# Labor Age

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*Locomotive Engineers' Journal*

Organization alone will end this treadmill

## In Search of Labor's Formula

**At A. F. of L. Convention**

J. M. BUDISH

## The Devil and the Deep Sea

A. J. MUSTE

## Man vs. Machine

JUSTUS EBERT

## Organizing the South

ART SHIELDS

## Judicial Tyranny at Kenosha

November, 1928

25 Cents

VOL. XVII—No. 11. NOVEMBER, 1928

$2.50 per Year

# Labor Age

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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ART SHIELDS, Federated Press correspondent, has spent several months in the South, where he has made an intensive study of the labor situation.

Other contributors are well known to our readers.



*In the* DECEMBER *Issue*
*we shall feature*

## JOHN RETURNS TO WORK

By WILLIAM and MILLICENT NUNN

A stirring story of industrial warfare, describing the forces which compelled striking coal-diggers to go back to the mines, illustrated with pictures taken during the recent great struggle.

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

# Following the Fight

## *With Comment Thereon*

*By* LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

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

# Where Lies Progress?

### *The A. F. of L. Faces the Path Ahead*

OPEN shop manufacturers, in solemn New York conclave, find that all is not well with the world. The A. F. of L. is the enemy of the courts—and the courts are the pet friends of the Open Shoppers. Complete victory for the 20th Century Slavocracy is their aim.

It reminds one vaguely of the Slave Power of 70 years ago. The National Manufacturers Association and their allies are, of course, adepts at professional belly-aching. One thousand per cent profits would perhaps fall short of their ultimate dreams. One thousand per cent slavery on the part of the workers is their fond hope. But it is an instinctive fear of the future that undoubtedly sways them, too, at this best of all possible times for exploiters of labor.

It is certain that things will not go along continuously as they have gone along during the past few years. The A. F. of L., we are sure, at New Orleans this month, will not halt in its efforts to clip the fangs of injunction judges. There is accumulating a sweep of public opinion on that subject that spells doom for the injunction in labor disputes, eventually.

Beyond that lie many other struggles in the path ahead. The boycott is illegal for labor unions, but legal for associations of business men! The "yellow dog" contract continues in use—the Ohio Federation of Labor taking the lead in attacking it by legislation. Company unionism grows vigorous and bold, despite the hypocrisy that it means and the nothingness that it brings to the workers. The great basic industries remain citadels of Open Shoppery and Oppression.

If that situation looks dark, it is no darker by any means than was the picture of the Slave Power ten years before black chattel slavery was wiped out forever. Wendell Phillips could say in half-despair, in 1854: "The future seems to unfold a vast slave empire (the United States) united with Brazil and darkening the whole West. I hope I may be a false prophet but the sky was never so dark."

For men who cherish freedom for the workers, this is time for rejoicing rather than despair. The bigger the task ahead, the bigger the fire and spirit that will be required to win us all to a better social order.

The time is ripe and rotten ripe for a move on the basic industries. We hope to see less hesitancy on the part of the official labor movement in that direction. The task is a large one; it is a hard one. But as long as the basic industries remain the threatening centers of Reaction that they are, labor in the other branches of work faces harassment and possible defeat.

Dual unionism can scarcely accomplish this object, particularly when based on the old doctrinaire foundation that brought the S. L. P. to grief. Failure to arouse the unorganized in the basic industries, just the same, may pave the way for another unfortunate development—a dual unionism free from doctrinaire ideas but pledged to the organization of the mass of the workers. We who have stood for unity above all other things, cannot view such a development with pleasure or approbation. To split the movement would be nothing short of calamity. To head off such a posibility and to steer ahead against the legions of Open Shoppery are the chief tasks on hand for the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies. If New Orleans brings out that result, it will be an occasion for rejoicing for the workers everywhere.

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## TO COOPERATE OR NOT COOPERATE

THEN, there is our old bugbear, Union-Management Cooperation. The "new era" is bringing that to the forefront. We have listened to all sides of the argument. Some of those who dwell the longest on the term seem unable to apply it. Most of those who oppose it entirely have no alternative to offer but General Confusion.

We cannot see how unions can avoid cooperation today—if we regard that matter as an intel-

ligent extension of collective bargaining. Trade unions, after all, are a part of the Capitalist System. If they wish to exist, they must secure results for their memberships. Trade unions have no war to wage upon industry itself. Their objective is, and must be, to win "more and more" for the mass of the workers—and their own memberships in particular. If they failed to do that, they would have no reason to function as trade unions. They might dissolve into political bodies or revolutionary organizations, but they would no longer be trade unions or industrial unions, either.

Cooperation, however, means cooperation. It implies two groups. It implies representation on the part of those who speak for labor, for the wage earners involved in the cooperative arrangement. Cooperation cannot mean capitulation.

We have great fears for such arrangements as the Mitten-Mahon agreement. That particular plan looks very much like surrender. Mr. Lauck's interesting defense of the idea does not cover this significant point: That Organized Labor agrees therein not to organize unless Management thinks it advisable. There may be other and better implications back of the plan. These may refer to a possible purchase of the Interboro Rapid Transit Co., and its unionization, talked of on occasion. Even there, however, the question of organization awaits the initial impetus of Management.

Cooperative arrangements, in a word, can never be substitutes for militancy and aggressiveness in organization work.

## THAT "LABOR DIRECTOR"

LOGICALLY or illogically, the Interboro has, as a matter of fact, followed one idea of the Mitten Men and Management. It has put a "labor director" on its Board.

The aforesaid "labor director" is none other than Patrick J. Connelly, president of the company union of that anti-union corporation. The sham of the thing has been exposed by the NEW YORK WORLD, in the following editorial comment:

"Since 1919 Mr. Connelly has been head of the company 'union' known as the Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employes, and in this position has gained more of a reputation as a 'company man' than as labor leader. This brotherhood is the only union which the Interborough management will recognize and permit its employes to join. Indeed, it compels them to join or give up their jobs. In consequence, they are denied the right of independent organization and of conducting collective bargaining through agents who are not dependent on the company for their livelihood.

"In the motormen's strike of 1918 and again in the struggle of a group of Interborough employers last winter, for the right to join an outside union, Mr. Connelly battled for the management alongside Messrs. Hedley and Quackenbush (president and attorney for the company). He has clearly won the recognition inmplied in his promotion to the company's directorate, but it would hardly be accurate to designate this as a wider recognition of labor's right to a voice in industrial management."

It is this I. R. T. buncombe which is being used so extensively to hamstring the unorganized workers. It is a clumsy attempt to quiet the nerves and lull the spirit of the laboring classes. That is why it is so important that our own definitions of "Union-Management Cooperation" be clear-cut and understandable. That is why those words should never, even by implication, give the idea that the union is giving up the right to strike or the right independently to organize men, whatever management may think of it.

## "WELFARE" AND AN ANTIDOTE

SO-CALLED "election" of "labor directors" is only an advanced step in the whole series of "welfare" ventures of the anti-union forces.

The Pennsylvania Railroad advises a waiting world that 350,000 shares of stock, offered to its employes at $50 per share, has been "oversubscribed". The CHICAGO TRIBUNE and other anti-labor newspapers pompously dwell on the deep meaning of this action, and herald employees stock ownership as the dawn of new industrial relations.

The deceit that lies in this "great scheme" has been so well shown up by Dr. William Z. Ripley, over and over again, that we need not dwell on it here. Every workingman knows that it is merely a device to prevent him from asking for the wages that are his due.

But is is industrial old age pensioning that takes the cake as the champion Barnum stunt of the present age. You wait and wait, all through the weary years, for that pension—and find at the end, that you could have gained more by being an independent workman. It is pleasing to note that the Ohio State Federation of Labor has gone on record for old age pensions by the state—an act which present industrial conditions demand. The scrap heap at 40 or 50 years of age is getting to be over-common, and certainly a man at 60 should have protection from society. When all labor groups push state old age pensions vigorously, we will have a beginning of the end of "welfare" along that line.

To illustrate the absurd length to which employers will go in this "old age pension" bunk, the Real Silk Company of Indianapolis offered such a scheme to young men of 21 to 25 years of age. The young men were mathematicians enough, however, to figure up how long it would take for that pension plan to develop—and decided that it was not workable. The plan died a-borning.

Publicity at mill and factory and roundhouse gates on the stupidity of the "welfare" racket will go far toward smashing it.

# Brookwood Carries On

## *Condemned by Council Without Hearing*

AS we go to press word is received that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has decided to ask all affiliated bodies to withdraw or withhold support from Brookwood Labor College.

Despite this attack which has been hanging over Brookwood since last August when Vice-president Woll made his recommendation to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., students from a dozen or more unions, including the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, International Association of Machinists, United Textile Workers, Longshoremen, Laundry Workers, Hosiery Workers, Railway Carmen, Paving Cutters, Pocket Book Workers, Furriers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Cap Makers and Carpenters, are in attendance at Brookwood this fall.

This is as conclusive an indication as could be found that the rank and file of the membership of the A. F. of L., the local unions, district councils, state and city federations, will use their own judgment in deciding what educational institutions it is desirable for trade unonists to attend, as they also do, for example, in deciding what political candidates and policies they shall support. For the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to set itself up as a dictator in these matters would be utterly contrary to the fundamental principles of the Federation itself. It can advise, but that is as far as the authority etxends in political, educational or civic matters. Even the A. F. of L. convention would not assume a dictatorial role in such matters. Brookwood, we trust, will continue as before to serve and in turn to seek the support of labor bodies who desire their members to have a thorough, sound and unbiased labor education.

The officers of the A. F. of L., as a result of their action in the Brookwood case, will surely be strongly condemned by educators, however conservative their opinions may be, because academic freedom is involved, even though President Green, according to the press, wants it understood that this action does not mean that the "Executive Council is opposed to academic freedom."

The Federation has often contended for academic freedom, for the utmost freedom of speech, press and opinion, and has roundly denounced agencies in our national life seeking to violate these principles. Only a year ago at the Los Angeles convention, the Federation had before it a resolution to condemn the Ely "Institute for Research in Land Economies and Public Utilities" on the ground that it was conducting propaganda for specific proposals under the guise of research. The Federation, however, refused to condemn this institute and adopted the report of its committee on resolutions, of which Vice-President Woll himself was chairman, which said in part: "This, we believe, would not only be a dangerous denial of free speech and free press, it would also be a very serious violation of the principle of academic freedom. It is often extremely difficult to ascertain what is truth in a given case and the opportunity must always be left free for the statement of conflicting views and for the clash of opposing opinions. This is as essential in schools, colleges and universities, for teachers and for pupils, as it is in the every-day affairs of political and industrial life. The committee lacked sufficient information upon which to base any definite criticism of the Ely Institute, but *even if the information at hand were sufficient to justify final conclusions against the Institute,* the committee believes that the policy of the A. F. of L. in favor of free speech, free press and academic freedom should not be set aside."

What becomes of this solicitude for free speech, free press, and academic freedom when a labor college in face of the protests of the American Federation of Teachers and many other organizations can be condemned without a hearing?

What have we come to if an institution financed by such agencies as the National Association of Real Estate Boards is to have academic freedom without limit, but there is to be no academic freedom for a labor college which has rendered signal service to the movement, because perhaps in its classes all sorts of views about labor problems have been aired and discussed?

That this action will be resented by many trade unionists all over the country is to be expected, especially since the Brookwood Board of Directors was given no hearing before this decision was made in spite of numerous requests to this effect from many sources.

It is nearly three months since the Board of Directors first asked President Green for copies of the charges against Brookwood and the evidence on which these charges were based. To this day no reply whatsoever has been received to this request. There are scores of loyal graduates of Brookwood who are also loyal, good-standing members of A. F. of L. unions. Not one of them has been approached for his version of the aims and activities of the school.

The action of the Executive Council is to be backed up with a report of a "thorough investigation" which has been conducted by Vice-President Matthew Woll. A question arises as to what the Executive Council's concept of a thorough investigation is. Vice-President Woll has never been at Brookwood, he has never attended a single class at the institution.

Is it possible that responsible men should dignify such a proceeding as this with the name of investigation? What kind of a case is it,that has to be supported by such methods as this?

# Organizing the South

## *How Labor Movement Can Do This Job*

*By* ART SHIELDS

### I. THE OPEN SHOP MENACE

ORGANIZATION of the open-shop South is a matter of self-preservation to the American labor movement. It is no longer a sectional issue. The products of southern mines and factories, often owned in the North, flood markets once supplied by unionized plants or at least by plants where the unions had a foothold. Loss of the coal strike in the central competitive field was directly due to the influx of non-union coal from the South. The rise of low wage southern cotton mills loosens the fingers of the textile union in New England.

After six months in the South the writer will not minimize the difficulty of this undertaking. But he emphasizes its necessity. And in this he voices the views of southern unionists who are now taking steps towards coping with the problem.

By the South is meant the southeastern quarter of the United States, containing a quarter of our population. This region is loosely bounded by the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico on the east and south. It includes Oklahoma and eastern Texas on the west, and Virginia and Kentucky on the north. Its people, white and colored, have been there from pioneer days. There are few foreigners. Most of its industrial development is along the slopes and valleys of the Appalachian Mountains, running through the east-central portion. Here northern manufacturers are moving with increasing speed to exploit its low-paid labor at long hours, its rich raw materials, hydro-electric power and proximity to national markets. It is a gold rush of business.

The South is fat with raw materials for manufacture. Everyone must recognize the importance of the primary products listed below. Annual southern output is here given in percentages of national production:

SOUTH'S PER CENT OF U. S. TOTAL

| | per cent |
|---|---|
| Cotton | 100 |
| Sulphur | 100 |
| Bauxite | 100 |
| Turpentine & Rosin | 100 |
| Phosphate Rock | 90 |
| Tobacco | 83 |
| Petroleum | 59 |
| Lumber | 50 |
| Coal | 26 |
| (exclusive of W. Va.) | |
| Pig Iron | 12 |
| Clay Products | 18 |
| Granite | 49 |
| Marble | 39 |

Scores of other important raw materials may be found listed in the United States census or in the Blue Book of Southern Progress, issued by the Manufacturers' Record.

Using these raw materials, and in some cases others freighted in for manufacture by low-paid labor, the South produces 62 per cent of the nation's cotton goods; most of its 100,000,000 pounds of rayon; 65 per cent of its cigarettes and pipe, snuff and plug tobacco; 73 per cent of its commercial fertilizzers; 15 to 20 per cent of its furniture, and a growing share of pupl and paper; 10 per cent of its iron and steel, and of the output of numerous other industries. The world's two largest aluminum plants are in Tennessee and North Carolina.

