member of this A. F. of L. Committee an international union officer, who knows nothing about any such matter ever having been brought before this Committee. How did this come about?

The charges, again according to the newspapers, are that "doctrines antagonistic to A. F. of L. policy are taught at Brookwood," also that "pro-Soviet demonstrations" had occurred and that "anti-religious doctrines" are being promulgated. As the New York World, commenting on this matter in its editorial column, stated "The anti-religious charge is one of the commonest and emptiest brought against modern scientific teaching." About the same comment might be made on the other so-called charges.

Brookwood is not in the business of "teaching doctrines." It welcomes labor students of all shades or opinion. It stands for an absolute freedom of discussion. It seeks to develop in students the ability to think for themselves.

Dozens of Brookwood graduates are faithfully serving labor in twenty-two international unions in all sections of the country.

A. J. Muste, the head of Brookwood, well-known to LABOR ACE readers, received the first newspaper notice of the A. F. of L. action against Brookwood in Paterson, where he was acting as chairman of a meeting to bring several thousand textile workers into the A. F. of L. This in itself constitutes an illuminating comment on the situation.

We urge all labor men and women, trade unions, and persons interested in the welfare of the labor movement and of workers' education to communicate with President William Green of the A. F. of L. supporting the request of the Brookwood Directors for a hearing before the Executive Council.

In the meantime Brookwood's work must not suffer. Now is the time to send moral and financial support to Brookwood in order that it may make its story known to the world and may carry on its important work without interruption.

HEADLINES.

AMERICANS are readers of headlines. In fact, a few are so busy making money and the many so busy making it for them that they have no time to read anything but headlines.

A headline tells us "Du Pont for Smith, Likes His Dry Stand." In America this is news. To read the headlines one would think that the fate of civilization hinges on the stand of the presidential candidates on the "booze" question. As a matter of fact, nothing vital hinges on the question as presented in the platform of either party. Under Dry Coolidge booze is flowing so fast that a Wet Smith cannot humanly increase this flow try as he might.

The real issues of the campaign are the control of Giant Power through Boulder Dam, Muscle Shoals, etc., the preservation of our agricultural production, the elimination of the Tariff which protects such infants as the Steel Trust or the Textile Trust which is seeking to further reduce the starvation wages of the workers at New Bedford; the nationalization of the mines; the injunction abuse; the solution of the unemployment problem and imperialism.

What do the headlines say about these vital issues? What do the candidates say about them? Vital issues cannot be discussed in headlines and since we are headline readers how will issues play a part in the coming campaign? Ask us another. We give this up.

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED.

THE union of the Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. and the Brooklyn Edison Co. created the biggest gas and electric merger in the history of this country. This merger was rushed through by the members of the Public Service Commission without even giving the official experts of the City of New York an opportunity adequately to prepare his case. Even Mr. Morris Ernst, representing the Public Committee on Power was denied an opportunity to discuss the merits of the merger or the need for safeguarding the rights of the consumers, so shamefully betrayed by the city representatives as well as by the Public Service Commission.

What is the significance of this merger? Is it the base betrayal of public trust by the Commission? Is it the supine and perfunctory opposition of the city representatives? Is it the Public Service Commission's defiance of Governor Smith's request that action be postponed until a public hearing is granted? Hardly, though they are important. The greatest significance lies in the fact that this merger was endorsed by the appointees and representatives of Governor Smith, and that means that public regulation has broken down. It means public utilities cannot be regulated and controlled. The public is at their mercy.

What then shall be done with public utilities upon whose activities the well-being of the people depend? It is either private ownership and public exploitation or ownership by the people and service to the public. Labor Age believes that public utilities so essential to

the welfare of the people should be owned and operated by them.

SACCO-VANZETTI ANNIVERSARY

A YEAR ago—midnight, August 23—two Italians, a peddler and a shoe worker, were electrocuted by the state of Massachusetts for a crime that no one outside the hard-boiled members of the Rotary Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and similar bodies believed them guilty of.

It would be tedious and it would serve no serious purpose to reiterate here all the facts and all the arguments assembled by the friends of the martyred radicals.

But we would direct attention to certain phases directly and indirectly related to the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the fight that was made to have their sentences commuted or reconsidered in the shape of a new trial.

Standing (metaphorically speaking) by the graves of the two martyrs of class bigotry and tyranny, by the victims of an ancient and outworn legal code, we ask, Was it all in vain? What has been done since? What has happened to all the agitation generated from the Sacco-Vanzetti case?

