

Labor Age

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OUTWITTING

THE LABOR SPY

BY FRANK L. PALMER

JOHN RETURNS

TO THE MINE

BY WALTER AND MILLICENT NUNN

DECEMBER, 1928

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Labor Age

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UNCOVERING UNDER COVER MAN

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ
*will be featured
in the JANUARY issue.*

From the scene of action at Kenosha LABOR AGE'S managing editor writes a vivid story about the activities of private detective agencies. Who employed Leslie Zales of Chicago, alias Charles Pettinger, alias Harry Miller, stink-bomb and poison pen artist? Don't miss Budenz's expose.

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.

More Vital Than Politics

Labor Party Awaits Widespread Unionization

THAT great American mountain, the electorate, labored on Election Day and brought forth—Herbert Hoover.

If there were issues in the campaign, the President-elect avoided them as though they were poison. He out-Coolidged Coolidge. Al Smith's heroic effort to elevate the battle into an issue of Power Trust and "personal liberty" led to the most disastrous defeat that the Democratic Party has ever experienced. The intimidation of No-Prosperity was as potent as the cry of No-Popery.

We have witnessed in this campaign the beginning of the end of the "party of Jefferson and Jackson." It has reached the low ebb of the Whig faction, for the 24 years immediately prior to the Civil War. Raskob and DuPont are no opposition to Mellon and Morgan. They are too much of a kind; they furnish no assurance of a permanent or real debate on national questions.

The establishment of one party government presages the coming of a new line-up. The nation cannot remain a community of one mind, and that merely the mind of the stock gambler and manufacturer. A Labor Party would seem to be in the offing. Past American experience would seem to confirm that belief. B. C. Forbes, the well-informed financial writer for the Hearst papers, senses this possibility.

"The United States is rapidly becoming a nation of employers and employed," he writes. "The small business men are being wiped out all over the country. This will mean a great preponderance, by and by, of wage-earners. At the same time our agricultural population is steadily increasing. More sharply than ever before the American people will be divided between employers and executives on the one hand, and rank-and-file workers on the other hand. Looking ahead, the question arises, Are we so shaping our economic forces that a labor government will be logical in the not remote future?"

In this instance, however, there is a loud and

mighty "But." Political parties are the creatures of the economic forces back of them. The Republican Party rode to power over the alliance of the Free-Soil farmers of the West and the Eastern manufacturers. It has now extended its power further, through the industrialization of the South. The coming Farmer-Labor Party must be the child of organized workers and organized agriculturists. It awaits more unionization of the working population, ever-growing in numbers and ever more sharply divided from the executives and financiers. Until the workers become industrially conscious, it is useless to think of them as politically conscious, as a group.

Widespread unionization must preface any hope for Labor power through independent political action. In the face of the introduction of modern machinery, such unionism must be industrial unionism. It is futile to think of challenging the present tremendous power of the anti-union manufacturers through the old methods and old forms of organization, at least in the factory and basic industries. Cooperation between the present labor organizations, to that end and to the end that organization work may be a crusade and not merely a business, is the path that must be followed.

THE SOUTH BREAKS UP

IF you doubt the coming death of the Democratic Party, look to the South. They talked much of Prohibition there and of Romanism. But neither bugaboo could have offset the old fear of Negro Supremacy. It was the growing industrialization of North Carolina and Virginia that created the new political atmosphere.

Republicanism being the most efficient political agency of Capitalism, the Republican sweep has followed the invasion of Dixie by the capitalist interests. The modern miracle has thereby been accomplished; the Civil War is over.

We have reached a period corresponding to

that which kept the Slave-owned Democratic Party in power so long before the Emancipation Proclamation. North and South are becoming one. No longer is the cleavage based on sectional lines, following worn-out economic divisions of Slave Owner vs. Free-Soiler and Eastern manufacturer. The new dividing line will be between the Republican employing and banking interests and the Farmer-Labor groups.

All of which—and more—emphasizes the importance of unionization of the South. The “more” referred to is the increasing competition of Southern-produced goods with those manufactured in the North. We simply must move the Union banner Southward, as a matter of self-preservation for labor unionism. The studies of Art Shields and Esther Lowell, right on the ground floor, are doing as much as anything to bring home to us vividly the promise that lies in this undertaking.

The new cry of progress is: “Southward, Ho!”

THE MACHINE’S REAL MENACE

SHOULDER to shoulder with the South as a problem for Labor stands the Machine.

Robotization goes on apace. A German battleship plows the seas without one man as crew, propelled by radio operation. Erich the mechanical man opens the British Mechanical exhibition. Televox is with us, and the mechanical salesman. Business magazines debate vigorously as to the merits of the latter, but it (or he!) appears to be here to stay. Capek in his “R. U. R.” prophesied even better than he knew.

The great mechanized industries are the lords of all they survey. The General Motors Corporation springs from a mere infant to a giant of huge power. Automobile world remains a vast area of machine-run men and general slavery.

It is no longer feasible to cry out: “Smash the machine!” The real menace does not lie there. But it lies in the ineffectiveness of craft organization to tackle the machine industries. It lies in the increasing domination of those industries by a few interests, for whose profit the machines are run. It is not a pretty picture to know that 82 per cent of our people cannot pay even the minimum income tax, although that covers incomes of \$1,500 per year for single person and \$3,500 per year for married couple. Congressman Victor Berger is correct in emphasizing the alarming nature of that fact.

The machine must be made a servant of social service and not of private profit. Otherwise, it will verily eat us up.

All of which saying is but mere words unless we can translate it into action. That is why industrial unionism looms large. It is the only form of organization which can hope to control the development of the machine. As the NEBRASKA CRAFTSMAN aptly puts it: “Organized la-

bor cannot continue along the old lines, for already it is proven that craft unionism is unable to cope with the conditions that prevail in the great basic industries, which are the citadels of the open shop and employer autocracy.”

It was not the power of the Steel Trust which caused the loss of the big steel strike, insofar as it was lost. Rather was it the weaknesses which arose from conflicting craft unions and the inability of organizers from other fields to make of the strike the great crusade that it was and should have been. When the automotive industry is invaded, the lessons of the great effort of 1919 must not be forgotten.

GET GOING!

INDUSTRIAL figures keep on telling us the same old story. Every community is languishing from unemployment in this industry or that. The machine has helped that, too. Automobiles are turned out at high speed during the rush season. Fourteen hours of labor per day is all in the run of things for the specialized worker while the latest model is being rushed to the market. Then comes the let-down—generally just before Thanksgiving, when the winter coal bill has to be faced and the winter overcoat has to be bought.