#### Growth of Cities

With industrialization comes a shift from farm to city, though the rural population is still in the great majority. This urban movement is accelerated by the boll weevil, low cotton prices and other agricultural hardships. Hundreds of company towns have arisen and central cities grown. Take two towns for illustration: Winston-Salem, N. C. (Camel City) doubled its population to 80,000 in ten years and is now the largest in North Carolina. Atlanta, Ga., rose from 200,000 in 1920 to 260,000 today. This meant expansion of building, printing, auto repair work, amusement enterprises and other occupational opportunities for A. F. of L. craft organization. Unionism in the South is largely limited to the skilled non-factory workers of these bigger cities. Such city craft unions are generally weaker than in northern cities of equal size. Exceptions are Asheville, N. C., and a couple of cities each in Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana and Florida, where such organization is relatively strong. All mining and almost all manufacturing is open shop, a few cases of union recognition appearing in some Tennessee foundries and stove plants, Florida cigar factories, several miscellaneous plants in Kentucky and work garment shops in a number of states. An unrecognized tobacco workers' union exists under difficulties in Winston-Salem and there are vigorous underground locals of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in North Carolina. But these exceptions do not invalidate the broad rule that unionism is rare in southern manufacturing.

After the war the coal miners' union was smashed in Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky. The post war movement of the United Textile Workers in Dixie was liquidated by strikes and unemployment in 1921. After the 1922 strike the shop craft unions generally passed out of the railroad industry in the southeast, retaining recognition only on the Southern, Seaboard Air Line and some lesser mileage. The railway clerks, however, retained more of their original strength. And the longshoremen's union continues at Hampton Roads and

# A SOUTHERN MILL VILLAGE

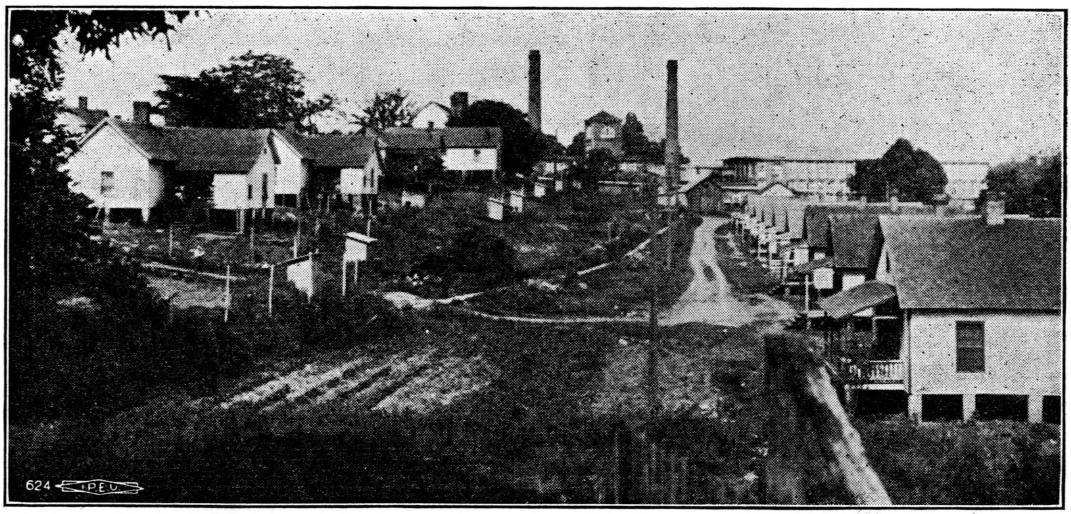


*Photo by Esther Lowell.*

**Fairly typical, not the worst nor the best. Front doors of one row of houses open on privies of next row. Pigs are kept in pens just below the houses.**

some Gulf ports, with its Negro members a strong asset.

### Strongest Open Shop

The South has the most virile open shop movement of any similar-sized region in America. The open shop is organized by bankers and manufacturers' associations; by chambers of commerce and power companies. An incessant propaganda is conducted. The chambers of commerce and the power companies make a business asset of the open shop in their advertising. They finance the full page and double page advertisements in Northern newspapers, magazines and trade journals, inviting employers to come South where labor is unorganized.

"This is an open shop town in most trades, and we aim to keep it so," the publicity director of the chamber of commerce of the South's second largest city assured me. You may read his group's advertisements in the Saturday Evening Post, extolling Anglo-Saxon labor and the 10-hour day.

Of course, this reputed bias of Anglo-Saxon workers against the unions is all nonsense. Anglo-Saxon England has strong unions. And Anglo-Saxon Southern labor has tried often to organize. It is open shop by force. The employer who would recognize a union is first argued with by his chamber of commerce associates: next his bank credit may be withdrawn or his taxes raised. Workers' organizations are fought by the blacklist, the labor spy and employers' war chests. In addition, Southern unions have peculiar obstacles: race prejudice between whites and colored is in the way; the surrounding farms are a labor reservoir for the employers; and in so many cases the striking Southern worker would find that his employer has duplicate plants in the North for supplying his market.

Some of these difficulties, and new tactics the unions are devising in the struggle, are given in the following section:

## II. NEW ORGANIZING TACTICS

Six years ago the young and aggressive hosiery workers' union came South, following the opening of the first full-fashioned knitting mills in North Carolina. Local unions were chartered, and two or three strikes conducted for recognition. But the hosiery union found itself unequally pitted against a group of knitting companies, some of them affiliated with other industries. One of these hostile hosiery concerns was controlled by the super-powerful Duke interests, who own the dominant power company in the Carolinas and have many millions in tobacco, cotton mills and hosiery, aluminum and construction. Worse yet, the other trades were poorly organized, and thus the union could not benefit by a favorable local labor atmosphere, such as is aiding its present fight in Wisconsin.

Southern unionists of every craft must unite for their mutual protection, argued the hosiery organizers. Individual craft union representatives, cruising separately through the Southern field, were ineffective against such united foes, they pointed out. And rank and filers, isolated in the separate unions, lacked vision and enthusiasm. So last year Alfred Hoffman, the Southern hosiery representative, in line with the views of his predecessor, Edward Callaghan, and his executive board, put the case before the leaders in the building and printing trades of Durham, Raleigh, Greensboro and Winston Salem.

### Piedmont Organizing Council

Response was immediate. Durham building trades had been ousted from Duke University campus where a $22,000,000 construction program was under way. Tobacco workers were organizing in the scab Camel and Prince Albert plants in Winston Salem and needed help. So Hoffman's plan for a Piedmont Organizing Council as a basis for inter-trade and inter-city cooperation was eagerly accepted.

## MILL GIRLS

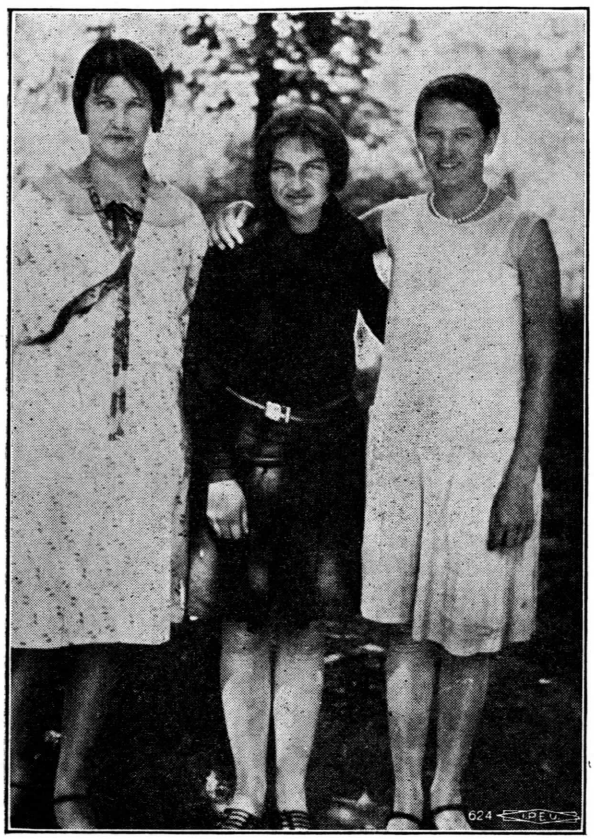


*Photo by Esther Lowell.*

**Three North Carolina mountain girls who came to the cotton mills 10 months ago. They are spoolers and make less than $2 a day. They don't like mill work but their lumber jack father could not support them when the mountains were logged off.**

The council took its name from the Piedmont pleateau where Carolinas' industries are developing. It generated solidarity by uniting unionists regardless of community or craft. Though endorsed by the A. F. of L. it departed from pure and simple craft union practises. Meeting monthly in different cities by turn any trade unionist from the region was ex-officio a delegate. The first conference in Durham brought 30 from a 120-mile region embracing Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro and Winston Salem. Since then 250 to 500 have attended, city movements often chartering busses. The council's field has extended west and south to Charlotte. A meeting across the border in Danville, Va., this summer, led to the formation of a similar movement sponsored by the Virginia Federation of Labor.

Union tactics are discussed at these mass conferences, and sessions are jazzed up by music and entertainment. One Greensboro meeting directed its fire at local full-fashioned knitting mills violating the law by Sunday work. Another at Winston Salem boosted the tobacco workers' drive in the scab Camel plants, giving heart to them at a critical time. Actual enrolling of members remains in the hands of the individual unions but the council mobilizes the labor sentiment that facilitates their work.

### Unions Gain

"The gains by North Carolina unions this year can be largely credited to the Piedmont Organizing Council," said President T. A. Wilson of the State Federation of Labor to the writer.

Greensboro unions doubled membership and formed a central labor union, now the strongest in the state. Durham in 60 days chartered new locals of printing pressmen, auto mechanics, street carmen and Negro building laborers. "We could not have done it but for the new labor sentiment in the town," said Secretary Parker of the Durham central labor union. Winston Salem organizations gained remarkably; carpenters from 15 to 300, or half the wood workers in town; electricians from 3 to nearly full membership. New lathers and Negro building laborers' locals were chartered. Tobacco workers gained many members, though since set back by the discharge of 600. Their employer, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. is the richest member of the "Big Three" cigarette group, and a union drive has all the obstacles incidental to trustified industry.

As yet the Piedmont council's work is chiefly felt in the more easily organized city crafts, but its sponsors say the community labor spirit it generates can be utilized in more arduous campaigns in the future in manufacturing industry. Hoffman is already using this sentiment for the hosiery knitters. Durham's first Fourth of July parade this summer, which he helped to stage, was a demonstration for the knitters' union. Eighty autos rolled through the streets of the "Bull City" on slow gear, displaying blue and red lettered slogans of encouragement to the knitters in the city's big open shop mills. Durham city craftsmen drove 50 of these cars, the remaining 30 piloted by ex-Southern knitters who were enjoying a Home Week vacation from Philadelphia and New Jersey union jobs. The Fourth was a gala day for labor. The parade ended with a feast in Oxford 30 miles away, where hundreds of mechanics and knitters enjoyed a Brunswick stew that had been brewing for 15 hours in Southern style in 30-gallon pots tended by the Oxford machinists who played host.

### Chattanooga Conference

Realizing that the open shop must be tackled on a wider front a conference of southeastern state federation of labor representatives is assembling in Chattanooga, Tenn., as this issue of LABOR AGE goes to press. Organization of the unorganized, workers' education and labor legislation are topics for discussion. The conference was sponsored by Wilson of North Carolina, W. C. Birthright of the Tennessee federation and other Southern unionists attending an informal trade union week end at the Burnsville, N. C., summer school for women workers in industry last August. It is too early to anticipate the conference's decisions, but the following observations are in order:

Broadly speaking the Southern workers to be organized fall into two divisions: (1) the skilled nonfactory workers in the larger towns—building tradesmen, printing craftsmen in the newspaper offices and

those printing plants not on a mass production basis; amusement workers, auto mechanics, street carmen, etc.; (2) the workers in the basic industries—manufacturing, including the 250,000 cotton mill workers; mines, railroads.

The line of least resistance is with the first group. They have skill to sell, and what is more strategic, their work must be done on the spot and cannot be transferred a thousand miles away during a strike.

These city crafts already have local unions which need only be strengthened greatly, so the drive in this field is not starting from scratch as in the basic industries. There are considerable obstacles, but none which energy, enthusiasm and intelligence cannot overcome. Such obstacles are: Chambers of Commerce which bully the union employer; flivver commuters from surrounding farms; and, most serious of all, race prejudice between white and colored.

At the Burnsville conference Wilson frankly said he regarded the organization of Negro workers as the most important task before Southern unions. Negroes, though barred from many occupations, occupy a key position in others. In Atlanta, for instance, they are a majority of the union plasterers, strongest organized group in town. But the Negroes who form almost 100 per cent of building laborers and truckmen are unorganized. Obviously a building trades movement is proportionately weak if mechanics helpers, common laborers and the men who haul building materials are out of the unions.

### The Basic Industries—A Giant Job

Organizing the basic industries is vastly more difficult, though more important, for it is the output of Southern mines and factories, not the building industry that is wrecking organization in other centers. How shall this job be done? Let us say at once that it is only possible as part of a broader organization movement North and South.

Note obstacles: The Southern industrial workers are usually isolated in company towns; employers are in powerful associations that make the fight of one the concern of all; the employer may be a New England, New York or Illinois capitalist, with duplicate plants 500 to 1,000 miles away to use for his customers during a labor dispute.

Suppose a union bids for the 1,100 oppressed cotton mill employes of the Borden Mills of Kingsport, Tenn. This concern is affiliated with the Southern cotton manufacturers' association, and is a subsidiary of the American Printing Co., whose 4,000 employes in Fall River, Mass., would supply the market during a labor contest unless a similar attack were synchronized in the Bay State. Kingsport offers other barriers. It is a unique type of company city, built 15 years ago by a group of railroad bankers according to a design furnished by the Rockefeller city planning commission, and with a city charter drawn by the Rockefeller Bureau of Municipal Research. It is now occupied by a dozen corporations—Eastman Kodak, the Kingsport Press, producing over a million books monthly; a pulp and paper company, an internationally owned glass factory, a cement mill, brick yard, hosiery mills and others.

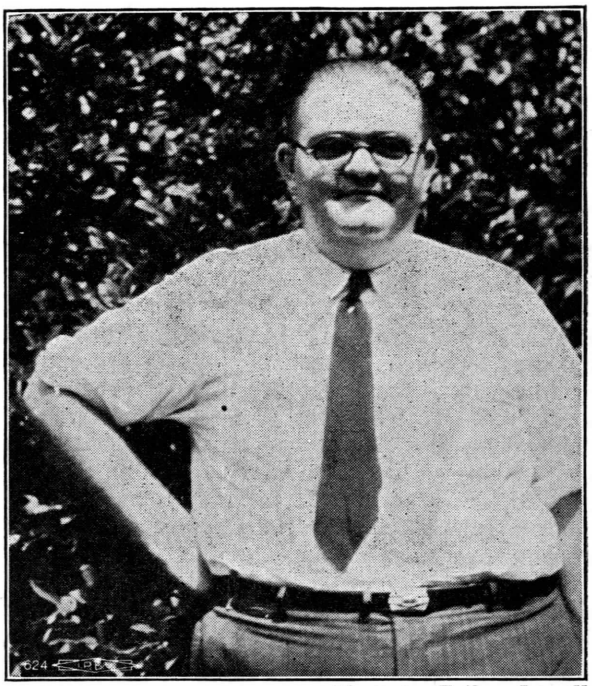


*Photo by Esther Lowell.*

**ALFRED HOFFMAN**

**Southern organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers union and secretary of the Piedmont Organizing Council which has encouraged Southern workers in all trades to organize.**

All are committed to the open shop, and a union movement in one would arouse the opposition of all. No one union, even an industrial union, can tackle Kingsport unaided.