Except for some recommendations to the General Court made by Governor Fuller regarding the code so that the laws of the Bay State may be in line with those of New York, Wisconsin and other progressive states, nothing has been done of a kind that could be called fundamentally enduring. The message left to the citizen-workers of Massachusetts and other states by Sacco and Vanzetti through their sacrifice appears to be forgotten. That is the great and significant tragedy.

The sentiment and the intense feeling created by this "judicial murder" should be translated into action and an end put to the rhetorical stream.

The memory of Sacco, Vanzetti and hundreds of other martyrs of industrial and legal tyranny will be finely served if those who talk about them will organize for a definite and practical object, one that can be accomplished within a reasonable time.

Why not demand the release of Tom Mooney? and Billings? Why not work for the release of the Centralia victims? Why not demand the passage of a Federal law taking such cases as those of Mooney, Billings, the Centralia men, and of any others that may develop where it is impossible to get local redress, out of the State courts?

A law giving American citizens rights in the United States, at least the same rights and protection they would have if abroad in any other country, should be passed. The farce that the Federal government can not interfere and can not protect men under the jurisdiction of state police and state courts should be ended. It should be remembered that one is not a citizen of a state but of the nation.

Had we some such Federal law as herein suggested Joe Hill would have been reprieved and Tom Mooney would be at liberty today, for President Wilson in both cases asked for the reprieve of one and the pardon of the other. Yet the man who could declare war and send millions to the trenches to be gassed, shelled or blown

THE SHADOW OF INJUSTICE

to atoms could not interfere with the so-called sovereign rights of a state to hang a man be he innocent or guilty of the charge made against him by the police and the prosecuting authorities.

One notices that the authorities of the old Bay State have, like the Bourbons, learned nothing, forgotten nothing since Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. Picket lines are broken in an arbitrary fashion by the police of New England cities, strike leaders are arrested and thrown into jail on trumped-up charges, and even halls where members of the American Federation of Labor assemble are closed by officers of the law on instructions from the textile barons of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The worst revelation of chauvinism and reactionary Puritanism is the ordering of the arrest of Dr. Horace M. Kallen, the writer on economics and philosophy, by the police and magistrate of Boston because he said Jesus Christ and Socrates were anarchists and held some of the same kind of public views as Sacco and Vanzetti.

That the magistrate withdrew the warrant does not mean that the Brahmins of the Hub have learned anything, but they appreciate the difference between prosecuting a friendless workingman and a man prominent in the academic world.

THE COURTS VS. THE PEOPLE

IN Illinois and in Texas, the Federal Courts were called upon, in the former case to protect privilege against the rights of the people and in the latter case to protect the rights of the people against privilege.

The public utility trust controlling the elevated lines of Chicago is after an increased fare. Even as the I. R. T. Trust of New York. The official State Commission charged by the Legislature to regulate public utilities is known for its rather extravagant friendliness to the Trust. Still it could not defy the outraged public opinion and refused to condone the attempted grab. So the Trust applied to that staunchest protector of privilege against a long-suffering people, the Federal Court, even as the I. R. T. did in New York. And the court promptly granted the injunction restraining the State authorities from interfering with the increased ten-cent fare the Trust wanted to establish. The excuse given is that the Trust must be protected against an alleged violation of the Fourteenth amendment.

In Texas a negro applied to the Federal Court to protect the rights of negroes as citizens. The Southern States created many devices to deprive negroes of their suffrage. State literacy, property ownership and other tests effectively bar most negroes from voting. Now white privilege has designed a new method. The dominating Democratic Party barred negroes from its primaries. But in the solid South democratic primaries are virtually elections. This is especially the case in Texas. Denying the negro the vote in the primaries is clearly denying them the right to vote, in flagrant violation of the Fourteenth amendment. But the Federal courts refused to interfere. The excuse being that the action was taken by a political party, and not the State, and is therefore a purely private action. The fact that the pro-



Well might Massachusetts hang her head in shame. Condemned throughout the world for the foul, judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, connived at by Boston's aristocracy, she has made no move as yet to clear itself. Her laws still permit a Judge Thayer to review his own prejudiced decisions.

cedure is a mere subterfuge to rob the negroes of their rights does not carry weight with our Courts, when mere human rights are involved.