So it is in other machine industries. What are we to do about it? Well, Mr. Hoover suggests at long last—public works for the unemployed. That is something, of course, but it does not hit the spot. Many an unemployed worker would make a sorry sight on the public works. Unemployment insurance sounds better, arranged so as to cover the man who is thrown on the scrap heap at forty-five.

Corporations which bring in earnings of \$280,000,000.00 for common stock — as the General Motors states it will do this year—can scarcely say that they are being bled when unemployment insurance is required of them. When net profits of twenty-five oil companies in the third quarter of 1928 are 114 per cent head of the juicy period of 1927, the sons of Mammon at their head can scarcely complain if a mite for the unemployed were exacted of them. So down the whole list of the increasingly corpulent corporations of these United States.

But all of this is mere child’s play unless justice of better shares through higher wages are granted the working men. It is a credulous soul, indeed, who can still believe that such justice will ever come without vigorous action by the united workers themselves. The very thought of the present scene is nauseating to men who love justice.

It is more than high time that we get going. Organization awaits the daring. We have had too little daring in our movement during the past decade or more.

"The Walrus Said"

Speaking About Workers Education

By CHARLES W. FITZGERALD



Millgate Monthly (Eng.)

LEWIS CARROLL and his Alice are instantly called to mind, after a cursory reading of President Green's "Workers' Education" editorial in the October Federationist. Might the Walrus offer a few comments, make a few feeble suggestions and perhaps offer some justification for looking the world in the eye after four years of absorbing study in Salem's Labor College?

When the American Federation of Labor adopted its new and latest wage policy, the Walrus and others discovered it in a four inch news story in the daily press. The Educational Director found a delegate to that convention who understood the new wage policy, and after a three hour session with Robert Fechner, at the regular study period, the class knew what it meant, in detail, and the local press carried a column dealing with this vital matter. Harvard University and the Salem Labor College accept Mr. Fechner as the most intelligent and active labor propagandist in New England!

The class decided that a formal discussion should take place on "Unemployment" and the Educational Director found a Boston, Mass. attorney who had specialized on "Unemployment Insurance," and another three hour discussion took place. A bill sponsored by the Socialist party was the theme of this attorney and he made a splendid argument, supported by facts, consecutive thought and logical deduction. Nevertheless, the political doctrine of Marx was cut, drawn, quartered and stabbed fatally, before the session ended. Again might the Walrus comment that this clever and successful attorney was and is an earnest and sincere propagandist?

The propagandist, pure and wise, smooth, smiling, debonair, with the trade mark of the General Electric Company and the National Electric Light Association shining like a halo around him, made his bow, recited his Light and Power decalogue, and retired after an exhausting session, slightly irritated but smilingly content with having done his best. The Electricians hammered home to him many things they were not supposed to understand.

A propagandist is "one who devotes himself to the propagation of any system of doctrines, principles, etc., religious or secular," and might the Walrus suggest

that, next to Herbert Hoover, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor is the man that Noah Webster had in mind when he defined the word propagandist?

The Walrus does not think that a propagandist is an ill informed person who is mentally incapable, congenitally or otherwise, of understanding the true Walrusian system of logic.

Enough of the propagandist! So long as men are not equal, mentally or physically; in their greeds, envies, jealousies or ambitions; so long as their desires and aspirations are different; so long as their needs are easily or more difficult of attainment; so long as child labor, unemployment, poverty and unsanitary diseases afflict the world, the propagandist will be with us. Glory be and bless him, ye Gods of unselfishness and purity!

"When the American Federation of Labor decides an issue in trade union education, it is passing upon a trade union matter which has nothing at all to do with academic freedom." Might the Walrus suggest that the first word of this quoted sentence from the editorial be given due consideration? It is of tremendous importance! It is of such far reaching significance that special thought should be devoted to it.

Might the further suggestion that many national and international unions may not care to delegate the power to make such a decision effective, be offered? Might the Walrus suggest that the men and women with the courage and intelligence to organize into unions of their own, support them with wisdom and zeal and knowingly carry the burden of the unorganized upon their shoulders, are fairly competent to decide their educational needs? Industrial, political, social and cultural?

Through discussion, questions and instruction, the Walrus feels competent to discuss intelligently the policies of the American Federation of Labor, the five day work week, unemployment, Union Labor Insurance, how to organize a labor union and a reasonable understanding of Roberts Rules of Order.

The new wage policy is not Greek to the Walrus. Injunctions in labor disputes and company unions, with their beautiful blonde mistress, the Yellow Dog contract are not subjects beyond the skill of the Walrus to talk about.

And the Walrus said: "More educational classes, academic freedom and trade union students and the craftsmen of these United States of America will get the habit of reading and intelligently understanding the American Federationist. Organizers and business agents haven't the time."

The same mysterious moral is concealed herein as may be found in the "Workers Education" editorial.

John Returns to the Mine

Forces Which Were Arrayed Against Coal-Diggers

By WILLIAM AND MILLICENT NUNN

INTERNATIONAL and civil wars have given us elaborate treatises on military tactics, glorious deeds of valor, minute histories of generals and wearers of Congressional Medals of Honor, Croix de Guerre and Orders of the Rising Sun—rewards that nations bestow for leadership during such catastrophies.

But who is to honor the generals and admirals who have won for mankind the abolition of the lash, universal suffrage, the eight-hour day, and the right to earn more than a minimum subsistence wage? The soldier on the battle line who leads his men forward, the soldier on the picket line who calls "scab" to seekers of work—both are tragic figures in a profit-mad world. The one receives the plaudits of a nation; the other is destined to receive derision from the same source.

Legitimate war, fought with stirring music, waving flags, and natty uniforms, has secured fame and glory for the participants at Thermopolæ, Pali, Port Arthur, Gettysburg, and Chateau Thierry. What comparable rewards result from Spa Fields, Peterloo, Noda, Passaic, Homestead and New Bedford?

These latter wars are fought with the same bitterness, pathos, suffering and valor. There are neither bands nor flags to stir begrimed steel, coal or textile workers to take the picket line at daybreak; no thoughts of dying for one's country. But what drives the participants on? The pent-up bitterness of exploited men and women, landless, houseless, skillless and jobless; the thoughts of children and women dependent on the outcome of each struggle for the bare necessities of life—such are the compelling factors. At the termination of war, swords of the defeated are grandiosely given to the victors. The conquerors and the conquered leave the battle fields and settle down to routine life.