Or consider the new unit of the Cannon cotton mill chain, started in Badin, N. C., at the invitation of American Aluminum which owns the town. Does any any one fancy Andy Mellon would sit idle while a textile union organized his employes' wives?

Or could Tennessee Coal & Iron steel mills in Birmingham be unionized without a general struggle with the parent U. S. Steel Corporation in Gary and Pittsburgh? Or may the new and booming rayon industry, which closely knits American, British, Belgian, German, Dutch, French and Italian investors together in united holdings be organized in Georgia North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky without a wider movement behind the drive?

Admittedly some plants are more easily approached. Labor research must chart out such data and all other industrial information essential to the task of organizing the workers within the complicated frame-work of finance-controlled industry. This research, coupled with an aggressive movement on the broad front required, is necessary if Southern industry, which means all American industry, is to be organized. Supremely difficult? Yes. But a necessity for the preservation of the American labor movement which sees unions in one region riddled by the open shop products of another.

# Man vs. Machine

## *Enter the Mechanical Salesman*

*By* JUSTUS EBERT

THE New York *Times,* in a recent issue, observed that the old problem of man vs. the machine is coming to the fore again in modern society. This observation was made in connection with a report, according to which locomotive engineers are endeavoring to secure some benefit from the introduction of motive power mechanisms that tend to restrict their employment, despite their increasing efficiency and profit-making abilities as a whole. It is an attempt of a skilled, entrenched craft to save its members from complete submergence by the wave of invention now sweeping over the working class.

The white collar workers, the retail salesmen, seem less fortunate. They do not appear to have any hold whatever on their positions, and are, therefore, apparently to be more ruthlessly separated from them. These possibilities are indicated in recent newspaper reports which announce the installation of "mechanical salesmen" and "cigarette robots" in chain stores.

A recent issue of the New York *Evening World,* for instance, told of heavy buying of the stock of the Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation, called Camco, on the curb Exchange. "'This heavy buying," declares the *Evening World,* "calls attention to the work that is going on to put mechanical men into business. Wall Street was told that Camco had closed a contract with the Schulte-United chain for the installation of more than 50,000 mechanical men in the stores of that company.

"In these days of endeavoring to cut expenses so that net income will improve the possibilities of robot salesmen is being given attention. Just how far these mechanical men will go in business and industry it is too early to hazard a guess, but from the work they have been made to do so far they will certainly release many workers to other fields of endeavor."

The report goes on to say, "The complaint will be made that the invention will throw men and women out of jobs, but new inventions have always done that, and yet there was always more work to be found by those replaced by new inventions.

"In fact, new farming inventions have not only increased the farmer's yield but have also relieved him of the fear of not being able to get sufficient help," says the report further.

The "Camco" itself, in printed propaganda, feels the necessity for justifying the introduction of the robot. It is on the defensive. Consequently, unlike the *Evening World,* with its "release to other fields of endeavor" argument, it claims that the robot will not eliminate but supplement human labor. It also implies that the robot's sales will increase merchandising enormously, with a consequent enormous increase in production.

"Some well-known men are backing the Robot salesmen. The Board of Directors of this corporation includes Franklin D. Roosevelt, F. J. Lisman, A. Granat, Albert C. Allen, Robert E. Allen, Albert M. Chambers, Saunders Novell, A. J. Sack, Joseph J. Schermack, Nathan A. Smyth, Robert P. Sniffin," concludes the *Evening World* report.

Another report in the New York *Times* of October 10th, 1928, is as follows:

"Cigarette Robots for Liggett Stores.

"The Louis K. Liggett Drug Company has signed a contract with the Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation covering the installation of talking automatic merchandising machines to sell cigarettes and cigars in all stores of the Liggett chain. The latter owns approximately 450 drug stores, and it is estimated that this contract will mean the installation of approximately 2,500 robots."

More reports like the above may be confidently expected. In fact, there are other kinds of automatic merchandising machines, like those exhibited at the recent New York Candy Show, still to be heard from.

### Scant Comfort

It may comfort the salesmen to know that these machines "will certainly release many workers to other fields of endeavor." But we have our doubts about it, knowing how closely workingmen generally hug a job nowadays and how difficult it is for many of them to secure employment once they are discharged. Evidently this "release" has no attraction for them.

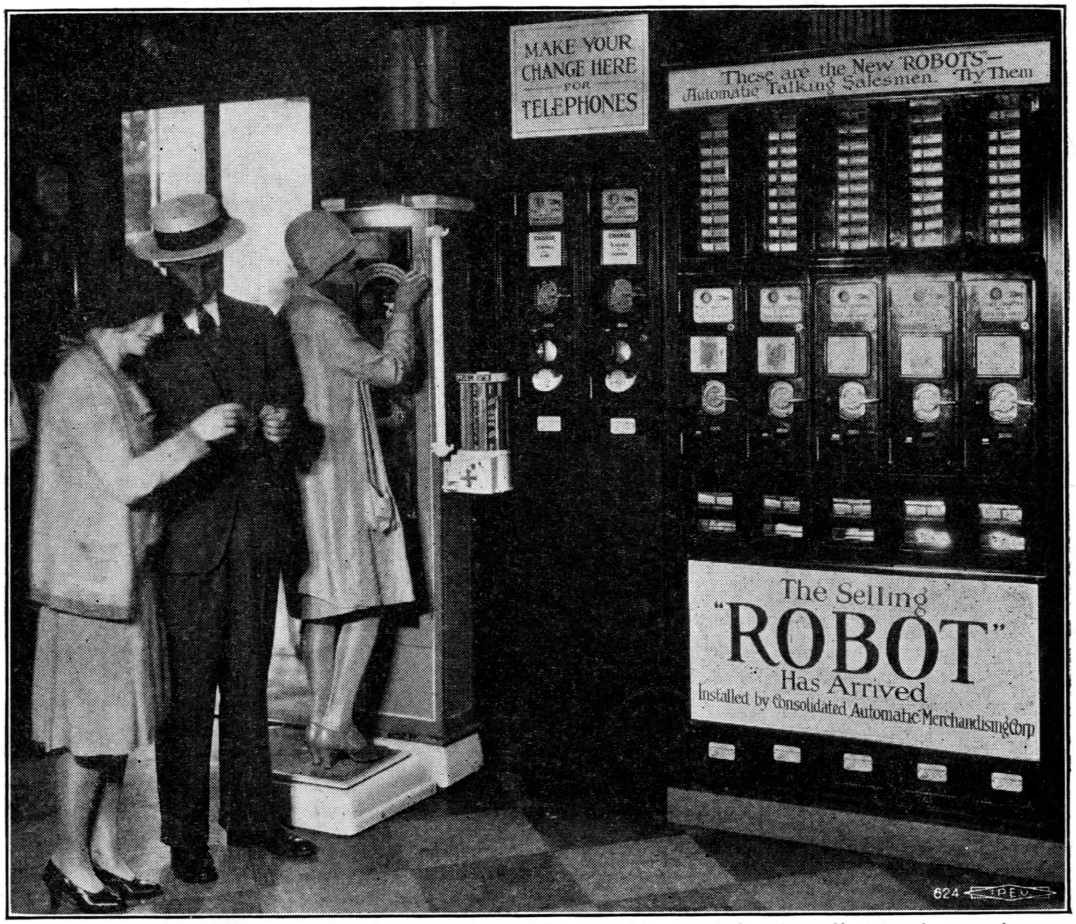
It may also delight the salesmen to know that work has been found for men replaced by machines before, but never before has labor displacement by machinery been on such a wholesale scale as now; in fact, technological unemployment has been invented as the phrase best expressing the new conditions now confronting the workers as a result of the machine ouster.

As for the "new farming inventions increasing the farmers' yield, but also relieving him of the fear of not being able to get sufficient help," that's the grimmest joke of all in the New York *World's* report, considering the way millions of farmers are drifting to the city, the large number of them rendered idle and bankrupt, and the fact that farming inventions tend to create a farm-owning class of big capitalists, who alone can install and operate them most profitably.

In brief, it would have been more impressive had the *World* report given the facts without any editorializing; the bald facts as given in the *Times* report are less sophistical and more to be preferred.

The *World* report is true only in one important respect; namely, that part of it which declares that machines are being given attention because of the urge for greater profits.

# THE RETAIL ROBOT




**A "Camco" selling machine in operation. This machine is being installed in thousands of chain stores and will put large numbers of white collar workers among the jobless.**

Yea, more attention than is given to the human salesmen that will be displaced as a result of this robot attention—all for the improvement in the net income of chain store corporations; only that and nothing more!

Regarding the claims of the Camco itself that automatic machinery will supplement rather than eliminate, this is not the tendency of automatic machinery, as a whole. The latter, as in electric power plant control, for example, tends to reduce human labor to the lowest number of employes possible; in fact, to displace them almost entirely and completely.

As for increasing production by increasing sales, the latter is dependent on purchasing power rather than merchandising facilities; and with increasing numbers of workers deprived of purchasing power by machinery, the Camco is adding to a condition of affairs that is, apparently, not as optimistic in its prospects as Camco believes. And this takes no account of the small shopkeepers forced out of retail merchandising because of the chain stores with their "mechanical salesmen."

What is to be done about this problem of the man vs. the machine? Seek refuge in editorial and Camco platitudes such as those analyzed above: Or shall the workers organize to demand reduced hours and increased wages proportionate to the increased labor displacement and productivity of the new inventions?

Organization will be a new thing for chain store salesmen. They fear its effect in a loss of jobs, though their jobs, despite their cringing servility, are anyway now lost to them. They will still hug their fond delusion that some day in some miraculous way they, too, will become chain store magnates. The terrible reality now confronting them most likely will cause them to change their mental attitude, thereby disposing them to act more favorably to labor organizations in general and their own organization in particular.

Only by labor organization—economically, politically, socially—can the problem of the machine vs. man be solved favorably to the man most concerned, namely, the working man.

It is time our white-collar workers realized this and did their share of organizing, too; ere it is too late for all concerned. It is also time that the workers in general realized the gravity of the machine problem and banded themselves together in the many ways open to them to effect a united solution before it is too late.

# In Search of Labor's Formula

## *Issues at A. F. of L. Convention*

*By* J. M. Budish

CONVENTIONS are milestones in the development and progress of a movement. Not the rah-rah-rah convention; not the conventions at which the delegates spit out their lungs shouting the names of their favorite candidate, or singing "The Sidewalks of New York" or the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." But conventions in which delegates unbosom themselves of the thoughts and misgivings that have been worrying them and their constituencies. Conventions at which real problems affecting the very life of the people are seriously tackled; conventions which are the climax of heated discussions among the rank and file on issues which are of the most vital importance; conventions at which out of the storm of clashing opinions lightning bolts of new thought brighten the gloomy horizon. Such conventions are not incidents but events which are eagerly awaited by the masses they represent. They are the moments when tension of potential power is converted into kinetic energy, bringing broader vision, deeper faith and greater vitality into the movement.

It is both significant and disappointing that on the eve of the A. F. of L. convention we cannot observe any real and wide-spread preconvention eagerness. Not even the labor press has devoted any space to a discussion of the problems that will come before the convention. While the convention call does not contain any agenda, and the practice of the A. F. of L. conventions has been to guide their proceedings by the reports of the Executive Council and the resolutions that may be introduced by the delegates, few will fail to agree with the statement of the call that the new problems arising out of present industrial development affect the well being and happiness of all working people. It is therefore hard indeed to understand why there is not much more preconvention agitation within every labor organization. Unless it be that the labor movement has not yet developed the necessary machinery and methods for bringing the masses of the membership in closer touch with the life and activities of their organizations and of organized labor as a whole. It may be said without exaggeration that there will be before this convention issues of the most decisive nature, affecting the entire future progress, the very life of the A. F. of L.

### Machine Displacing Men

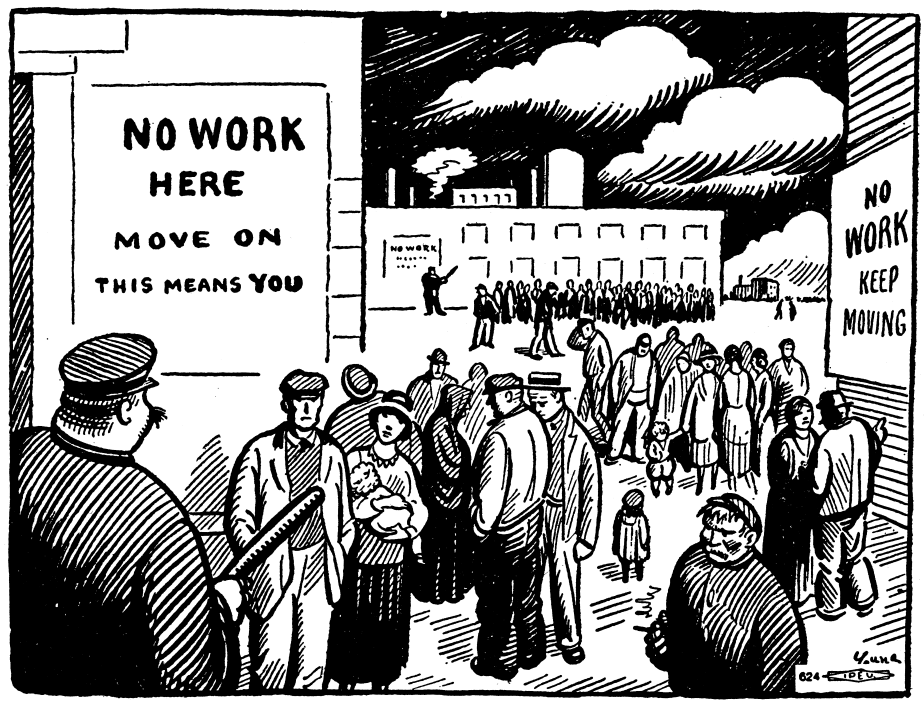
The mechanization of industry has made rapid strides since the World War. The entire scene of all labor activities has changed radically. In the first place mechanization enables industry to produce greater quantities of goods with a smaller number of men. A few examples will suffice. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics one man now turns out 32,000 razor blades in the same time as he produced 500 in 1913. The productivity per man in the automobile industry increased 172 per cent in the last eleven years. As a result, out of every 100 people who were employed in the manufacturing industries in 1919, eleven men were dropped by 1927. But the remaining 89 men produced 26 per cent more products than the 100 men in 1919. The same holds good for the railroads and for agriculture.

Figures and statistics are not a fascinating subject. But these figures tell a dramatic story of the greatest significance and portent. Translated into terms of the life of the common worker, it means greater insecurity of his present job and less of a chance to get a new job. It amounts to living under a Damocles' sword, of losing the opportunity to make a living without a chance to find new employment. It tells the story of the increasing hardships to find something to do for the grown-up children. Unless you are privileged to arrange appointments by wire with the president of the biggest railroad system, who is happy to leave all other work and meet you in his office so that you may favor him by accepting a clerkship. The industries cannot employ all their present employes and there is even less place there for the new generation. The continued mechanization has reached the point when entire electrical plants are managed by automatic machinery without a snigle man, and when a huge plant turns out 7,000 automobile frames a day almost untouched by human hands. We are faced with the very serious and imminent menace of a continuously growing permanent unemployment which cannot possibly be absorbed by service industries unless the leisure and purchasing power of the great masses of the people is very substantially increased in the immediate future.