The only thing to be added is that the Fourteenth amendment was enacted after the civil war with the expressed and explicit purpose to protect the right to vote of the freedmen. It did not take long, however, before this amendment became the most powerful weapon of the masterminds of our courts for the protection of the privileges of property against the rights of the people. These two decisions tip the scale again in the same direction.

In the region of the textile strike the courts invented a new method to paralyze all strike activities. After imposing severe sentences of months' imprisonment for the most flimsy offense or for no offense at all, and after excessive bail in order to permit an appeal to the higher courts, they impose an additional condition for the release of the striker until the appeal is taken up. That condition is a high surety bond that the striker will keep the peace during the time for which the bond is put up. In other words, it simply means that if the sentenced striker continues his strike activities the bond will be forfeited because the courts take it upon themselves to consider every strike activity as a disturbance of the peace. Under such conditions, the hands of the strikers are tied no matter what happens. It is certainly an ingenious strike-breaking method. But strikebreakers do not and cannot command the respect of the people.

In Other Lands

FRUITS OF MONDISM

British Unions Consent to a Reduction of Wages

BRITAIN, called by economists and socialists the classic land of capitalism, has furnished the world of labor with something new in the struggle between labor and capital. Led by James H. Thomas, ex-Cabinet minister, leader of the conservatives in Trade Union congresses and councils and foremost among the Right Wing leaders in the Labor party in the House of Commons, the railway union officials met the directors of the British railways in a conference. Instead of recrimination, charges and counter charges, the opposing groups amicably discussed the condition of the roads. All agreed that business was bad on account of the automobile and other causes. They further agreed that a raise in wages for the men was out of the question. Most people would say that that was concession enough to make. But to the surprise of all President Thomas and his colleagues representing the unions accepted voluntarily a reduction of from 2½ to 5 per cent in wages to apply to all ranks in the industry except those who might be called laborers and who get a certain minimum income. It was also proposed that the directors accept a cut in their salaries, but while that was promised it was not made a hard and fast rule.

This is the first time in the history of the trade union movement that a reduction of wages was brought about under such circumstances. Mr. Thomas and his associates are busy defending their conduct throughout the country and it will feature prominently in the discussions of the Trade Union Congress this month at Swansea.

The radicals and even the moderates are not all pleased with the outcome of the discussions and meetings held under the auspices of Sir Alfred Mond. It looks as if our British friends had been hooked in by a modern and efficient Civic Federation; one that the late Mark Hanna and his succes-

or August Belmont tried to put over on the labor movement of the United States. England seems to have lost the lead in the progressive movement of labor in Western Europe.

All agencies and forces—social, industrial and governmental—admitted their failure to handle with any degree of success Britain's unemployed problem, when it was proposed to ship to Canada and other British Dominions 10,000 miners and to select from other trades and crafts the unemployed young men and train them for the farms of Canada and Australia. The government is to finance the plan and a certain amount of cooperation is to be given by the Dominions and by the Shipping companies.

All the trade union executives of Canada have vigorously objected and have cabled strong protests to their colleagues in Britain. The Canadian Minister of Labor, Peter Heenan, has officially protested and stated Canada does not need any labor from abroad. He boldly stated that they had labor enough and to spare. New Zealand, the most English of all the Dominions, both through its unions and premier protested against the proposal of the London government. Premier Bruce of Australia said his country did not want any labor from Britain as it had its own unemployed problem. Farmers with capital he wanted.

The imperial authorities, however, are going on with their plans and are operating through the Salvation Army and other agencies to rid England of its unemployed. In this work they are aided by a few of the largest papers in each country. "The Mail and Empire" of Toronto says Canada should let down the restriction bars and admit English laborers on the easiest possible terms.

The unemployed problem has ceased to be a local issue and has become an international question of first importance.

THE REICH BUILDS A WARSHIP

Economically speaking the Reich seems to be doing better than her neighbors. Politically the government is going along slowly not trying to scare any special interest by hasty legislation. Just now the Social democratic government is coming in for some hostile criticism from the extreme Left and from the Pacifists because they voted to build a warship. As Germany's navy is limited by the Versailles Treaty and by the British and French the navy will be rather more ornamental than useful. Some will call it a bit expensive as an ornament. The last war proved that second or third class navies are

next to useless. One wonders why the Germans should have forgotten their lesson so soon. Chancellor Herman Muller sent a message of peace to the Brussels International Socialist Congress saying "More than 12 million dead are keeping alive the memory of the bloody sacrifices of those terrible years, but there are worshippers of violence still remaining in all countries."