True, affected nations build again that which war has destroyed. Inflation periods, reconstruction and rehabilitation plans, recapitalization processes; these temporarily occupy the minds of the former belligerents. But the flags still wave, stirring music continues to be played, and patriotic utterances are applauded by Chauvanistic organizations.

Industrial war does not end so dramatically. Begun among sordid settings of smoke, grime, privies, gingham and denim, it ends—no matter who the victor—in the same settings.

In legitimate battle few soldiers in bedecked array of leather and khaki desert for the enemy camp. Those who do are shot. Not so in industrial war. Many a fighter armed with coal lamp and tools becomes a scab and returns to work.

"The woman and kids were hungry," John says, as he plods along in the direction of work.

"That man John returned to work this morning. He is no damn Red," the foreman remarks to a worker.

But why was John defeated? Why did John return to work?

The coal strike, so bitterly contested, is in the tragic process of termination, as this is written. A death-like pall of depression possesses the striking coal-digger.

Soon students of labor will have a documentary study of this great industrial war which has so completely wrecked and demoralized community life in the afflicted areas. Here we hurriedly, and perhaps superficially, survey the weapons used in forcing John back to the mine.

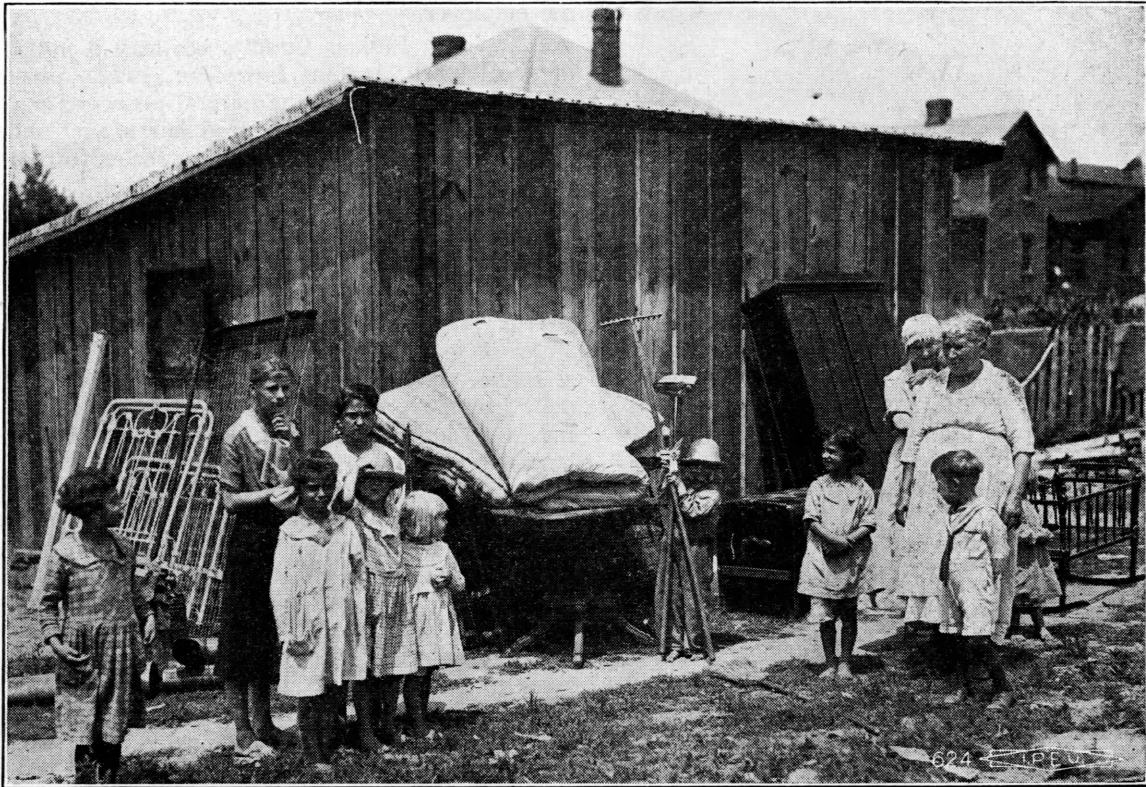
Many Handicaps

We first must realize that with neither a trade nor an industrial union the worker who has only one commodity to sell, namely, his labor, offers it at a tremendous disadvantage. This commodity is highly perishable and must be sold irrespective of market conditions. Furthermore, the laborer has little mobility either horizontal or vertical. The size of his family, his local contacts, his ignorance of the national labor market, his lack of technical training and the overmanning of most all industries—these reduce mobility to a minimum. Then, too, he is selling his labor retail to the employer, who is buying wholesale.

When we apply this theory to John's return to work we must recall the almost complete demoralization of the entire coal industry, the ruthless competition between far too many independent coal operators, and the shifting of the freight rates with the resulting advantage to the non-union fields. Nor can we omit the continued postponement of a reorganization of the industry deemed imperative by the increased demand for coal during the World War which necessitated the reopening of marginal mines and the working of new mines. But even when we have this and similar information in great detail, and know that the above economic conditions within the industry constituted serious obstacles to the ability of John's organization, the United Mine Workers of America, to remove the hindrances he would suffer in disposing of his labor without the aid of a union, we are aware of the fact that the United Mine Workers of America did not equalize the positions of the buyers and sellers of labor. The failure to organize the non-union fields before the Jacksonville wage agreement expired, the lack of sufficient funds for the strike, the official policy which kept some fields in operation while others were closed, and the passive policy on the part of John's organization, added to the weapons used by the employer, caused him to return to work.

For the purpose of a more complete understanding we shall consider first the definition of one of the weapons of the employers, the injunction. We may define an injunction as an order issued by a court of

OUSTED FROM HOMES



Evicted members of a striking soft-coal digger's family with their worldly possessions in front of an improvised hut.

equity commanding certain persons to perform, or to abstain from performing certain specific actions.

The application of the injunction to labor disputes has been of recent origin. Its use in this sense is yet questioned on legal and moral grounds.

First, Great Britain and several of the American States have gone so far as to prohibit its use between employers and employees in cases arising out of disputes regarding terms and conditions of work, unless injury through violence is threatened. Second, labor's Magna Charta, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914, specifies that injunctions issued by the federal courts shall not prohibit the quitting of work, the refusal to patronize, peaceful picketing and peaceful persuasion—whether done singly or in concert—provided that they are not done in an unlawful manner.