### Pressure on Organized Trades

But the same machinization of industry creates, in the second place, unfavorable objective conditions for the labor struggle for higher wages and shorter hours. By reducing the function of the worker to that of the machine tender, the mechanization of industry also reduces his power of resistance. With the exception of an insignificant percentage of very highly skilled machine mechanics, the average worker needs little training or skill for his job. The processes of production have been extremely simplified. Every operation has been subdivided, and whatever skill there is still needed is more the skill of adjusting one's simple and stereotyped motions to the speedily rotating machine. The result is that traditional trade demarcations have practically lost all significance. No trade can now consider itself as sheltered from the overflowing supply of hands in the general labor market.

The pressure upon the few organized industries is getting to be unbearable. The objective bargaining power of the workers of any trade depends directly not merely on their organized power but also upon the conditions prevailing in all other industries, including especially those auxiliary industries where the released workers are compelled to look for employment. The over two million industrial and railroad workers, who lost their jobs since 1925 had to find work somewhere. We are usually told that they have gone to the new and auxiliary industries; such as automobiles, radios, filling stations, aeroplanes, etc. Now all these industries are entirely unorganized and the wages and working conditions there are extremely low. In the automobile industry the average weekly wage amounts to only $28.73. In the manufacture of receiving sets it amounted to only $28.05 for men and $16.62 for women. Even if a trade cannot easily replace its workers, they still cannot help being influenced by the knowledge that those of them who have dropped out because of machinization had to be satisfied with a substantially lower wage and poorer conditions in some new or auxiliary trade. A continually glutted labor market objectively weakens the bargaining power of the workers in every machinized industry. The low level of working conditions and wages in the unorganized industries creates a frame of mind among the workers, even of the most skilled trades, which undermines their bargaining power.




**Result of Mechanization**

## The Paramount Issue

This is *the* problem before the American labor movement. The solution of the problem is a question of life and death. There is not a labor man in a responsible position who does not realize that unless the purchasing power of the working people is substantially increased and their hours of labor materially shortened, unemployment and insecurity are bound to grow apace and undermine the very foundations of organized labor. But in order to secure higher wages and shorter hours, the bargaining power of the workers must be increased. And this cannot possibly be accomplished as long as the bulk of the wage-earners remain unorganized. Both objectively and psychologically the skilled workers in the few organized industries cannot pull themselves out by their own bootstraps. With insignificant exceptions they are doomed to lose ground or at best to mark time until organized labor has become a determining factor in the labor market as a whole.

The organization of the unorganized industries is the paramount issue. This is realized by every section of the labor movement. The A. F. of L. not only has repeatedly adopted resolutions to that effect, it has also taken initial steps for the inauguration of an organization campaign in the automobile industry, and it actually started such a campaign among the women workers in the State of New Jersey. But somehow these movements, which were to serve as a beginning of a series of general organization campaigns in every basic industry, died out before they ever developed. Neither were the unions able to extend and bring about a more complete organization of their own trades. The membership records which will be submitted to the next convention of the A. F. of L. will hardly tell an encouraging story. With the only exception of the building and printing trades, there are few organizations which did not lose some ground. The convention could hardly be in a position to "present labor's formula as a remedy for industrial ills and social injustice," as the convention call puts it, without giving serious consideration to the causes of this distressing situation.

It must be remembered that while the absence of organization in the major industries creates unfavorable objective conditions for the bargaining task of organized labor, it objectively should facilitate its organizing task. The conditions and wages of the workers in the unorganized industries are so miserable that they should readily respond to the message of organized labor. Why then is so little progress made in that direction? Why then are our organizing efforts crowned with so little success? It is true that we are meeting with many external, sometimes almost unsurpassable difficulties. The indiscriminate abuse of injunctions, enjoining practically every function of organized labor,

is not the only legal obstacle, though it is probably the most destructive weapon in the hands of the organized employers. The employment of private armies by big industrial corporations, combined with the so-called private detectives who mostly act as agent-provocateurs, are no negligible hindrance in the way of organization. But with all that, these obstacles alone could retard our progress; they could not prevent it. Labor has always been confronted with apparently insurmountable obstacles. But as long as they were external obstacles, as long as they did not affect its spirit, solidarity and militancy, organized labor always found within itself the energy and power to overcome them. Far more deadly, however, than these outside brutal means of destruction are the subtle methods used by the employers for the machinization of the very minds of the workers.

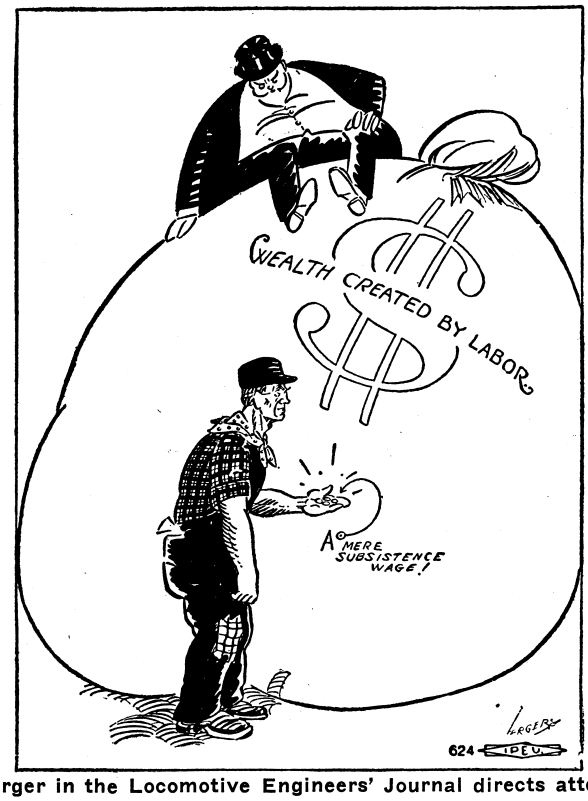
### Controlling the Worker's Mind

"Personnel management," company unionism, welfare capitalism and the thousand and one schemes of company-made "industrial democracy" are the most striking and the most apparent weapons used by the employer for the purpose of robotizing the worker. But these are not the only methods. There are other more subtle methods used by the organized employers with a view to fostering and developing complacency even among the organized workers. The labor manager applies to this task the same scientific methods as are applied in modern machinized industry. The "Labor Inventory" is treated as the material inventory, except that the scrapped machine is a financial loss, while the scrapped worker is easily replaced at no cost to the employer. The last word of individual and mass psychology is assiduously and skillfully applied. With the cooperation of all the avenues of news, information and education which are effectively controlled by Big Business (the Power Trust investigation raised the curtain upon the crudest methods of this control), attitudes are developed among the working people which undermine their power of resistance, makes them accept and be contented with things as they are, and fosters among them blind resentment against any protest movement, including any attempt at organization. It is this deadly weapon of the organized employers, this subtle and scientific method used to control the mind of the workers that is paralyzing every step of organized labor. It will demand a heroic effort, a straining of all the material and spiritual resources of the labor movement in order to break these intangible mental chains with which the employers have so far been able to shackle the great masses of the unorganized workers.

### "Non-Partisanship" Reduced to Absurdity

The convention will have many opportunities to give serious consideration to this phase of the question. The political campaign with its shouting and clamor will be over by that time. Organized labor will have an opportunity to weigh in balance the effects of its "non-partisanship". In this campaign we were treated to the spectacle of organized labor being unable to agree on who is more or less friendly, or more or less hostile to labor, whom to reward and whom to punish.

**THE WORKER'S PORTION**




**Jerger in the Locomotive Engineers' Journal directs attention to Labor's inequitable share in industry's rewards.**

We have seen the general officers of the same International Union giving contradictory advice to their membership. While the General Secretary worked for one presidential ticket, the President stumped for another. The dignity of labor has also been peculiarly enhanced in this campaign by presidents of labor organizations announcing to the world and to their membership that they "have been signally honored" by being invited to become spokes in the wheels of the auxiliary machinery created by the one or the other of the capitalist parties to boost their candidates among the workers. So the influence of an organization which has been forced literally at the point of the injunction and the bayonet to drastically reduce wages is being used indirectly for the election of a man who is running on a fiction of prosperity and high wages.

But however great the demoralizing effects and humiliation of this reduction to absurdity of the traditional non-partisanship policy of the A. F. of L. in politics, there is much greater danger and peril in the tendency to extend the same non-partisanship policy to the economic struggle of organized labor.

In its economic struggle organized labor has always depended mainly and primarily upon its own organized strength. There have always been *civic* bodies who have made it as their purpose to conciliate the conflicting interests of capital and labor. Great A. F. of L. organizations have declared membership in such civic federations incompatible with loyalty to labor. But some labor leaders thought it advisable, as the late

Samuel Gompers put it, to "appeal even to the devil and his mother-in-law to help labor." They did, however, carefully guard against having anybody confuse such nonpartisan civic bodies with the Federation of Labor, much less to identify them. These scruples seem to be waning now. The man on the street and the masses of working people now read so frequently statements in the press, issued either in the name of such civic federation or in the name of the A. F. of L. but emanating from the same source, that it has become next to impossible for them not to confuse the "federations." When such civic federation attacks all labor movements of the world, branding them as "entirely Red" and destructive, it conveys the impression as if the A. F. of L. were a party to that scurrilous attack upon these labor movements with whom it has been exchanging fraternal delegates. Is trade unionism going to become non-partisan on trade union questions? Wouldn't such a tendency, if permitted to develop and prevail, ring the death knell of the labor movement?

## Bar Association Upholds Injunctions

This is not a mere abstract or hypothetical danger. It will come before the convention in the very definite form of the so-called peace plan of the American Bar Association. The Bar Association is another of those non-partisan civic bodies professing equal friendliness and equal fairness for both capital and labor. To be sure, this fairness to labor does not prevent it from lending its entire strength and authority in support of the most unfair destructive weapon against labor. The Bar Association does not refrain from siding with the most greedy and unscrupulous employers in insisting that "the powers of the equity courts should not under any circumstances be limited" in their usurped right to enjoin and paralyze every effective function of organized labor. It is this same Bar Association that has come forward with a plan to make agreements for arbitration legally binding and enforcible, with provisions for the appointment by the State of arbitrators in case the parties fail to agree, and for the postponement of strikes or lockouts until a State body will have had an opportunity to investigate and report on the involved issues. Considering the state of public opinion, controlled as it is by Big Business, the effects of such a law in practice will amount very closely to compulsory arbitration. But in the name of the all-devouring fetish of non-partisanship there is a tendency among some responsible labor leaders to embrace even this perilous project.

## Shall Labor Go A-hunting?

Another test of this drifting tendency will come before the convention on the question of workers' education. Are no deviations from the standard to be permitted in labor education? Must the workers' mind be kept under rigid control of strict conformity on every question with the orthodox view, or should labor education rather aim to enable the worker to subject every present standard as well as every suggested new remedy to the light of scientific research and analysis? Brookwood Labor College, perhaps the best labor educational institution in this country, has been challenged and denounced without so much as a hearing. It is not Brookwood alone that is involved. At least this is the claim of the mentioned civic federation which through personal identity has come to be confused with the Labor Federation. Here is the statement of that civic federation in its Labor Day address: "As *an initial step against a number of the so-called labor colleges* (my italics—JMB), it (the A. F. of L.) requests its Unions to withdraw all support from the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, which has been held up as a model by certain church and economic organizations, and to which the ultra-radicals have long pointed with pride as having been captured by them." That last shot about the ultra-radicals pointing with pride to Brookwood is worse than an empty shot. It is a deliberate falsehood, since the literature of the ultra-radicals, of which that very civic federation appointed itself censor and inquisitor, is full of denunciations of Brookwood. The bigger and real issue, however, is, Shall the labor movement go a hersey hunting, nipping in the bud the workers' educational movement? Are the minds of the workers to be stilted by rigid conformity so that they may be the more easily controlled by the personnel management devices of company unionism, Yellow Dog contracts, welfare capitalism and Mitten-Mahonism?

## Revitalized and Greater Solidarity

The machinization of industry creates new problems affecting the well being and happiness of all the working people, The convention of the A. F. of L., at which these problems are analyzed and solutions sought, is faced with a tremendous duty and an overwhelming responsibility. It is to evolve and perfect labor's formula for the remedying of the industrial ills and social injustice of the times. But labor's formula cannot be non-partisan. It must answer the needs and wants of the working people. It must express their innermost wishes and inherent aspirations. Neither can it be made effective by mere presentation. It is absurd and futile to depend on persuasion alone to have the open shop employers change their ways and accept labor's formula as a tribute to the persuasive abilities of the labor leaders. Whatever labor's formula may be, however modest and unexacting in its scope, it can be made effective only through the organized power behind it. The craft and trade demarcations that have lost their effectiveness as a shelter against a glutted labor market must not be permitted to stand in the way of a united and general organizing campaign. Neither must non-partisanship be allowed to dim the vision, clip the wings and paralyze the efforts of organized labor. Such type of non-partisanship is a *reductio ad absurdum*. A revitalized and greater solidarity, a regeneration of the pioneer spirit of labor with its wider vision, more vigorous militancy and readiness to self-sacrifice, is the most essential element of labor's formula, if it is to be not a mere pious wish but a vital, invincible force able to sweep before it any obstacles that may be in its way.

# Flashes from the Labor World

## *Gunman Confesses to Bridgewater Crime*

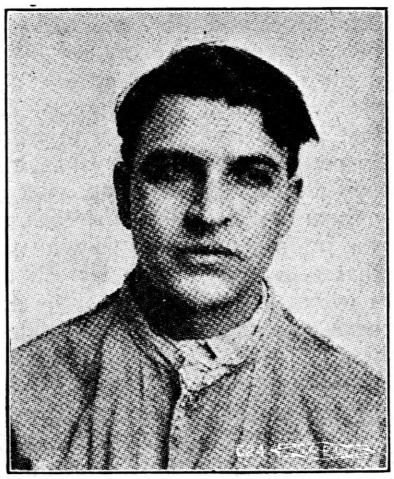
Vanzetti was innocent! Convicted, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, railroaded into another trial on a similar charge, Bartolomeo Vanzetti went to the electric chair knowing that he was an innocent man. Thirteen months later the holdup man who planned the Bridgewater crime, who with three confederates carried it through, confessed that Governor Fuller had burned the wrong man to death.

Lovers of justice, workers who were convinced from the first that Vanzetti and his comrade, Nicola Sacco, had been framed up because they were "wops", "dagoes", "anarchist bastards", felt again the cold chill of horror as they read in The Outlook respectable weekly magazine, the confession of Frank Silva, the affidavit of Jimmie Mede, the analysis of Jack Callahan, the comments of Silas Bent, every word, every paragraph pointing to the innocence of Vanzetti, the guilt of Judge Webster Thayer, the guilt of Governor Alvan T. Fuller.