Gustave Stresemann, as the leading exponent of peace and reduction of armaments, signed in Paris the Kellogg treaty. Although he might have seriously embarrassed Briand, Cushendun and Kellogg, the Chancellor made no reference to the Rhine or reparations; in fact, he returned

home without a speech or an interview, and by so doing saved the treaty.

INDIA AROUSED

In several provinces in British India there is opposition to the collection of rents and taxes that is almost revolutionary. In Bardoli within the jurisdiction of Punjab there was a general strike waged with the solidarity of a people longer trained in class warfare than the Hindus. The government sent in the hated Pathans but their rough work only made the situation worse. Gandhi has gone to the scene of the hostilities and there is a possibility that the provincial row over taxes will develop into an All-India movement. If it should so develop one can say "Good by" to British and for that matter native, aristocratic rule in Hindustan, for the imperial and native rulers and parasites both lean on each other. Aeroplanes and poison gas were used in one district to scatter the passive resisters.

RADITCH'S DEATH CAUSES CONFUSION

With the death of Stephan Raditch the peasantry of Serbia have lost their greatest champion and ablest leader. The break between the peasants and the government party seems to be growing wider and it may lead to the break up of the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs and Slovanes. Recent assassinations and other agitation have not helped to make the country tranquil. To make matters worse the Mussolini directed Italians are making all kinds of trouble for the unlucky South Slavs who can not get the protection they were accustomed to get in the old days from Russia. The Fascisti with their usual bent for making trouble in the lands of their weaker neighbors are out to wreck the South Slav-nation by making all government there impossible and constantly embroiling it in riots and attacks on their consulates followed by the usual demand on Belgrade for apology and compensation. There is a reign of terror in the cities against progressive labor men and socialists.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AND OTHERS

This is the season for national and international gatherings. The Socialists held theirs in Brussels as a beginning. They struck no new note, but the French delegates did the handsome thing by moving the resolution calling on the Paris government to evacuate the Ruhr. The Germans like all the other delegates applauded but kept discreetly silent vocally on that question. It was the one big human and genuine international note struck. The British Labor Party Conference and the British Trade Union Congress meet during the first and second week of this month. Unemployment, Egypt, India and Kellogg peace—not the genuine brand—will take up most of the time of the delegates. The Mond deal will be the cause of the most exciting debate. The Irish held their Congress in Belfast to show the world that labor unlike the politicians was not split into a north and south set of factions but all one party from all over the country. The program of the Congress was confined mainly to questions of a practical nature and to a discussion of the labor party's role in the Free State parliament.

THE YELLOW PERIL.

The westernization and industrialization of Japan in the 19th century and the increase in her population forced Japan to seek an outlet for her goods and her surplus population. The result of her growing imperialism was the Chino-Japanese conflict in which Japan with her modern military equipment and organization easily proved victorious. But Japan failed to get Port Arthur and Manchuria because of the interference of Russia, France and Germany, presumably to maintain the integrity of China. Russia soon obtained a 25 year lease on Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula and began to build a railroad spur from Harbin.

Japan then formed an alliance with England, attacked Russia and beat her decisively in the Russo-Japanese War, gaining the long coveted Port Arthur and a strong position in Manchuria. While the World War raged Japan, through her twenty-one demands, sought to make a vassal state of China. While she failed in part she did strengthen her hold upon Manchuria. The republicanization of China and the civil war which followed the death of Yuan Shi-Kai enabled Japan to keep her puppet, Chang-Tso-Lin in control of the rich province of Manchuria. The assassination of Chango-Tso-Lin and the success of the nationalist (Kuomintang) Party of Dr. Sun Yat Sen under the leadership of Gen. Chang Kai-Shek forced Japan into the open. Her militarists boldly ordered the nationalists not to advance into Manchuria—their special "sphere of influence".

Manchuria is destined to become an Asiatic Alsace-Lorraine. A strong nationalist China will not brook Japanese control of Manchuria. Unless the Japanese militarists who now control learn a lesson from history the world will witness a death struggle for yellow supremacy. Woe unto the world if militarization is forced upon the 400,000,000 peace loving Chinese. Lovers of peace only hope that sanity will eventually dominate this menacing situation.