An Anti-Labor Decision

But in *Truax vs. Corrigan*, a case to test the legality of the 1913 Anti-Injunction Law of Arizona, the Supreme Court in 1919 (reversing the decisions of the Arizona State Courts) by a five to four decision declared the law unconstitutional and further recognized that business is a property right, and that free access for employees, owners and customers to the place of business is incident to such a right. Now when the concept of property has been so broadened as to include intangible elements, such as the right of free contract, the right of undisturbed access to the market for labor

and goods, we quite realize that in every industrial dispute such "property" is always damaged.

But further, the use of the injunction in general may be severely questioned on at least two highly potent grounds. In the first place, the judge alone is called upon to weigh the evidence submitted in favor of the issuance of the injunction. Violation is punishable by fine or imprisonment, and here again the judge is called upon to decide as to violations. Until the passage of the Clayton Act, and in many cases of practice even now, the accused is denied trial by jury. Then our first opposition to the use of the injunction in labor disputes is that it gives to one man powers of an executive, legislative and judicial nature—powers too great to intrust to any man in the hopes that he will act without prejudice. Our second opposition is that injunctions of this type are not necessary because such offenses committed against individuals are punishable under common law.

Now let us apply this to John, our typical coal-digger, as he plods in direction of the pit. How did the injunction act as the chief weapon of the employers to force him back to work? The following extracts are cases in point:

(1) From *Wm. J. Griffith versus John Walker, et al* (Common Pleas Court, Guernsey County, Ohio. August 30, 1927.)

"It is further ordered by the Court that the number of pickets maintained by said defendants be limited to

DON'T SCAB!



An appeal to workers for solidarity.

three persons only . . . that all loitering or congregating of other persons at said picket camp be enjoined . . . from entering upon the premises of the plaintiff without the consent of the plaintiff, and from threatening, mistreating, intimidating and otherwise annoying or molesting the plaintiffs or their employees in the carrying on of their business at said coal mine, and from intimidating, threatening and using violence towards the plaintiffs and their employees, and each of them, and from forcibly stopping and threatening employees of plaintiffs in going to and from said mine and from unlawful picketing said mine by intimidating the employees or plaintiffs, and from congregating and loitering at the various entrances and exits to said mine, and from going either singly or collectively to the homes of plaintiffs employees or any of them for the purpose of intimidating or forcing any or all of them to leave the employment of said plaintiffs and from assisting, aiding, abetting or counseling any other members or persons to commit any or either of the acts as aforesaid until a further order of the Court.” (2) From Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation versus A. J. Phillips, Tony Ross, Robert Slee, et al— (Common Pleas Court, Indiana County, Pa., November 8, 1927.)

The striking miners are prohibited from “Picketing and parading in, or through the public roads, streets . . . in the neighborhood or leading to the Rossiter mines or the dwelling or boarding houses of the employees of the plaintiff.”

Singing Prohibited

“ . . . From visiting the dwellings or boarding houses of the employees of the plaintiff, to intimidate them or their families, . . . from obstructing the street or roads of Rossiter, . . . from congregating in or about the town of Rossiter where the employees and their families go, . . . from operating and maintaining automobile patrols . . . from erecting or maintaining bill boards for the purpose of displaying signs warning men to stay away from Rossiter . . . from congregating on the Magyar Presbyterian Church lot . . . from singing song or songs in hearing of the employees of the plaintiff of a threatening or hostile nature.”

These two injunctions, so very typical of the many issued, show conclusively that civil rights of striking

miners have been completely discarded in many places and are proof of the contention that the injunction has clearly been used most effectively as a weapon of the employer.

John, if in Indiana County, has seen a judge, owning coal stock, become lawmaker, judge, prosecutor, and jury and has seen the natural processes of justice and the safeguard of jury trial guaranteed under the bill of rights discarded. And in the enforcement of this injunction John has been hailed into court for attending church services on the lot of the Magyar Presbyterian Church (Nov. 12, 1927), has seen a public street leading to the church (a street that had been opened for twenty-seven years) closed by armed guards (Dec. 31, 1927), has been forced to use one street in going to and from the church (begun April 4, 1928), and has seen a padlock placed on the church door (June 13, 1928). Perhaps he attended the meeting of strikers, June 24, held on private property two hundred feet from the Indiana County line in Jefferson County, permission having been secured from the owner. This gathering was dispersed by Indiana County police. But on the whole John was loyal to his union and as the union policy was to obey all such injunctions, the numerous peace officers had relatively little to do.

In considering the second factor responsible we come to the actions of certain county officials who are elected to their offices. Because of the desire for the support of the coal barons, panicky fears, prejudices or a perverted sense of authority, countless records are on hand to show that such individuals have acted in most high-handed and brutal fashion.

Jail Women

Here we cite only two incidents, one occurring in St. Clairsville, Ohio. Briefly this story is as follows: Three striking miners were arrested in a private hall in Lansing, Ohio. The miners had arrived to attend a meeting of wives of the strikers who planned to form a woman's strike auxiliary. The meeting had not opened when the arrests were made. After the arrest the women, fifty-one in all, rode in trucks from Lansing to the outskirts of St. Clairsville, the county seat. At the city line they were ordered to disperse. But continuing their march to the jail to protest the arrest they discovered the jail surrounded by guards armed with machine guns, gas bombs and bayonets. The guards marched the women into the jail. Seventy-two hours later they were summoned before the Prosecuting Attorney, who allowed all but two of them to sign their own bonds (\$500 bonds were given for the two), and who, after lecturing them soundly, made it very clear that should they persist in strike activities the charge would be pressed. Let us waive the discussion of the legality of this episode and mention the statements, as told by the women, of their treatment while in jail. They state that five had nursing babies and were not allowed to have access to these children until the day after the arrest. One can readily appreciate the description of the condition of one woman's breast. They further said that twelve occu-

DEFYING AN INJUNCTION



United States senators show contempt for preposterous injunction which was issued to prevent miners from singing hymns in the Magyar Presbyterian Church of Rossiter, Pa.

pied one cell block containing only one cot. A concrete floor, one cot, and two blankets for twelve women!