Sacco and Vanzetti were framed on both the Bridgewater and Braintree holdup charges. Even Judge Thayer had to free Sacco of the Bridgewater charge, but Vanzetti was tried. Pahey, Vanzetti's attorney, betrayed him. He was convicted. Then, stigmatized as a holdup robber, he went to trial with Sacco on the charge of murdering a paymaster and his guard in the Braintree payroll robbery. Conviction was easy, with a prejudiced judge, an inflamed jury, a hysterical, radical-hating prosecuting attorney. And now, the real criminal confesses.

If only Governor Fuller had commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment, Vanzetti today would probably be setting his feet on free soil, to be followed by Sacco. Not Vanzetti was the murderer, but Fuller, aided by respectable, nice people of Boston, Massachusetts and America. What a shock it must have been to them to read the confession of Frank Silva in The Outlook, ultra-respectable paper of the Boston Back Bay.

Last month Labor Age told how the Judge who tried Tom Mooney has now declared him to be an innocent man. But still Mooney is behind



**FRANK SILVA**
**Clears Vanzetti of Bridgewater Holdup.**

prison bars; indeed he would have been dead—hanged by the neck—had not workers forced commutation of his sentence. In Walla Walla penitentiary in Washington state, eight I. W. W. lumberjacks are serving 25 to 40 year sentences with as little justice as Mooney, as little as was meted to Sacco and Vanzetti. Even American Legionnaires begin to confess that Legion rowdies attacked the little I. W. W. hall in Centralia and that the lumber workers were in the right in protecting themselves.

* * *

So dark and devious are the methods pursued by labor-haters in wrecking labor unions, that the open shop session of the National Association of Manufacturers convention was held behind locked doors. Secretary Noel Sargent peeped from behind the door at a labor newspaper representative seeking admittance, and almost called the cops. Inside President John Sullivan of the New Bedford Cotton Manufacturers' Association was telling how he forced a 5 per cent wage cut down the throats of 27,000 mill workers on strike for six months. An Allen-A executive told how many hundreds of thousands of dollars it costs to fight a small but aggressive union like the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. An American, La France and Foamite, executive explained how he had had to use every chamber of commerce in the country to wage a fight against the Machinists' union.

* * *

After six years of fighting before the old railroad labor board and in every way provided by the Watson-Parker law, the shop craft unions on the Chicago and Alton finally resorted to the threat of economic power and won recognition from the road. Fourteen unions including engine men and trackwalkers, were ready to walk out if the Alton had persisted in its refusal to recognize the shop men.

* * *

Pigs can't make a living anywhere in the Northwest logging camps. "The lumber company has two dining rooms," a logger explained. "In one the boss eats and it is fair. The other gets the leavings. This outfit used to keep pigs but the swill is now consumed by the slaves in the second dining room. The pigs starved to death."

* * *

Paterson broadsilk workers ,organized in the Associated Silk Workers, are slowly winning their strike for union recognition, a 10 to 25 per cent pay increase and the 44-hour week. Fighting against 462 different bosses, most of them employing but a handful of workers, the union has signed up more than a hundred and is besieging the bigger ones. Police are duplicating New Bedford with mass arrests to break up mass picketing.

* * *

Because they have fought for their union, members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers enjoy a purchasing power 40 per cent higher than before the war. Wage increases were won in 12 of the 37 cities reported to the federal bureau of labor statistics and in 34 of these cities wages are higher than five years ago. In five cities the union enjoys the 40-hour week and elsewhere 44 hours. Their average wage is $1.25 an hour. Chicago electricians get a minimum of $1.62.

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

# Judicial Tyranny at Kenosha

## *26 Jailed for Civil Contempt*

*By* LEONARD BRIGHT

**Majority of 26 hosiery workers who went to Milwaukee prison cheering and singing.**

FEDERAL Judge F. A. Geiger at Milwaukee the other day his own action proved that Louis Francis Budenz, fighting editor of LABOR AGE, was right in his published attacks upon judge-made law and in his arraignment of the courts as hostile to labor. When Budenz was on the witness stand before this judge some months ago, counsel for the Allen-A Company read some of Budenz's caustic statements concerning courts, judges and injunctions, which appeared frequently in the columns of this publication. Certainly no judge likes to hear such opinions as, "Injunctions when made permanent can only be defeated in one way—by open defiance in mass. Thousands of workers in jail will bring the courts to time." Or "Beyond that, do not the learned corporation lawyers on the Supreme Bench know that the workers long ago lost faith in the courts? Do they not know that, from bitter experience, the workers understand full well that the common man has small chance in our halls of injustice? Our contempt for the Washington Sacred Cow increases. It is not in the courts, but in contempt and defiance of the courts—through aggressive non-resistance—that the hope of the workers lies." If Judge Geiger had had his way at the time Budenz would have been held in contempt of court, but as he and 25 other workers were being tried for *criminal* contempt of court, before a jury, there was nothing the judge could do except to rule out certain favorable testimony to the defense. Nevertheless, the jury acquitted Budenz, Vice-President Steele of the Hosiery Workers' Federation, and all the other defendants.

Now Judge Geiger has aimed another blow at Kenosha's locked-out hosiery workers. After hailing 27 of them before him on a charge of *civil* contempt of court, for violating his drastic injunction against picketing, Judge Geiger found all of them guilty and fined them $100 each. But 26 of the gallant young strikers immediately announced that they would sooner go to jail than pay this fine. On October 30, Judge Geiger ordered the hosiery workers committed to the Milwaukee House of Correction for failure to pay their fines. And the next day the 26 went off to jail to serve "indeterminate" sentences. Newspapers report that they went jubilantly, laughing, cheering and singing "The Prisoner's Song" and "We May Be Gone for a Long, Long Time." Also that at Kenosha "the de-

**The Gloss family going to jail rather than pay unjust fine.**

parture of the strikers took on the aspects of a college football celebration. The band was out and strikers and strike sympathizers paraded throughout the street with humorous banners, giving union yells and singing."

### In High Spirits

If this judicial tyranny was expected to break the strike, it has had altogether a different effect. The Allen-A Co. and its cohorts still do not seem to understand the stuff that these young American battlers for industrial rights are made of. It will take more than jail sentences to break their spirit. As a matter of fact, they have been heartened by the wonderful response which is coming from the unions throughout the Middle West. As soon as the story of the fines for *civil* contempt was published money and promises of support in various forms were received at Kenosha.

The East and the Middle West will be visited by committees of these heroic Kenosha workers. They will appear before unions, women's clubs, civic bodies and religious groups in various important centers, and there is every reason to believe that funds will be forthcoming to meet this latest attack of the courts against labor and that it will bring new vigor in the carrying on of this strike for industrial freedom.

In the meantime, Kenosha's new police chief, appointed by the pro-Allen-A City Council to "get" Louis F. Budenz and the strike leaders, is showing himself a willing servant of a union-busting crowd. Since coming to Kenosha, the new chief, John T. Sullivan, elevated to the post of Chief of Detectives Frank Schneebarger, an officer who has attempted to aid the Allen-A ever since the lock-out started. Schneebarger, months ago, called at the homes of strikers in an effort to induce them to return to work and assisted the company in spreading rumors designed to break the morale of the locked-out workers. Schneebarger is charged with at least three different attempts to "frame" strikers, not to mention cases where he threatened to "close up" pool rooms if the proprietors did not assist the police in their nefarious schemes.

### Police Chief Exposed

New details regarding Police Chief Sullivan, who was fired by Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, in 1921, for irregular conduct, have been brought to the attention of the Kenosha citizens. After being ousted from the Milwaukee police force, Sullivan went into the private detective business and appealed to the officials of the State Federation of Labor to assist him to get around the provisions of the Wisconsin law regulating such agencies. In 1925 a notorious bootlegger, who served a sentence in Leavenworth Penitentiary, declared on the witness stand that he had also served a jail sentence to protect John Sullivan while he was a member of the Milwaukee force. Sullivan was found to be a partner in a dummy corporation some of whose heads served jail terms for selling liquor. It is charged that a secret reward of $10,000 has been promised the police if they can succeed in getting Louis Budenz and other strike leaders behind the bars, and some of the strikers who have been given the third degree by Sullivan and his crew, were offered a share of this reward if they would squeal.

The Allen-A Company, it becomes more evident each week, is feeling the effects of the unfavorable publicity this concern has received in all parts of the United States. In some cities dealers in full fashioned hosiery have returned shipments of Allen-A goods to Kenosha after reading press reports of the strike. In several cities committees of interested citizens have visited stores featuring Allen-A hosiery and have informed the merchants as to the situation now existing in Kenosha. To offset this blow at its business the Allen-A has been frantically distributing special publicity to dealers declaring there is no strike in Kenosha and has been forced to spend large sums of money in advertising special sales of Allen-A hosiery at a 20 per cent reduction.

Their attempts to deceive the public, however, will be of no avail. The entire labor movement and all progressive minded people will come to the aid of the young strikers, who, as President Gustave Geiges of the Hosiery Workers' Federation, has said, have amazed everyone by their magnificent fight against great odds.

# The Devil and the Deep Sea

## *Labor-Capital Cooperation Again*

*By* **A. J. Muste**

THE American labor movement, as indeed the labor movement of the entire world, today confronts a perplexing and difficult situation. Such a situation calls for analysis and criticism. Any movement which has gotten to the point where it cannot take and profit by criticism is as good as dead. No one, however, who has any conception of the tremendous forces arrayed against labor today and the complexity of the problems which it faces, will be disposed merely to find fault or sling mud. Superficial chattering and irresponsible hell-raising are not helpful. It is with a sobering sense of the difficulties involved and in a spirit of analysis that we venture once more to discuss the problem of "union management cooperation vs. class collaboration."

A. J. MUSTE

In the old days the A. F. of L. did not regard the unions as responsible for cooperating with management in order to get efficient production. The very word "efficiency" was anathema to most trade unionists of an older day. They fought Taylorism tooth and nail. To them it was the union's business to protect the worker on the job, to get good wages, short hours and decent conditions of work for him, and that was about all of the union's business. It was the employer's business to look after production. This attitude was not based upon Marxian philosophy of a class struggle or irreconcilable antagonism between labor and capital. It was just the practical reaction of the plain, simple trade unionist.

Since the war a new theory has come to the front, which says in effect that honest and intelligent labor has no quarrel with honest and intelligent capital, only with dishonest and unintelligent capital, that labor is interested in having goods produced efficiently and in large quantities so that there may be much to consume, and that therefore instead of opposing or being indifferent to the introduction of new machinery and methods—the so-called rationalization of industry—labor should cooperate with management in order to make production more and more efficient, assured that in the long run this will be to the advantage of labor as well as other groups in industry.

Nothing is to be gained by dismissing this development of union-management cooperation with a lordly gesture or a clever or bitter phrase. The tendency exists. There must be a reason for it. What is that reason?

Perhaps the first thing to point out is that it is never safe to attach too much importance to what any institution or movement happens to say about itself. All of us talk at times "for effect," expecting that people will take what we say with a "grain of salt." Many a radical who is all for militancy "cooperates" and "compromises" when, as he thinks, he has to; and to make out that because the official policy of the labor movement is "cooperation", therefore there is no fighting for the rights of the workers going on, is absurd. It is interesting in this connection to note a few sentences from a statement issued not long ago by the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L. "It should not be construed that the readiness of those standard organizations of labor composing the Railway Employes Department, to engage upon a program of systematic cooperation, is an indication of their willingness to desist in the future from improving the standard of living of the railroad workers. Their obligation to do this will always be their primary and most important responsibility. Nor have they any intention of relinquishing any of the basic rights of the organized workers."

### Striking a Bargain

To some extent, at least, union management cooperation is just our old friend collective bargaining. Heretofore the union worker has said to management, "You give me such and such wages, hours, conditions, control over my job, and in return I will give you so much of my time, energy, skill." So he "cooperated", produced goods, built industries, made a living. The method is not so simple and easy when applied to big mechanized industries under modern conditions as the union-management cooperation plan tries to do, but from one angle there is no fundamental difference. The same sort of bargain is struck.

It is the simple fact also that people cannot consume what has not been produced, and that in a country like the United States, where the national income is very large, the standard of living of the worker is also comparatively high. He may not get his share; he may not even get as large a percentage of the national income of the United States as the German worker, for example, gets of the national income of Germany. So much, however, is produced, that out of the abundance he gets, as a matter of fact, a good deal to eat, drink, wear and ride around in. It is not clear that anyone could be benefitted if production were cut down. From that angle everybody is interested in getting production. So by dint of piece work perhaps, bonuses, propaganda (especially propaganda) the American worker continues to turn out the goods and doubtless will continue to

do so. Even from the most radical standpoint it is the business of the labor movement to put the capitalist system out of business, not to put a particular firm or industry on the rocks, and there is a decided difference between the two.

Furthermore, a merely negative policy of dogged opposition to the introduction of new machinery and methods has been tried by workers but has never been very successful. In the early days of the industrial revolution, workers smashed machinery which was taking away their jobs and their skill, but the machines stayed just the same. For years, in this country, the Cigar Makers' Union refused to have anything to do with workers who made cigars by machine instead of by hand. The result was not that the machines were put out of business, but that the Cigar Makers' Union was nearly put out of business as the hand workers were crowded out of the industry. If the union is confronted with the choice of opposing efficient production, new machines, and being gradually pushed out altogether, or of "compromising" and "cooperating" in order to keep its hand in, retain its membership, keep some control over the process of rationalization, what is a sane union expected to do?

To certain objectors, we may point out that they often argue that workers must eventually control industry, but certainly no one can under complex modern conditions, control industry in any real sense without knowing a great deal about its technical processes. To some extent that knowledge has to be gained by actual experience on the job. If the union and its members and officers can actually get that experience, can experiment, as insiders, in industrial processes, is that not a welcome development? Is it not from every angle advantageous for the workers to learn everything they can along these lines?

Let us look at the other side of the picture, however. We shall confine ourselves to considering the effects of mechanization and rationalization on the labor movement, rather than on the individual worker or his family, and we shall assume that we are writing for people who agree that a strong, vital, intelligent labor movement is a desirable thing, that in the long run engineers, scientists, bankers, employers, are not likely to run industry in the interest of the masses of the workers, unless these workers themselves have some means of bringing pressure to bear on the situation intelligently and effectively. From this standpoint, anything that weakens or depresses the labor movement is a calamity.

### More Unemployment

In the first place, if a union cooperates to make an industry more efficient, it is actually helping in very many cases, under present conditions, to reduce the working force; in other words, to put its own members out of jobs. Even if a considerable number of them find jobs in other industries, nevertheless the force in this particular industry is cut down, and in just that measure the union's own membership is likely to be cut down. This happens under relatively favorable circumstances. Actually in many instances the union finds itself "cooperating" in the process which creates a supply of unemployed in its own ranks, thus greatly complicating its problems. Also, it helps to add to the total number of unemployed in all industries, and so to complicate things, make the task of organization more difficult for the labor movement as a whole.