IN MEXICO AND NICARAGUA

In the republics to the south things are not as well as we are led to believe in the daily press. Nicaragua is still the battleground of the imperialists and the natives who want to run the country in their own way. Kellogg, who is preaching peace in Europe, is waging war in Central America. Our marines have even gone into neutral Honduras after the Nicaraguans. Mexico is weathering the storm caused by the assassination of Obregon. The government of Calles is firmly entrenched for the time being but the reactionary ruralists or agricultural barons seem to be bent on organizing mischief and trying to turn back the hands of the clock.

Though without a big leader they seem to be gaining in power. The conversion of Mexico City into a federal district like our Washington and District of Columbia with all the workers disfranchised leaves the Labor party in the country with a greatly reduced vote and much weaker politically speaking. These are signs of a counter revolution led by the usual reactionary elements operating under the guise of protecting the peasants or peons. It remains for Calles to guard the revolution by using all the powers of the state.



"Say It With Books"



THE CHALLENGE OF COAL

A Way of Order for Bituminous Coal. Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright. N. Y.: Macmillan. 1928. \$2.50.

The Case of Bituminous Coal. By Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$2.50.

IN these days of bitter and agonizing struggles of the bituminous miners against wage reductions, every one connected with the mining industry, whether as worker, union leader or employer, should have his eyes and ears open to every constructive suggestion for a way out of the present chaos. For several years back, Professor Hamilton and Miss Wright of the Institute of Economics in Washington, have been giving thought to these problems, and have written two books which the labor movement cannot afford to ignore. The first book appeared two years ago, and presented the situation in all of its discouraging features. Competition had been relied upon in the industry for bringing the best of all possible results. Competition had miserably failed. It had not supplied a cheap or an uninterrupted supply of coal. It had not given a reasonable return to the investor. It had not afforded an American life to the worker. It had used 700,000 men to do the work that at most 500,000 could have done. It had wasted millions of dollars worth of machinery in useless mines. It had meant great periods of unemployment and low wages. Its harvest for all concerned had been a harvest of figs and thistles, and, as organized, the industry had faced the United Mine Workers of America with a problem of survival which it was utterly unable adequately to meet. With these and other thoughts, the authors left the reader to think through his own solution.

This spring, the authors have published their suggestions for a solution in **A Way of Order for the Bituminous Industry**. It does not lie in regulatory commissions. In the coal industry the solution is to eliminate about half the mines now kept open. If a regulation commission attempted to force into bankruptcy the mines that were less fitted to survive through the enforcing of certain standards the

resulting misery would probably lead to the extermination of such a commission.

The authors' plan rather would be to organize a federal non-profit making corporation for the purpose of buying up the industry. This corporation would offer bonds to the present owners, bearing a moderate rate of interest. The compensation given to former owners must not be such as to impose too great a burden on the industry. The control of the industry would be vested in the holders of common stock which would earn no dividends, and which would be apportioned fifty-fifty among the consumers of coal and the miners, the two groups which had the most interest in the efficient conduct of industry. The technicians would have a voice but no vote on the Board of Directors, which would elect a president from without its number. This board would determine certain policies, but actual detailed administration of the local mines would be left to local districts. The state would set the corporation up and give it a federal charter. The bonds would be guaranteed by the government, which would reserve to itself the power to tax the industry in case of default.

The public would keep an eagle eye on the industry, after it became a going concern, and employ a statistical and advisory agency to publish the facts of the industry and to advise the public regarding future policy.

The authors realize the difficulties confronting such a solution, but they rightly maintain that the present status is impossible and that great obstacles confront every solution presented. They ask for suggestions. Is this plan satisfactory? If not, what are the alternatives? They issue a challenge which cannot be ignored. Many legitimate criticisms might be made of their solution, but has labor a better one? If so, what is it? If something is not done, the bituminous mine organization and a large part of the industry are likely to flounder for years in a slough of despond. Will labor awaken to this challenge?

HARRY W. LAIDLER

IN DEFENSE OF RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION

America, Nation or Confusion. By Edward R. Lewis. Harpers. 1928. \$3.50.

MR. LEWIS' book is a defense of the policy of restriction and racial selection of immigration established by the 1924 Immigration Act. As the title suggests, the author rests his defense on the argument that the American nation must be preserved. He believes that the unity essential to a nation would be broken if

subjected to the strain of absorbing indefinitely hundreds of thousands of immigrants from countries whose languages, customs and ideas are very different from those which took root in the colonial period and developed during the first century of America's national existence.