The Pittsburgh Press carried a lengthy story on this case in which it was stated that the Prosecuting Attorney, largely responsible for this arrest, said, "We have had to imitate some of Russia's methods and forget what we learned in school about the Constitution. But in the last two days by so doing we have nipped in the bud the most menacing move in the whole year of the mine strike."

The other case we cite concerns Mrs. Calegari. Mrs. Calegari, a most active woman on the Trydelphia (W. Va.) picket line and the leader of the committee to maintain a soup kitchen for the strikers, was informed that her children would be taken away from her on grounds that she was an immoral woman. After much intimidation she was summoned in court and despite the presence of a goodly number of Trydelphia citizens, including a school principal, who were to testify to her good repute, she was given to understand that if she wanted to retain custody of her two small children she should give up her strike activities.

Coal and Iron Police

To the activities of judges who have issued injunctions, and of partisan county officials, we should add the institution of the Pennsylvania coal and iron police. And now we have the three major weapons used in this strike by the coal operators.

The coal and iron police have long been under fire.

The system smacks of medievalism and as such the term "coal baron" became a reality. Any number of such men may be employed. Apparently any conceivable weapon of war may be given them. They receive stipends from their employers, the coal barons, and not from the state which vests them with authority. As to their qualifications for office even the employers seem vague. They are to protect the employers' property and from their activities it would seem that they alone define the duties of protection. The Senate Committee members were bitter in their condemnation of the system. But today one enters the camps under the eye of such armed persons.

The full story of the methods used in breaking the strike has not been told. The complete account will contain instances of persons being ordered from counties, of mounted troopers riding down strikers, of maces being wielded on defenseless men and women, of arrests of men speaking on private property and in private halls, of houses invaded without warrants, of arrests being made without formal charge, of strikers being thrown out of company houses in the dead of winter, of ministers and teachers being discharged because of their interests in the strike.

Yes, "John returned to work today. He is no damn Red."

The strike is over. John returns to the same sordid cluster of dilapidated houses and surroundings—at a lower wage and without a representative at the pit to watch the weighing of his coal.

"The woman and kids were hungry."

Silk Strikers Fight Small Bosses

Paterson Workers Rely on Mass Picketing

By HAROLD Z. BROWN

PATERSON, city of silk—and labor struggles—is again on strike. For six weeks looms have been idle inside her broadsilk shops, while picket lines of weavers, warpers, twisters, and a half-dozen auxiliary crafts, organized in the Associated Silk Workers, tramp the pavements outside in search of that unique American prosperity which Mr. Hoover has just been elected to protect.

For a long time now Paterson Silk workers have been hunting that prosperity. They report that although the golden bird appears to fall an easy and impartial victim to the long-range artillery of Harry F. Sinclair or the General Motors Company, it has not for many, many moons come within shotgun distance of the Paterson proletariat. As far as the silk workers are concerned there has been a closed season on prosperity since 1924.

In that year they lost a strike against the multiple-loom system, which forced each weaver to run four looms instead of the two that he had run up to that time. Ever since then the history of the silk industry in Paterson has been one of gradual encroachments by bosses upon wages, hours, and working conditions.

When the strike was called October 10, 1928, piecework rates had been pared until weavers often got less pay for running four looms than they formerly received for turning out half as much product on two looms. Hours had crept up from eight daily to 9, 10, 11, 12—in some instances as far as 16. Union influence and power had slumped.

The strikers walked out, making three demands: the 44-hour week, a uniform piece-work and time-work wage scale, and recognition of the union.

After six weeks of struggle three features of the strike landscape stand out prominently.

First, an impressive list of battles with bosses have been won. Of about 250 silk shops struck, about 175 have settled with the union. Of about 3,500 silk workers who walked out in response to the strike call, more than 2,500 are back at work under agreements that grant the union's demands.

Second, there is pressing need of immediate relief

for the remaining strikers if everything gained is not to be lost. Paterson, once renowned for her big silk mills, is today a city of "cockroach" silk shops—small, irresponsible, one-man businesses—employing on an average only 12 workers to a shop. The bosses who

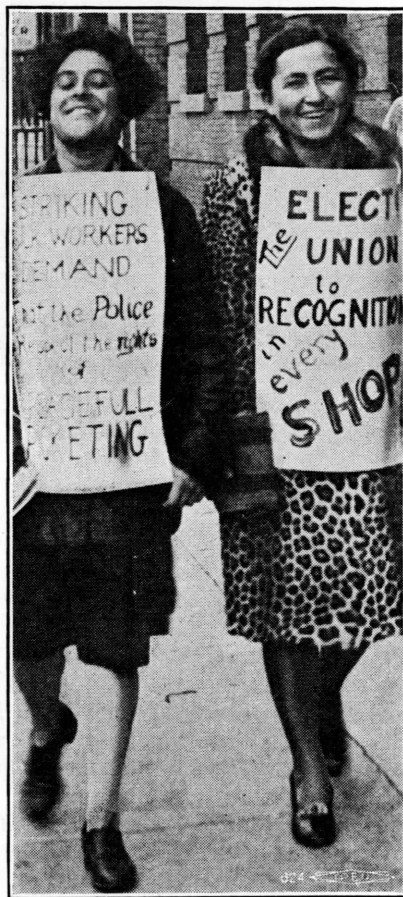
were in a hurry to settle have settled. Those remaining will be hard nuts to crack. Unless they are conquered before the strikers go back to work every settlement already made will be repudiated and conditions will drop back to pre-strike levels.

Police Repression Checked

Third, at least a temporary victory has been gained over police repression, long a deciding factor in breaking Paterson strikes. Police who started arresting mass picket lines during the second week of the strike found that the strikers could neither be provoked into law-breaking or bullied into abandoning picketing. They also found that the union was prepared to put up an aggressive legal and publicity battle, while the local magistrate seemed abnormally unwilling to convict orderly pickets on trumped-up charges of "disorderly conduct."

So the guardians of public safety apparently decided to lay off silk strikers for the time being. From 50 odd arrests—nearly all for picketing—which occurred during the strike's second week, the figure has slumped to a mere dozen for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth weeks combined.