In the second place, because the employer is under great pressure to reduce costs, because fewer hands are needed and people are consequently unemployed, and for other reasons, it is likely to become hard to maintain the wage level, certainly very difficult to raise it. At best the smaller number of workers kept on may have higher wages, but nothing comparable to the increased production they are turning out. This also is likely to make it less easy for the union to get or hold members or to have the enthusiastic allegiance of those it does manage to hold.

In the third place, mechanization means in many industries simplifying processes so that much fewer skilled workers can be kept on. Thus, new groups are introduced into the industry—women workers perhaps, young workers, negroes, people fresh from the farm, who have not been accustomed to organization and whom it is difficult for the unions to reach.

### Effect on Morale

Fourthly, as already intimated, this process is likely to have a decisive effect on the morale of the union membership and of the labor movement as a whole. It may be inevitable, for example, that the labor force in a particular industry be cut down, but how will members feel about a union which in any way seems to "help" the process along or to acquiesce in it? The tendency is for the union to cease to be primarily a fighting organism, to hesitate to arouse the fighting spirit of the membership, and so to fail to evoke the enthusiasm people are apt to give to an organization of which they are a part, when it is engaged in battle. The members see the union as something which gears in with management, is a part of the industry and its mechanism rather than as something which stands apart from management and industry, something which is primarily theirs, and something which stands for them, over against industry. The union becomes part of the business world rather than a popular, social movement. As I have already suggested, this may be necessary and inevitable. Simply to curse union officials as class collaborationists does not dispose of the problem. On the other hand, a problem it is. The morale of the membership under these conditions is not the same as in the old fighting days, as many an officer will testify.

Again, in spite of all the efforts on the part of those involved, the union undergoing such a process tends to become businesslike. It is interested in the technicalities of a particular industry. It wants to keep the industry prosperous. It specializes. It is likely, therefore, to feel less interested in the problems of the working class as a whole. If all the workers were organized, this might not be so alarming, but in the United States, where so small a percentage of workers is unionized, what seems to happen is that the trade unions are more and more confined to relatively small groups of work-

ers, while the masses in the basic industries are entirely untouched by the labor movement, which seems to lack the effective will and intelligence to organize these masses. If in the past the organized workers have been able to a considerable extent to carry the unorganized with them and raise their standards too, how long will it take under these modern conditions before the masses of the unorganized in the big industries become a dead weight around the neck of those who are organized—unless indeed these organized workers in return for being left alone in relative prosperity, are willing to abandon the rest to the company union and the open shop, unashamed to give up all will to organize?

It has sometimes been said that if the union could say to the employer, "We are prepared to cooperate, we are not fighting against the industry, not opposing improvements, not against more efficiency," this would be an inducement to the employer to welcome the union. The present writer does not know of any important situation where that has proved to be the case. Where a union already exists and it is a question whether it could be done away with without considerable effort, there the employer may welcome the development of a "cooperative policy", and in return for what he may get out of it, refrain from fighting the union, but where a union does not have a foothold in an industry or locality, where something is really at stake, there may be an occasional employer who is as honestly prepared to cooperate as is the union, but for the rest, if the union gets in, it will have to fight its way in. The industry will not give it a foothold if it can be helped. Nothing, as Samuel Gompers often reminded us, is going to be handed to it on a silver platter.

Thus it seems to be a clear case of "damned if you do, and damned if you don't." Rationalization, mechanization, is bound to go on. We do need production. Mere dogged resistance to change hasn't gotten the unions anywhere in the past. But to go along with the present development raises terrific problems for particular unions and for the labor movement in general, and the fact is that under the new policy, whether altogether as a result of it or not, the movement is not gaining membership or power and is suffering in morale. Is there any way out of the dilemma? Is there such a thing as steering a course that will avoid the evils on either side and bring the ship of labor out into broader seas on which it may advance more swiftly to its goal?

***Some important problems concerning labor-capital cooperation have been raised in the foregoing article. Brother Muste has no neat little formula to hand out to the labor movement nor has he attempted to frame a complete program to meet the situation. His next article, however, will offer suggestions in order that discussion may continue and be as fruitful as possible.***

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**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1928, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:**

**Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Leonard Bright, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:**

**1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:**

**Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 3 W. 16th St., New York City.**

**Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.**

**Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 West 16th St., New York City.**

**Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.**

**2. That the owner is (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)**

**Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.**

**3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.**

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

**LEONARD BRIGHT,**
**Business Manager.**

**Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1928.**

**(Seal)** **ERNEST BOHM,**
**Notary Public.**

**(My commission expires March 30, 1929)**

# Does the Machine De-Humanize?

## *What It Does To Worker's Skill*

*By* HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

TO the majority of thoughtful observers of modern economic society the Iron Man in Industry, the machine, appears the predominant characteristic of our industrial civilization. The shift of vital function from the man to the machine, these sociologists assert, is the key to most social problems in our days. To their minds, the clear, unmistakable tendency of automatic machinery is not only to standardize the output and kill individual skill, but to level labor, both as to the productive processes and the satisfaction derived from them.

As against this somber opinion, which fully reflects one aspect of the situation, namely, joyless labor, another current of social thought takes a rather cheerful view of the matter. True, these students of modern industrial conditions are wide-awake to the routine and urgency of factory work. Yet they have not failed to find a few bright spots on the vast picture of the stupendous development in the wake of up-to-date automatic machinery. At the root of this optimism is the observation that the industrial worker is keen to consider himself personally the owner of all the functions, permanent accomplishments and values of his machine as long as he can feel its master.

The problem, in a nutshell, is this: whether or not the monotony or oppressive conditions of labor are to the worker, as a result of the unceasing technical evolution, increasingly more painful?

### The Two Phases of Mechanization

The past one hundred and fifty years, in the course of which the mechanization of industry has been put into effect, can be divided into two periods of roughly equal duration. Each of these two phases, or stages of development, is marked by a peculiar attitude of the workers toward the installation of new machinery and the increase in industrial efficiency. These two phases are as follows:

The first period, lasting from about 1775 to 1850, was marked by the economic decline of the more or less independent artisans under the impact of the modern industrial plant. For instance, the growing use of textile machinery led to mass unemployment among individual spinners and weavers on the one hand and, on the other, to despicable working conditions for men, women, and children. This period, therefore, was characterized by an unrelenting animosity of the working class as a whole toward the mechanization of industry.

The second period, that has imposed its stamp upon the past few generations and seems to continue into the coming era of Western civilization, is distinguished by a constant growth and improvement in the use of automatic machinery. At this stage a new kind of joy in labor, unknown to the former ages, makes itself felt with wide groups in the labor class. As a result of this development and of the economic effects of mass production, such as higher wages and shorter hours, the attitude of labor toward the introduction of new machinery and scientific shop management is, in its sum and substance, one of benevolent neutrality, if not of eager acquiescence.

This is quite natural. In our times only an insignificant proportion of independent craftsmen have been compelled to become factory hands lest they die of starvation. The catastrophic upheaval within the craft guilds, brought about by the rise of the machine, came to an end by the middle of the 19th century. Since then the small producing unit of the artisan type has been experiencing a slow and natural, but not a dramatic, decline and death. As a general rule, the contemporary industrial worker starts his life work not as a craftsman turned proletarian, but forthright as a factory hand or—what is even still more common—as a son of a wage-earner. It is in vain, then, to bewail the killing of individual skill, inherent in some of the handicrafts in the old days, by automatic machinery.

Now it follows from this that, with a few exceptions, the transition from manual to machine work is tantamount to a decrease of hard physical labor and to a social rise of the worker. Obviously, for the majority of the working population the alternative now is not: Craftsmanship as an artisan or a factory job? But, *within* the factory, for one part of the labor force the question is: Manual or automatic work? While for the other part the problem turns on whether or not there should be further mechanization and "rationalization" (scientific management) introduced.

### Mechanical Tasks and Machine Work

Not the machine work as such, but repetitive, mechanical work, though carried out by muscular power, is responsible for reducing the skill, judgment, initiative, and responsibility required of modern laborers. Just as not all and any repetitive work is machine work, so not all kinds of machine work are essentially repetitive tasks. Far from it. A primitive automatic machine may, it is true, de-skill the worker who is in charge of it, make him a living automaton. But the modern, highly improved machinery cannot help re-skilling the men who tend it; that is to say, restoring skill to labor. Of course, this is skill of a kind different from that of the manual craftsman, yet skill, that is, expertness and dexterity, it undeniably is. Thus, thanks to the marvelous technical progress, the seeds of a new joy and dignity in the work are sowed.

Says Henry De Man concerning this new social phenomenon: "The improved machine takes over the

operations which used to be performed by a number of tools, or by the skilled hand of the worker. Its management becomes more difficult and more complicated. It tends increasingly to take charge of the movements which used to be performed by the worker in the way of feeding the raw material to the machine, and of manipulation in the process of manufacture. As a result of this, the worker becomes less and less the mere assistant of the machine, and more and more its overlooker and its master. His work has to become skilled once more, though skilled in a very different way from that of the handicraftsman." * Besides, the technical evolution has created innumerable jobs totally unknown in the ages of the craft guilds, such as the photo-engraver's, the electrician's, the locomotive engineer's, the linotype compositor's work, etc.

On an advanced stage of technical progress, therefore, the machine takes over from the workingman all, or the greater part, of his own repetitive work. Thus, to state the idea in words that sound much as a paradox, the best way to de-mechanize labor is to charge the machine with as much as possible of the task to be done.

## The Worker's Urge to Productive Efficiency

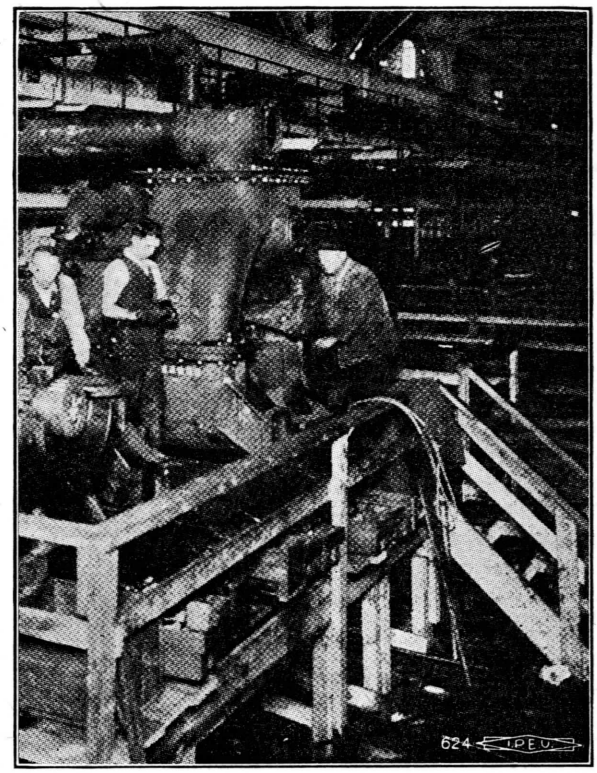
Now in addition to the general reasons behind the mechanization of industry there is one of a special, so to say, subjective kind; that is, one peculiar to the worker's inherent mentality.

Even the worker who receives time work wages, no matter how poorly paid he is and how monotonous his work, would rather work with good than with defective tools, and with raw material of solid worth rather than with shoddy. For, if good tools and supplies are used, it is incomparably easier to produce the minimum output expected of him than in case when the tools and material are of an inferior kind. Consequently, the more the equipment of the shop is conducive to economy in effort and time, the greater is also the worker's opportunity to attain with the same amount of effort a higher quantitative and qualitative level of his output. Accordingly, the industrial worker, thanks to continual improvements in machinery and methods, finds in his labor a new meaning which raises his sense of gratification with the work he does and satisfies his longing for self-respect.

Suppose, for instance, the expert mastery of his shovel is taken away from a proud fireman by the newer mechanical stokers. He, then, will only grow the prouder of his mastery of a nobler and more powerful tool while he sees his responsibility grow from muscular delivery of fuel to the mental alertness indispensable to a proper command over his intricate engine.

## The Price of Technical Advance

This second phase of the mechanization of industry, in the course of which labor's skill may be restored, in-




**A scene in a General Electric Co. factory. Is the machine robotizing the worker? The question is discussed in this penetrating contribution by Dr. Frank.**

flicts suffering, through acute and chronical unemployment, upon wide groups of the working class. Is it, however, fair that a single group, the toiling and needy masses, should bear the brunt of the advance in civilization made by society as a whole? Most certainly not. It is, therefore, incumbent upon democratic society to evolve a plan by which the workers affected by the newest reorganization of industry may be spared the unbearable material and moral suffering caused by involuntary idleness.

A few of the constructive measures implied in such a policy are the following: Unemployment insurance for all wage-earners, vocational training and guidance with an eye to the new trends in occupations, a unified employment agency system of a nation-wide scope, and solicitude for the workers' families by social legislation and municipal welfare plans.

Finally, the worker, in order not to be dehumanized by the machine, must preserve the full measure of self-determination which the autocratic management of capitalist industry is threatening to deprive him of, and to which he is entitled in an enlightened and progressive democracy. Only under this condition will there be no insensitive robots, living automatons, in industry, and the machine will become not a foe but a friend, not a master but a slave, of the man who keeps it in a working mood.

*"The Psychology of Socialism," New York, 1928, pp. 85-86.

# Again the Labor Press

## *It Should Appeal To Worker's Family*

*By* FANNIA M. COHN

THE possibilities of the labor press as a force in the movement is recognized by everyone. Many realize the importance of bringing our press more up to date, but are hampered by the limited funds at their disposal. For instance, when one person is required to prepare an entire publication, it becomes one-sided.

I will attempt to analyze here the weekly publications that are being issued by City and State Federations of Labor. But before we discuss their contents we must first understand what we mean by a newspaper. The type must be readable; the articles must be technically balanced; the makeup of the paper is very important, as it adds much to the success or failure of a publication. We are living in an age when art is applied to business, especially to the business of printing. The editorials must contain originality; they must discuss the news of the day—that of the community, and, of course, of the worker—and reflect on it; and they must interpret that news in its relationship to the worker and his family. Unfortunately most of these weekly publications are colorless. Can one call a four-side sheet, of which 70 per cent is taken with ads and 30 per cent with text, a newspaper? Here is an example of one of them: The paper is 13½ inches in width. It is divided into three columns. Only the center column is given to text, in small type. It is sandwiched in between two columns of ads in large type. Certainly such a sheet does not make the impression of a newspaper. About three-quarters of the news columns consist of publicity matter clippings; and sometimes one clipping contradicts the other, and since this is not always given as independent news, the headlines are misleading and give the impression that what is printed is only Labor's point of view. Again many of these publications merely exploit the name of labor for private business. They are owned by an individual and endorsed by the local labor body. In reality they are not more than advertising agencies. In addition, they serve one of the political parties, giving the impression that they are speaking for labor. All they give to the labor movement is the announcements of their meetings. Indeed, there are others that are well-meaning, but they are ineffective.

### Lack of Strike News

The meager news items about the miners' strike or Bedford strike that appeared in these hundreds of weekly publications were disheartening. With a few exceptions, there was hardly a human story featured in the papers of the suffering of these strikers.