To Mr. Lewis the movement for restriction is a movement on the part of the older stocks to retain control of American institutions and to resist the influence of recent

immigrant stocks in the interests of American nationality. He does not contend that the older stocks are biologically superior or that their culture is more advanced. He rests his case on the theory that only persons with a common language and common traditions, brought up under self-governing institutions can form a successful political democracy and develop a national culture. Other persons should, therefore, be excluded, or at least strictly limited in number. In this he disagrees with Walter Lippman's suggestion that the American nation should be welded together by a common purpose or ideal, and with Horace Kallen's conception of a democracy in which a variety of coexisting cultures enrich national life. In the author's opinion only a common background can produce the like-mindedness essential to the growth and preservation of a nation.

The book is of interest as an expression of opinion from a man who has worked actively for immigration restriction since pre-war days and is at present organizing support for the national origins provision and extension of the quota to countries of the Western Hemisphere, particularly Mexico. There is little in its argument that has not been expressed in recent magazine literature and little information that throws new light on the immigration problem. Like a legal brief, the book is stuffed with more supporting evidence than can hold the average reader's attention. But the book has the merits of a brief. This presentation of the "case" for restriction should help to clarify the issues at stake in the present immigration controversy.

EDNA CERS

APPRAISING SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviet Russia in the Second Decade. Edited by Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn and Rexford Guy Tugwell. N. Y.: John Day. 373 pp. \$4.

NO more interesting, impartial and thorough study of the economic life of the Russian people in the beginning of the second decade following the Russian Revolution has appeared in English than this volume, the result of a survey made in the summer of 1927 by some 14 economists who accompanied the unofficial trade union delegation to Russia. Throughout the volume, the writers show a sympathetic attitude toward the great experiment taking place in that country, and yet do not permit their sympathy to run away with their critical judgment. All of them have a reputation to uphold in the academic field, and the volume as a whole, is about the nearest to an accurate appraisal of things-as-they-are in Soviet Russia as it is possible to arrive at in this mundane world.

The volume begins with a brilliant sketch of the conditions leading to the Revolution by Bartlet Brebner, Assistant Professor of Modern History of Columbia University. It is followed by an illuminating account of the working of Russian industry and particularly the efforts of the Russians to coordinate industry through the Gosplan, written by Stuart Chase, of the Labor Bureau and author of "Tragedy of Waste", in typical Chasesque language. Chase describes in non-technical terms the new types of undertakings that have been developed in a country where land, natural resources, about eighty per cent of industrial

production and two-thirds of the distribution system have been socialized. Most industry, he believes, has now risen above the pre-war production. He is fascinated by the audaciousness of the Gosplan, an advisory statistical body of the Soviets, headed by sixteen men who "salt down the whole economic life of one hundred and fifty million people for a year in advance as calmly as a Gloucester man salts his fish."

In minute detail Professor Tugwell, Professor of Economics at Columbia, marshals before the reader the facts regarding Russian agriculture. Life in the country is still pitifully poor, as compared with American standards. But, compared with pre-war Russia, "there is a bit more to eat of a little better quality. There is a radio in the village hall. There is more wood for warmth. There is a class for young farmers in practical farming. These things are each in themselves trifles. But the total amounts to a stirring of new life hardly yet come to birth, but held close within the strong peasant culture."

Then follows chapters on the relation between the peasant and city worker, by Brebner, on the structure of the Russian Government, by Professor Jerome Davis of Yale; on Soviet finance, by Professor Comstock of Mt. Holyoke; on the trade union movement, labor legislation, wages and the cooperative movement by Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago and Robert Dunn; on education, by George S. Counts, Professor of Education at Columbia and Carleton Washburne, one of America's most progressive superintendents of schools at Winnetka, Ill., on the administration of justice, by Carlos Israels, student at Columbia; on translation, by J. A. H. Hopkins and Melinda Alexander of the Committee of Forty-Eight fame, and on foreign concessions, by Arthur Fisher, Chicago lawyer. In education, the growth of trade unionism and social legislation particularly, considering the general backwardness of the country a decade ago, the achievements thus far have been impressive. In civil liberties, the situation is still far from satisfactory.

The authors have approached their gigantic task with modesty. They were only in Russia for an average of less than two months. They confess that they were unable to collect all the facts that must needs be recorded before adequate generalizations are made. But they are to be admired for their skill and fairmindedness, and they have presented a contribution to the subject which sheds a sheet of light on how the people occupying one-sixth of the earth's surface are striving to do to bring about a worthier social order.

HARRY W. LAIDLER

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