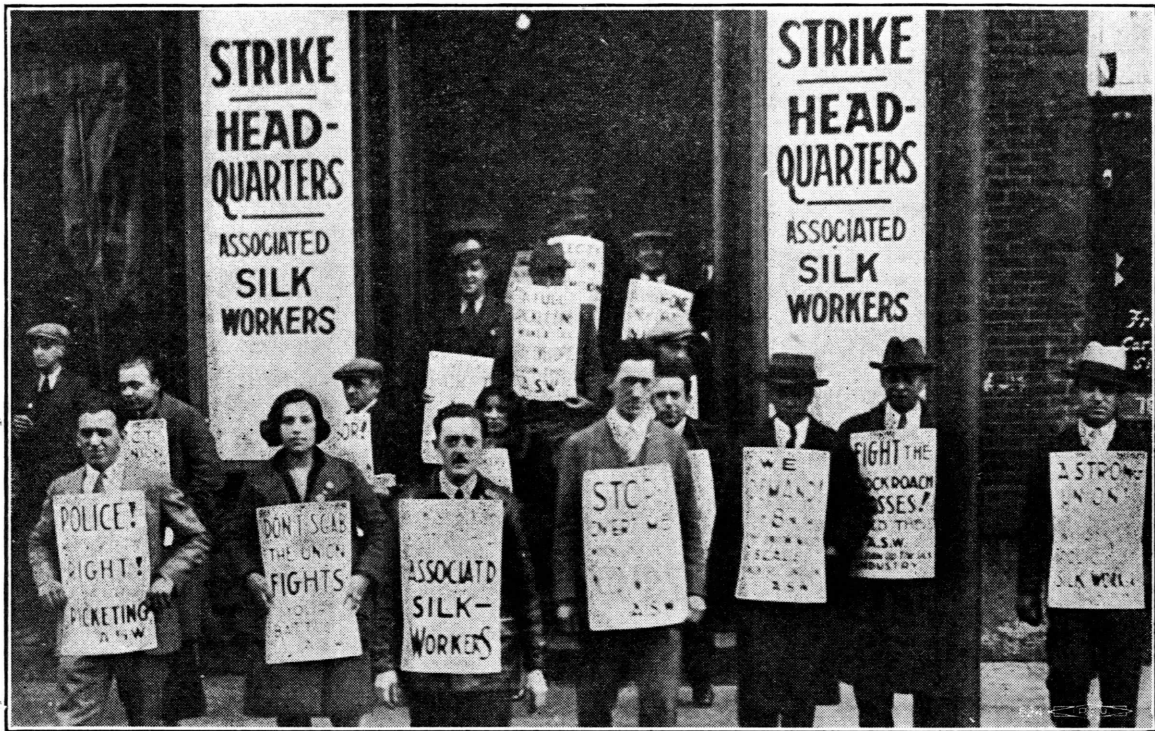
What the police will do in future no one can tell, for Paterson police in past strikes have been notoriously lawless in their attitude toward the civil rights of strikers. Many observers believe that the Baldwin assemblage case, growing out of a strike meeting held on the public square after the police had closed down the strikers' hall during the 1924 strike, has made Paterson cops more cautious. It took three years to win this case, which was fought through to New Jersey's highest court by the American Civil Liberties Union. But the final decision, handed down last May, was a stinging rebuke to the police, and completely vindicated Roger N. Baldwin and the nine silk strikers



Smiling girls dramatize strike by picketing polls on Election Day

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MASS PICKETING



Some silk strikers leaving headquarters for the picket line.

convicted with him of the high crime of "unlawful assemblage."

Mass picketing has been the Associated's trump card throughout the strike. At the beginning long lines brought out the sluggish shops which were slow in joining the walkout. During the early weeks long lines stood up against the police racket. Since then long lines, singing "Solidarity Forever," shouting the union yell, carrying placards dramatizing the strike issues, have carried on the work. They not only cover the struck mills, but march through the town two or three times daily on their way from strike headquarters to the mills and back again.

Resourcefulness in dramatizing the strike, not only to the public but to themselves, has been responsible as much as the strikers' grit itself for the success achieved. On election day strikers picketed 18 polling places throughout Paterson, seizing the occasion to put over a unique labor demonstration. Three silent pickets patrolled each of the polling places, wearing large placards with slogans presenting the strike issues in mock-political terms.

"Labor Without Representation is Tyranny Too," said one. This was followed by "Elect Your Union to Representation in Every Silk Shop—Do it with Strike Ballots," and "Every Picket is a Ballot for the 8-hour Day." Others presented the strike demands as "our platform," or urged working-class voters to organize for industrial action. Most prominent of all was the slogan the strikers have made their own: "Police Must Respect the Right of Peaceful Picketing."

No arrests were made on this occasion because the demonstration had been so carefully organized as to give the police no excuse for interference, and because the police knew that arrests on election day would make the affair "big news" and spread the story all over the country.

The Associated Silk Workers is an independent industrial union, formed nine years ago. With about 6,000 members it stands out as the most powerful organized unit in the American silk industry. So far it has chosen to stand alone, in spite of pressing overtures both from the United Textile Workers and the left-wing National Textile Workers' Union.

Membership Grows

To the Associated the strike has brought not only increased membership, but quickened activity and life. How Paterson silk workers are responding to its leadership is shown by the 3,600 members added to its rolls since the strike. Twisters and warpers, highly skilled auxiliary crafts, have recently formed branches within the Associated and are pushing vigorous membership campaigns.

An active Youth Section, formed since the strike from silk workers under 25 years of age, has a program of its own work within the organization. Just at present it is concentrating on a campaign to raise the morale of picket lines. The Youth slogan is "Young Silk Workers Fight Side by Side with Adult Silk Workers," and they make no secret of it. "Youth pickets" are familiar sights on the lines, and adult picket captains say that wherever they appear efficiency

RALLY TO BROOKWOOD!

Brickbats Must Not Halt Workers Education

An inspiring note was struck at the A. F. of L. Convention at New Orleans by John Marchbank, fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, when in his address he referred to the Workers' Education movement in his country, as follows:

"Our conception, friends, of life and industry is industry for humanity, and not humanity for industry. In order to equip ourselves and the rising generation for the struggles that lie ahead, the Education Committee of the Council (of the British Trade Union Congress) have been untiring in their efforts in the development of working class education. . . . We can certainly leave astronomy and many other subjects to the tutors at the various universities of the orthodox type, but if your experience has been similar to mine you have found that in your elementary schools so far as history is concerned, you have only been taught to read about the glories of your various countries or empires, the wars that have been fought and the victories that have been won, the pictures depicting kings, queens and princes riding about in chariots of gold. But you have never in any of them been taught of the struggle to live on the part of the toiling masses of your country, nor have you been taught to understand the various economic prob-

lems from a working class point of view. . . . Our young men and our young women are being taught to understand the system of society in which they live, to comprehend the forces that bring about unemployment, enforced emigration, poverty and wars, and are encouraged to take their place in the struggle for working class emancipation armed with knowledge—for knowledge is power."