Realizing the limitations of most of our local press, we cannot expect its staff to prepare such material. This should be the function of the news services.

Let us consider, for instance, the conventions held by international and national unions. The news given by these services is hardly more than what we get from the New York *Times*. Every convention should be considered important enough to have its deliberations, discussions, and decisions made known to the labor movement. This should be done through the news services by giving the essence of the subject-matter, without making it too lengthy.

The woman's page conducted in some of the publications is really an insult to women's intelligence. Seldom is there an article that makes an appeal to the woman as a woman, a wife, a mother. Seldom is there a human story presented to her that would appeal to her mind and imagination.

As for the children, little to my knowledge is being published which would make an appeal to them. Let me mention at least some of the weeklies and monthlies which may be taken as examples of the better kind.

### Reaching the Family

The *Illinois Miner* is distinguished for its editorials, its interesting woman's page, and its articles for children; the publication is aimed for the entire family. It gives a progressive interpretation of problems and current events which concerns the reader as a worker and a citizen. The entire appearance of the publication leaves no doubt that it is a newspaper.

*Labor* occupies a unique position among labor publications in this country. It is lively, dynamic, its make-up is excellent, it is competent technically, and has fine cartoons which help to interpret the text. It has also the distinction of having a woman on its permanent staff. The result is articles of educational value addressed to women. Its columns contain all the news that concerns workers. *Labor* issues mimeographed monthly surveys for the standard railroad publications. These are signed articles on public ownership, on utilities, a popular story on science or on nature, plainly written, containing short sentences and short paragraphs. *Labor* is published by the Sixteen Standard Railroad Unions of the United States and Canada. Its editorials are informative and fearless. As far as I know, it is the only labor publication that has a foreign correspondent who keeps its 700,000 readers informed on the European labor movement.

The *Chicago Federation News* does an excellent job in publishing the talks that are broadcast over its own radio. It also devotes its pages to local and national news which is of interest to the workers. The make-up of the paper, with its photographs, is attractive.

As an example of satisfactory papers may be mentioned the *Tacoma Labor Advocate,* the *Lansing In-*

*dustrial News,* the *Nebraska Craftsman,* and the *Minnesota News Advocate.* The news in these papers is snappily written, the make-up is good, the cartoons suggestive, and their editors know how to feature a story. They pursue an independent editorial policy. The *Nebraska Craftsman,* for instance, reflects the conditions in the corn belt region. It is critical of both the Republican and Democratic parties because of their indifference to the farmers' problems.

Most of the news for the labor press is provided by the International Labor News Service, which is owned and operated by the International Press of America. This is a semi-official news service, while the Federated Press is labor's cooperatively owned news service. It provides seventy publications and hundreds of individual subscribers and organizations in the United States and Canada with impartially written labor news in addition to the daily news and a weekly labor letter. It is interesting to know that many of the important labor publications subscribe to both news agencies.

Let us turn for a while to the monthly publications which I have discussed in an earlier issue.

## An Educational Medium

Some hold up the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal,* as it was previously edited, as an example of a labor publication. But to others this was always a journal of liberal opinion which might have been issued by any middle-class liberal group. Many think that the publication, as now edited, is much more useful as an educational medium. Its suggestive illustrations—even the editorials, are illustrated, an innovation for publications—give color and interest to the text.

*The American Federationist,* published by the American Federation of Labor, is well edited, helpful, with its statistical and research material. It serves a good purpose by providing material to students of the labor movement and to those active within the labor movement. Articles presented by officers of national and international unions feature problems with which their organizations are confronted. Its department of workers' education features the development in this field, and it serves a useful purpose. One wishes that there were a wider reflection of the workers' educational movement, and that the workers' education movement as a whole was represented in these pages. But naturally, this journal is not written for the average worker. This function remains for publications issued by the national and international unions.

Of course, if one would ask for a competent trade-union publication, I would prefer the *Molder's Journal.* Trade union policies, tactics, and problems, and the philosophy of the labor movement are discussed there from a traditional point of view. This journal is noteworthy for its discussion on international problems and questions of interest to the labor movement. The *Photo-Engravers' Journal,* too, has the same distinction.

The *Machinists' Journal* is distinctive with its woman's department, with articles written by those who actively participate in the activities of the Women's Auxiliary. *The Railway Clerk,* again, is emphatic as a magazine in which the language, the approach to a problem, and the method of editorial presentation are simple. The suggestive cartoons that illustrate its pages are indeed praise-worthy.

## Canada's Press

Foremost among the Canadian Labor Press is the monthly *Canadian Congress Journal.* Its make-up and general appearance is attractive. So are the photographs which it contains. It devotes much space to the American and British labor movements, being related to us more industriously, and to the British more politically.

The woman's page in the *Alberta Labor News,* a weekly paper, is praiseworthy. Lately there was an article under the headline "Housewives—Gas—Politics", informing the readers that a matter of such importance to the housewife as the price of gas is again before the City Council.

Today more than five hundred magazines, newspapers and other publications serve the interest of organized workers. This service, even with its limitations, cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Some of us think that is is high time for the labor press to follow the example of the general press in inviting women to discuss problems that will be of interest to women. Excellent cartoons can illustrate a page that will appeal to the young people, to the childre nof trade-unionists. The labor press must realize that the wives of the trade-unionists can be a social force for the advancement of the labor movement, if earnestly assisted in their development.

One is rather embarrassed in discussing such an important activity of the labor movement as its press within the limitations of an article, because justice cannot be done to all the publications that are deserving of mention. Therefore I made an attempt to select a few typical publications for discussion. For instance, I wish I had space to analyze among others such a fine magazine as the *Lithographers' Journal* and the admirable publications issued by the needle trades unions, as the *Headgear Worker,* issued by the Capmakers' Union; the *Advance,* issued by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union; and *Justice,* issued by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. These three unions are tireless in their efforts to make their official publications an instrument of enlightenment for their members; an inspiration in their daily fight for a better and fuller life for all.

I side with those who believe that the labor press is an important factor in the life and development of the labor movement. But I also belong among those who insist that this press can be much more effective and a greater instrument in the progress of the labor movement and in the development of its membership.

Of course we do realize that this requires more money than is now spent. But there will never be enough money to develop the press until we appreciate its importance and utilize it to the fullest extent as an economic, social and cultural weapon in the advancement of the labor movement.

# In Other Lands


Western Mail, Cardiff, reveals the feigned surprise of the French, the consternation of the British and the distress of the Americans over the "leak" that told the world of the Anglo-French naval pact.

### THE COMING BRITISH ELECTION

With a general election only seven months off the Labor Party is preparing for the electoral battle that will decide whether MacDonald and his associates will rule Great Britain and a large section of the British Empire or continue with the stand-pat rule of the Conservatives under Stanley Baldwin, the present Prime Minister. Lloyd George, for the almost defunct Liberals, has told the world that he will not support a Labor Government except under conditions that will mean prestige and power for the Welsh Wizard and his followers. The Labor Party Conference at Birmingham indicated that MacDonald et al would follow a moderate course in the coming campaign on both domestic and foreign questions. This will leave the "extremists" a clear field as the Communists are putting up candidates in the industrial sections in competition with Labor Party officials designates and even the I. L. P. men. So far MacDonald has been victorious, but it was in part due to the fact that the I. L. P. men who have the idealism and enthusiasm of Socialists supported him. As he is no longer an official of the party and Snowden is not even a member, having resigned on the ground that the I. L. P. is no longer needed, one can see complications ahead with the prospect of victory clouded.

Owing to their bungling on the naval pact and other foreign matters Stanley Baldwin and his Tories will go to the country weaker than ever. He is also going to make an issue of the tariff for certain industries. All this will offset the internal troubles of the Labor Party and will aid in making its appeal to the voters stronger than usual, especially with the middle classes. The greatest Liberal paper in England, the Manchester Guardian says the Liberals should support the Labor Party.

Autocracy or Facism is beginning to protrude from under the cloaks of both Liberal and Tory officialdom in Britain. In Greenock, Scotland, the City magistrates prohibited all meetings of the unemployed and followed it up with an order stopping all political meetings of labor including the I. L .P. The government went a step further and discahrged a trade union official from the Woolwich arsenal where he was working as a machinist because he was a member of the Communist Party and refused to resign from that group.

A. J. Cook, the coal miners leader, fought gallantly for his position and program at the Trade Union Congress in Swansea. He lost but retained his self respect. He also retains his hold on the miners, although intrigues have been going on to oust him. James Maxton who with Cook led a sort of revolt within the Labor Party during the early Spring and Summer months and demanded a reorientation in regard to the tactics and policies of the Labor Party, did not support the radical I. L. P. men at the Birmingham conference. Maxton sat idle most of the time and wound up his inactivity with a motion for a vote of thanks to MacDonald and his aides on the platform who steered the conference from start to finish. Whether it is a case of making his peace with the party managers or realising the futility of opposing the group that is now so deeply entrenched in the Labor Party we cannot tell. Some friends said Maxton was of the opinion that the time was too critical to start quarreling.


Uncle Sam is depicted by Mucha (Warsaw) looking at his prospect (Europe) with the hard and shrewd eye of the loan shark. The Polish opinion of American bankers as revealed in the above cartoon is that they will demand their pound of flesh from European countries when seeking loans from Uncle Sam.

The Kladderadatsch, Berlin satirically reminds us that Britain is bossing the East for the good of India, Burmah and China. John Bull tells them it is all for their own good and not for his benefit. With the guns so prominently displayed John Bull is taking no chance in with his "goodness" but is prepared to shoot it into them if the Eastern nations do not accept his imperialistic medicine.

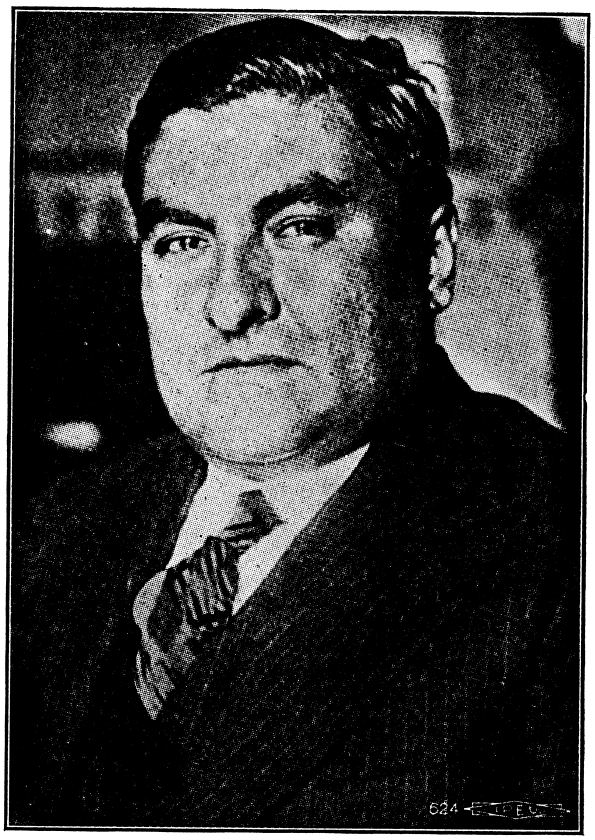
### ASIATIC PROGRESS

General Chiang-Kai-Shek was elected president of China and the work of political and social reconstruction went on immediately. A demand was made on all the other nations to abandon their claims to extra territoriality and all it implies. The United States led the way and has been followed by Belgium and a few of the smaller countries. Soon the British and French will have to submit to the test. China is showing evidence of westernization in a political sense and its invitation to American industrialists to cooperate with it shows its trend in a business sense. The Simon Commission that was to draft some kind of a Home Rule charter for India after reporting to London has sailed again for Calcutta to resume its labors. The Simon group is returning to a more sympathetic atmosphere this time as several of the provincial legislatures have signified their willingness to cooperate. The India member of the League of Nations though appointed by London has stated that he sees no good for India in the League.

### DIPLOMATIC DOUBLE DEALING

The Horan affair has involved France, Britain and United States, in fact all maritime Europe that is interested in naval matters. Horan, the Hearst reporter, was allowed to leave France without being expelled. His conduct, while classed as unethical by the British and French newspaper men in Paris, nevertheless, was a good job in that he exposed a situation that was much the same as that which obtained just prior to the World War. He also revealed a certain amount of duplicity and double dealing among nations supposed to be allies or friends of this country. The exposure was a nasty slap at secret diplomacy and navalism. Our imperalistic papers are busy trying to give it the appearance of a mistake and a thing of no importance, but the British and Italian press do not see it that way. Paris will make "goats" of the men and women who allowed Horan to get the story and Stanley Baldwin will lose several seats as a result of the pact at the next election.

The big strike of the silk workers of Lyons and strikes in other parts of France were overlooked during the nine day sensation over the pact exposure. The economic troubles of England with its one million and four hundred thousand unemployed with its million and a half on the out-door pauper list, also the strike of the Australian dock workers were forgotten in the international confusion.



## PORTES GIL

Mexico has a new President in Emilio Portes Gil who owes his position largely to the astute political work of Calles. The latter takes the War portfolio and will be the "power behind the throne." The ability and capacity of President Gil have been extolled in the papers through the enthusiasm and, I fear not wholly disinterested, work of the Associated Press correspondent in Mexico City. It is a matter of record that Gil did not have the training and the experience he is reported to have had. Nevertheless he will make a fairly good president and it is safe to say he will encourage the trade unions to grow.

In the Argentine Republic a new president was installed in the person of Dr. Hippolito Irigoyen who proclaimed a strong nationalist policy. This means an order to both U. S. and Britain to keep their hands off. He followed up this with a demand on England for a restoration of the Falkland Islands which command the entrance to the Pacific. Brazil is having some slight labor troubles and is getting ready for political dissension and foreign commotion by permitting the importation of Japanese labor into the country.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN

# Research For Workers

*By* LOUIS STANLEY

## VII. Mind Your Employer's Business

NEXT to knowing its own strength, every union wants to know that of the employers whom it has to battle in the conference room or on the picket line. Such knowledge determines the nature of demands, dictates strike strategy, shapes organizing campaigns and supplies the fuel for propaganda. In most cases a large portion of the information needed is available, because capitalists demand to know all about one another in their business dealings. Bankers, creditors, debtors, corporation officials, coupon clippers and speculators in stocks and bonds, keep an eye upon one another. Knowledge of them is in no sentimental sense power, and power means profits. The way to get at the public facts about an employer is to consult the same sources of information that business men do. They are willing to pay for their data because it means money to them. Those active in the labor movement should make it a point to know where the results of this highly paid research can be found.

About individual employers and partnerships little can be learned outside of size of business and credit rating. Fortunately for the investigator establishments that are not owned by corporations are small in number and size. There are various credit agencies that supply information about business houses. They specialize in particular industries or localities. The best known and most reliable general source is the rating books published by R. G. Dun and Company. Since ratings are generally supplied to subscribers for their confidential use only, the availability of material about individuals and partnerships is limited.