While these sentiments were being conveyed to us by this fraternal delegate, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. apparently was intent upon charting its course the other way. Far from encouraging education conducted along working class lines, suggested by the British delegate, the Council has started a heresy hunt against the best labor educational institution of its kind that we have in this country.

Brookwood would be the pride of any labor movement of the world. But instead of receiving support as it deserves, it gets brickbats.

LABOR AGE appeals to all who are anxious to prepare labor men and women for the struggle that lies ahead of us to stand by Brookwood and give it their hearty support.

jumps up 50 per cent. They are readily identified by their "uniform," a broad white silk ribbon, worn diagonally across the breast, and bearing the words: "Don't Scab. Join the Youth Section of the Associated Silk Workers."

The Youth Section also promotes social and recreational activities in the union, and handles distribution of the Silk Striker, the official weekly of their union. A more extensive program awaits peace-time development after the strike is over.

Strikers' women folk serve everywhere. Many think that the most important single contribution to the strike is their free-lunch stand at strike headquarters, where hot coffee and rolls are provided for early-rising strikers who report at 6:30 A. M. for the morning picket line. Certain it is that without these things the morning line would lose standing as a mass-movement.

Even the children take part in the strike through the Strikers' Children's Club, which formed itself some weeks ago when a group of strikers' children got together in the union hall to practice labor songs. On Election Day some of the children insisted on helping to picket the polls. One little girl of 12 found herself the center of public attention, as, bearing a large placard inscribed "Silk Strikers Demand the Right of Peaceful Picketing," she patrolled the sidewalk before a polling place, accompanied by another child and a woman picket captain.

"What's that little girl doing here, anyway?" queried a well-dressed woman critically. "She's not old enough to work."

The child replied before the picket captain could

explain. "I'm here for my father's sake," she said. "He's on strike."

Appeal for Help

All these gains—hours, pay, union, members, morale—are well worth keeping, say Paterson silk workers. It is to keep them, not only for Paterson, but ultimately for all America, that the Associated Silk Workers is broadcasting to every wage earner, every labor organization, and every friend of organized labor an appeal for aid. Stressing the fact that unless picket lines and strike morale are kept intact right up to the last shop settlement, no part of the territory won can be held, the appeal says:

"Hundreds of strikers are already at the end of their resources. The Union is doing its best to meet the situation, but its war chest is not deep enough. Hundreds more will need assistance within a short time. Before the strike is over nearly a thousand families may have to be cared for by the union.

"Paterson, city of historic labor battles, is a strategic point not only in the textile industry, but in the whole American labor lineup. Our victory cannot fail to benefit all labor. If we should lose our defeat would certainly harm all labor.

"We ask you to give now, and to give well. Give us both your moral and financial support. Help us feed our people so they can stay on the picket line. Make Paterson an 8-hour town."

All relief funds should be sent to Fred Hoelscher, Treasurer, Associated Silk Workers Relief Fund, 201 Market Street, Paterson, N. J.

Now That Hoover Is Elected

Will Mr. Hennessy Build Labor Party?

By J. M. BUDISH

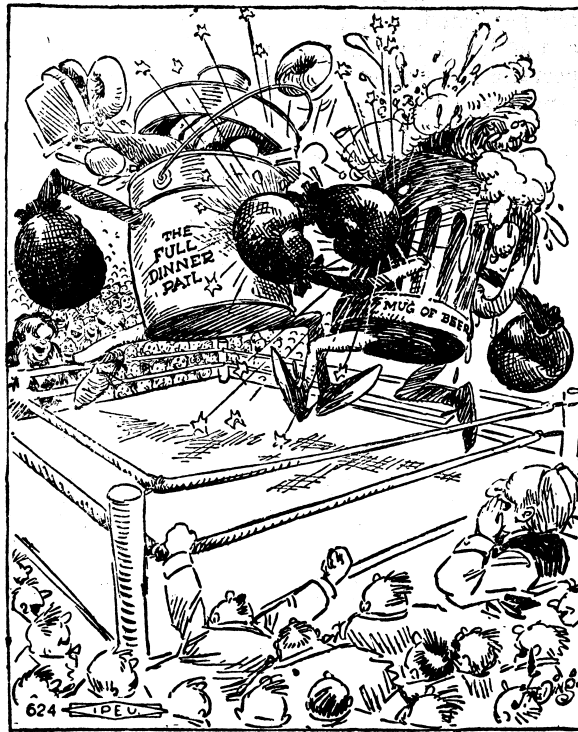
THE election of Hoover did not come as a surprise. Keen observers of all camps agreed that the party of Big Business and aggressive financial imperialism has matters pretty much under control. If there is bitter disappointment in some quarters, if in some labor circles it is considered a calamity, it is because the landslide for Hoover has violently shaken the very foundation of their reliance upon a combination of various discontents and various types of indefinite progressivism. Those among us who still put some stock in a kind of super-fairness, strictly non-partisan, and which is over and above class considerations and class interests, cherished in their hearts the hope that the discontent among the farmers of the Middle West, the revolt in the East against the excesses of prohibition, the disgust of all decent people with the corruption in high places and the longings of all types of nondescript progressives for something better would give Al Smith a much better chance. The fact is that a great many of La Follette progressives headed by such exponents of liberalism as the *Nation* and *New Republic*, not merely came out for Al Smith but actually saw in his leadership of the Democratic Party the promise of its conversion into the progressive party of their dreams.

To these elements the sweeping defeat of Smith was a stunning blow. As one of them puts it rather dramatically: "To those of us, who so believe, the altars of freedom have been razed and our country, fettered and bound, has been delivered into the hands of those who for their private gain will make every attempt at its exploitation." It might be added that the exploitation of foreign countries by means of a more aggressive imperialism is by no means a minor part of this program of class privilege. The election of Hoover was followed by the most unequivocal and open exhibition of the mailed fist of American imperialism and militarism in the Armistice Day address of President

Coolidge. Immediately after the Navy Department published its big navy program which starts the race between America and Great Britain for the domination of the seas, a race which is a direct preparation for another even more devastating world war.