In the case of corporations our task is very much easier. Corporations issue stocks and bonds which are bought and sold publicly. Buyers and sellers, therefore, demand publicity of the accounts and activities of corporations in which they are interested. Probably no corporation has ever issued a report that has not been doctored in some way to suit its purposes, but it is seldom that a report has been meddled with so much that it is useless to anybody who is not on the inside. The labor research worker should get hold of the annual reports or other publications of corporations in which he is interested. Usually you can obtain these for the asking, if you are a little diplomatic; or there is a friendly stockholder or business man who will take the trouble to secure copies for you. Frequently the public or university library has the material you need on file. Trade publications, commercial and financial periodicals, newspapers, brokers' agencies and financial advertisements also reprint or summarize the public statements of corporations.

The most readily available information about corporations is furnished by three great business research organizations. One is Moody's Investors Service, 35 Nassau Street, New York City, with branches in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and San Francisco in this country and London in England. Another is Poor's Publishing Company, 33 Broadway, New York City. The third is the Standard Statistics Co., Inc., 200 Varick Street, New York City. The first publishes Moody's Manual of Investments in five annual volumes. These are popularly known as Moody's Manuals. Each contains from two to three thousand large pages with an alphabetical index of more than one hundred pages. The first volume issued every January is known as the Government Section. It does not concern us directly in this discussion of corporations. The other four sections are issued as follows: In April, Bank and Finance; in June, Industrial; in July, Public Utility, and in September, Railroad. These manuals are intended for investors who want reliable descriptions and ratings of stocks and bonds. Nevertheless, the labor research worker can put to good use the historical and statistical information that opens each account of corporation. Each volume costs $25, but many libraries keep the complete set on file. Every subscriber is furnished free of charge with Monthly Supplements, which add the latest information.

Poor's Publishing Company puts out a supplement to Moody's Manuals which gives day by day information about the activities of corporations. This is known as the Cumulative Daily Digest Service. It is cumulated and issued in paper covers every fifteen days and then cumulated and bound for permanent use every three months. There is no annual cumulation, but a yearly index to the bound quarterly volumes makes this less necessary.

The Standard Statistics Company publishes the Standard Corporation Records. Its feature is its flexibility. This is made possible by three loose-leaf volumes arranged A to E, F to N, and O to Z, with a card file system for the more important companies. The loose-leaf volumes are known as the Guide and Index, the card system is described as the Individual Reports. In addition there is a Daily News Section which brings the information up to date.

The existence of these expensive but necessary corporation research services is the best argument for the establishment of cooperative labor research bureaus in as many cities as possible. Under the circumstances the best you can do is to try your luck at the public or university libraries and the accommodation banks of your locality.

### For Your Own Research

1. Find in Moody's Manual the origin of the General Motors Corporation and its financial resources.

2. Trace the recent history of the General Motors Corporation in Poor's.

3. Analyze through a study of the facts in the Standard Corporation Records the control which General Electric exercises over other public utilities.

# "Say It With Books"

## A CENTURY OF INDEPENDENT POLITICS

**Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States 1828-1928, by Nathan Fine. Published by the Rand School of Social Science. $3.00.**

TO the many busy workers who want a concise, impartial, accurate, historic account of the efforts of the workers and farmers to establish political parties which will work for their economic well-being, the book by Nathan Fine will prove indispensable. In it will be found a historic treatment of such movements as early efforts at labor parties, the grangers, the populists, the socialists; the struggles between the leaders of rival organizations like the Knights of Labor and the A. F. of L.; the International and national struggles of the Socialists and their offshoots such as DeLeonism and Communism; the meteoric career of the Non-Partisan League and the vigorous but short-lived struggle of the modern workers to launch independent political action through the medium of the Farmer-Labor Party and the Conference for Progressive Political Action. A big task well done.

To the reviewer, who was in the forefront of this later dynamic and historic struggle, this impartial and matter of fact presentation strikes a chill note. Nothing of the crusading spirit, nothing of the glamor and color of this pulsating movement, almost next to nothing of the heroism displayed by its pioneers who risked all and dared much to bring about the political emancipation of the workers, can be found in this volume. Mr. Fine has written an interesting and remarkably accurate account, but its reading will fire no one to carry on, though the last page or two breathes a little of the spirit of the pioneer. For that stirring and dynamic narrative we need a soul on fire like Bertrand Russell or an H. G. Wells.

This book seriously raises the question whether the workers and farmers of America are capable of making a powerful and effective protest along the lines of independent political action. Thus far they have failed because their leaders are dominated by job psychology; too closely affiliated with the dominant political parties; the strong sense of individualism which animates the American worker—an inheritance of a pioneer age—the lack of a broad background and the intolerant spirit within the labor movement which has become more intensified because of the insane tacticts of the Communists. As a result, non-conformity has become a heresy to be rooted out as ruthlessly as heretics were eliminated in the middle ages. When you add to this the loss of militancy, the lack of a desire to organize the unskilled and the loss of that fanaticism and religious zeal which made possible the labor movement, one becomes discouraged at the prospect which confronts those dauntless spirits who still hold aloft the banner of independent political action.

Throughout the book one finds many interesting historic occurrences worth recalling such as Tammany's effective use of the religious issue and the Church to weaken its opponents. the illegal and ruthless acts of the dominant parties in stopping independent movements; the bitter and intolerant attitude of the leading organs of public opinion when the "status quo" has been threatened by a third party movement. The historic perspective furnished by the Haymarket Trial enables one to predict and to understand Judge Thayer and Governar Alvin Fuller and their conduct in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Who to-day, in listening to the voice of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in condemning Brookwood unheard, would have believed that Gompers, a synonym for standpat-ism, was comparatively a radical who believed that the trade union movement was broad enough to admit all shades of economic thought? Is it any wonder that the author of this volume can truthfully say:

"As a direct result of the teaching of Gompers and his pure and simple trade unionism, apart from basic causes in American economic and political life, we have but one-ninth of the wage and salaried workers organized, one of the lowest percentages in any industrialized nation in the world. Moreover, in addition to their small numbers, the American unions are relatively restricted to the best paid and the most highly skilled workmen and, with exception, to untrustified industries, where capitalism is least developed. Their feeling of labor solidarity is weak, their social vision is limited, and their present labor philosophy cannot and will not meet the needs of the hour in a country where capitalism has made greater strides than in any other. The leaders of the A. F. of L. are themselves becoming worried at their impotence—a healthy sign."

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

## WANTED: PSYCHOLOGY FOR EMPLOYES

**"Psychology For Executives: A Study of Human Nature in Industry". By E. D. Smith, Pp. xii, 262, $3.50, New York, Harper and Brothers.**

THIS book is probably the latest and most up-to-date addition to the field of applied, that is, practical psychology from the standpoint of the factory-owner or personnel manager. Much as the author desired to produce a well-arranged manual, a neatly cultivated tract, he hardly has succeeded in his task. This corner of the vast field of popularized psychology is a "wild where weeds and flowers promiscuous shoot." The parts of the book suggestive of flowers are the few specks of psychologic theory scattered over an immense expanse of practice dealing with specific factory situations. The author's main aim, although it is not stated in so many words, is to prevent the industrial workers from (to use his own language) "falling a prey to the agitator," with the further implications of that reactionary formula.

The several chapters of the book deal with the Formation and Handling of Habits, Habit and Thought, the Forces of Personality, Self-Control, etc. A reading list as well as suggestions for studying and teaching practical psychology supplement the text. The method employed by the author is the understanding of the fundamental workings of the mind as a basis for group management in keeping with the doctrine of "benevolent paternalism" in industry. In justice to Mr. Smith, let it be said, however, that he refrains from any attack on trade unionism.

While labor must not begrudge the employers' desire to build up a system of psychologic principles for executives, it ought to take a leaf from their book and apply the fruits of psychologic science to the advancement of the workers' cause. After all, human nature in industry, that is, the human aspects of the capital-labor relationship, deserves to be studied from labor's angle too, and such study will richly repay the efforts spent on it. In wage negotiations, and in collective bargaining generally, the outcome often hinges on this or that purely psychological factor in the labor leadership, such as self-confidence and the proper manipulation of the sentiment accumulated in the rank and file. Therefore, like any other dealing with individuals, the workers' leadership must be co-ordinated with the mainsprings of mass action, rooted in the basic laws of social psychology. In it's relationship to the shop management, the success of both the individual worker and the group leader is intimately associated with the self-assertiveness of the human personality, with the analysis of motives, and with the theory and practice of evoking the right response by a proper approach to another's character and psychology.

The modern worker's education can ill afford to disregard applied psychology with all its innumerable implications.

H. F.

**All our contributors present, as far as possible, the substance of the books they review, and, at the same time, give an interpretation intended to be helpful to readers. Books reviewed here can be obtained through Labor Age.**

## THEORIES OF ECONOMIC CRISES

**Business Cycles—By Wesley C. Mitchell, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1927. 489 pages. Price $6.50.**

THIS is the first volume of a thorough and far reaching investigation into the recurrent changes of business depression and crises. Business cycles are defined as "recurrences of rise and decline in activity affecting most of the economic processes of communities with well developed business organization." (p.458). Chapters 3 and 4 of the book contain a statistical and historical analysis of the crises, depressions and of prosperity or of business cycles as they actually occurred in the United States, Great Britain and other modern capitalistic countries, since the middle of the last century. The charts and tables of these chapters are invaluable to any student of the question. On the basis of this vast statistical and historical material, the author comes to the conclusion that the duration of business cycles averages in communities at different stages of economic development from about three to about six or seven years.

Another conclusion drawn by the author from his vast analytical material is that business cycles occur only where economic activities are organized upon a money making or capitalist basis which the author prefers to designate as "Business Economy." (p. 61). Business Economy is defined as a stage of development of a community when "most of its economic activities have taken on the form of making and spending money." (p. 63). In our present Business Economy, or to put it simpler, under capitalism, service is subordinated to money making. "In business useful goods produced by an enterprise are not the ends of endeavor but the means toward earning profits, and the Business Economy ruthlessly enforces that subordination." (p. 105.)

Chapter 2 contains an enlightening analysis of our present Economic Organization, including the System of Prices the Monetary Mechanism and the International Differences of Economic Organization. This chapter is a real contribution to the study of modern capitalism quite apart from the searching light it throws upon the nature, causes and effect of the inherent sickness of capitalism, the business cycles. The first chapter of the book contains a very concise and skillful summary of the existing theories of crises or business cycles.

If space would permit, it could be shown that all the functional theories really reduce themselves to the fact that the workers receive in wages only a fraction of the wealth they create while the rest of the wealth created by them is appropriated by the small class of capitalists whose income rises more rapidly than their consumption, resulting in a cyclical glutting of the market with goods that cannot be sold at a profit. When this situation occurs a slowing down of business takes place which becomes graver and graver until the depression takes the form of a real crisis, sometimes assuming the proportions of a panic. In the volume under consideration the causes of crises are not dealt with. Even the next volume which is promised by the author is to deal rather with the question how business cycles run their course than with the question of the causes of business cycles.

J. M. B.

# THE PRESENT LABOR SCENE

**American Labor Dynamics, Edited by J. B. S. Hardman. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 432 pages. Price $4.00.**

OVER thirty writers, including some practical labor leaders, contributed the various chapters of this book. An effort was made to present a cumulative view of the labor scene and not a mere reference book. But it cannot be said that this effort has been entirely successful. A great deal of excellent material is presented on many phases of the labor problem of today, skilfully systematized and arranged. Still every article stands out by itself and must be judged upon its own merits; neither are the views presented by the various authors really coordinated or harmonized.

Part 2, dealing with the problems of a hypothetical labor union by J. B. S. Hardman, and the chapter by Sidney Hillman on Labor Attitudes are both apparently based on the experience of a trade union in a highly competitive industry in which the unionized concerns or markets are exposed to the cut-throat competition of the unorganized ones. On the other hand, the "fair" employer of such industry frequently has every reason to consider the union rather as an ally against unscrupulous competition than as an enemy. The "hypothetical cases" are not very hypothetical and are practically all taken from the experience of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The emphasis put by Mr. Hillman on the suggestion that all labor strategy must be directed toward increasing and enlarging the power of industry has general application. But is there a Union, however "orthodox", that does not want power? As to the actual methods and strategy discussed by Messrs. Hardman and Hillman, they are of a more local nature and they differ more in degree than in character from the orthodox methods. It is doubtful whether even the modifications are applicable to more centralized industries in which capital is much more entrenched and powerful, and whether such methods when drawn to their logical conclusions by the exigencies of trustified, mechanized and non-competive industry, would not tend to become even more orthodox than the orthodox methods to which the authors apparently object.

The most valuable contributions of Part 1—the Decade in Retrospect—are by Lewis Corey on New Capitalism, and Leo Wolman on Economic Conditions and Union Policy. Without attempting to suggest any remedies, Mr. Wolman shows in a very concise article that "the underlying economic causes to which American organized labor has seemed unable to adjust itself, pursue their course and show no signs of changing their direction." Mr. Corey shatters the myth of the so called demoralization of capitalism through employes' stock ownership, etc., and summarizes a wealth of statistical material proving that there has been "a decline in the wage earners' and farmers' shares of the national income," and that "probably not more than 250,000 individuals wield the decisive control over American industry and finance."

Part 3 is devoted to the review of individual industries, the welfare offensive of capitalism and labor politics. The analysis of the building trades by Winifred Raushenbush and Louis Stanley is perhaps the most interesting section of this part as far as the major problems of labor dynamics are concerned. The last part of the book is devoted to the Mind of Labor, Ideas and Leadership. Sumner H. Slichter contributes an excellent introduction on the question of what is the Labor Problem, tending to conclude that "the labor problem is becoming a problem of altering the government of industry." Arthur W. Calhoun discusses labor's new economic policy of Union management cooperation for securing greater efficiency and emphasizes "the contradictory propositions that industry is too inefficient and at the same time too efficient; too inefficient, that is, to supply our wants while at the same time providing adequate profits; and too efficient, to give us enough work while at the same time providing adequate profits." In a brilliant analysis he shows that "if labor could make good its new wage policy and force a wage increase in proportion to increased output, the market glut might not get worse than it is now. But the problem of correlating production and consumption would be no nearer solution." As a result "labor will confront sooner or later the job of eliminating the profit element and assuming control of the process of providing for all human needs."

While Calhoun deals with the economics of labor's policy, A. J. Muste contributes a very suggestive chapter on the psychological aspect of the same policy. In trying to answer the question of the why and the wherefore of Trade Union factionalism he is forced to the conclusion that "the weakness of the Union's legal and social position is the cause of factionalism, not factionalism the cause of its weakness." Mention should also be made of the appendices and of the brilliant if not entirely pertinent contribution of James Rorty on the Post War Social Mind.

J. M. BUDISH

*Coming!* *Coming!*

# Labor Age

## *Anniversary Celebration Number*

**The issue now in your hands, more readable, with more illustrations and more attractive than ever before, is but a prelude to the "Better and Brighter" Labor Age which will make its debut with the Anniversary Celebration Number, details of which will be presented in our December issue. Suffice to say, for the present, it will contain articles by many representative labor men and women on the major issues before the labor movement.**

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