Triumph of Privilege

It is not essential at this point to consider whether a Democratic victory would have made any substantial difference with regard to the position of the great masses of the people. If it be true that those who pay the piper call the tune, and in our hard boiled world this still seems to be the unchallenged fact, then it must be clear that in the final analysis the Democratic Party is controlled by the same interests of Big Business and Big Finance. Be that as it may, the victory of Hoover leaves no doubt of the triumph of the privileged and exploiting few over the disinherited and toiling multitudes. The question that puzzles and shocks our non-partisan progressives is that the people should have cast the unprecedented large vote in favor of the domination, plunder and rapacious imperialism of Big Business and Big Finance.



Portland Press Herald

The sham fight is ended and "the full dinner pail" is put over, just as the temporary industrial revival gives way to a severer depression, with bread-lines in its wake.

Now, why do the people vote against their own interests? Why do the millions of working people still follow that futile non-partisan policy? Perhaps it is because as Mr. Dooley's friend Mr. Hennessy used to say, "There's a few hundherds iv thousands iv people livin' in a part iv th' town that looks like nawthin' but smoke fr'm th' roof iv th' Onion League Club that have cn'y two pleasures in life, to wur-ruk an' to vote, both iv which they do at the uniform rate iv wan dollar an' a half a day." While the rate may have been raised since our friend Hennessy's time, and while it must not always assume the vulgar form of hard cash, it still remains true that the same interests of Big Business and Finance, who know how to make the worker pile up fortunes for them at so much per day, know

also how to make him believe that he does it in his own interest.

Making the people believe it, is the business of the politics of the dominating class. It is not alone oratory and spell-binders. It must not always be done by coercion, though coercion and intimidation are not neglected when needed. As our friend Hennessy says—"It never requires coercion to get a man to make a monkey of himself in a presidential campaign." The proverbial successful candidate according to Hennessy, "got the superintendent iv th' rollin' mills with him; an' he put three or four good families to wur-ruk in th' gashouse, where he knew th' main guy. . . . No wan that come near him wanted f'r money. . . . All th' pa-apers printed his pitcher, an'sthud by him as th' friend iv the poor." Since Hennessy's day the machinery of making them believe it was much perfected, and the moving picture and radio have been added. So we were again treated to that "glorious spectacle . . . Labor and capital marched side be side, or anyhow labor was in its usual place, afther th' capitalists." And as a result, "Capital is at home now with his gams in a tub iv hot wather; an', whin he comes down tomorra to oppriss labor an 'square his protisted notes, he'll have to go on all fours. As f'r you (the worker) if 'twill aise ye anny, ye can hang f'r a few minytis fr'm th' gas fixtures."

It would be to despair if the result of the last election did not shatter some illusions. The La Follette campaign has proven that you cannot build up a third

party around a man, however popular. Not that La Follette did not get enough votes, but because there was not enough coherence in that personal grouping to keep it in existence after the noise and shouting of the campaign was over. The present campaign has shown that it is equally impossible to consolidate all and sundry discontents and the various conceptions of entirely different groups of what is fair and just into something solid and effective. Political parties if they are not meant merely for the sake of the game, in order to make the people believe what the powers-that-be want them to believe, can be built only on the solid foundation of the inherent interest of homogeneous social classes. This labor non-partisanship is not merely an illusion but it is also a menace to every aspiration of the working class.

If Hennessy is really disappointed and if he does not think that it will ease him up any to hang a few minutes from the gas fixtures, then he must roll up his sleeves and start building a labor party of his own. It may not bring him five million votes at the beginning; it may deprive him of the opportunity of enjoying the glorious spectacle of marching behind the capitalists, but it will bring him much more. It will give him that coherent power which does not depend upon the immediate success at an election, but forges enough social power to shake the ruthless domination of Big Business and Big Finance. Now that Hoover is elected it is time that the Hennessys of labor start building a Labor Party.

British Political Prospects

Labor Party Makes Bid for Power

By MARK STARR

PERHAPS the greatest difference between the political situation in Britain and the United States, is the attitude of the trade unions to political parties. Even Socialist and Labor voters in the recent Presidential election must have felt inclined to back a personal winner and forget the need of a demonstration vote for a new party—a Labor and Socialist Party. It is far different when Labor is on the threshold of power. According to press reports, Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, claimed recently that the British Trades Union Congress, by deciding to enter into natural negotiations with the Mond Group of employers, was imitating the A. F. of L. and abandoning any attempt to make fundamental changes in capitalist society. The truth, however, is that the Mond talks are not accepted by the British trade union leaders as an alternative to Socialism. The secretary of the B. T. U. C. made this very clear in a special article in the "Daily Herald" (August 24, 1928). Furthermore, the organized workers by their continued support of their own Labor Party are still determined to win political power

to improve their immediate conditions, to tackle the unemployment expected from rationalisation and finally to change the purpose of industry from profit-making to serving the needs of the community. Unlike in the United States, political rights were won by the workers in Britain only after long and intense agitation and the thinking workers value them accordingly.

At the beginning of November, Labor won 143 seats in the municipal elections in England and in the year previous, 130 gains were recorded. Thus Labor is gradually gaining control over local administration. Wherever the Labor representatives "deliver the goods" locally they create confidence and gain experience. More and more the worker and his wife realize that from the cradle to the crematorium every step in life can be beneficially influenced by a wise use of their political powers. The above successes mean an increase in maternity and child welfare work, more and better workers' houses, and advances in the public ownership and administration of public utilities. Already in several areas the Labor majority has les-

sened the death rate, built schools and by direct Labor schemes saved thousands of dollars.

In addition to the immediate results the local elections are important as a forecast of what will happen in the midsummer of next year when the general election will take place. Limitations have already been placed in some instances on progressive local councils and Poor Law Guardians by the central government, and so obviously this must be taken out of reactionary hands. The Labor Party has now some organization machinery in 600 out of the 615 parliamentary constituencies. Its own membership has grown as follows:

Year	No. of Unions	No. of Socialist Societies	Total Membership
1900	41	3	376,000
1926	104	8	3,388,286

The total vote in 1924, despite a decrease in Parliamentary representatives to 160 from over 180, increased to 5½ millions compared to the Conservative vote of 8 millions swollen by the Bolshevik scare of that year. In the interim or by elections, caused by death or resignation of sitting members, the Labor Party has secured victories. There is an increasing dissatisfaction with the present government. Ambitious rats like Lord Birkenhead are already leaving the sinking ship of skipper Baldwin for the surer and more lucrative direct service of Big Business.

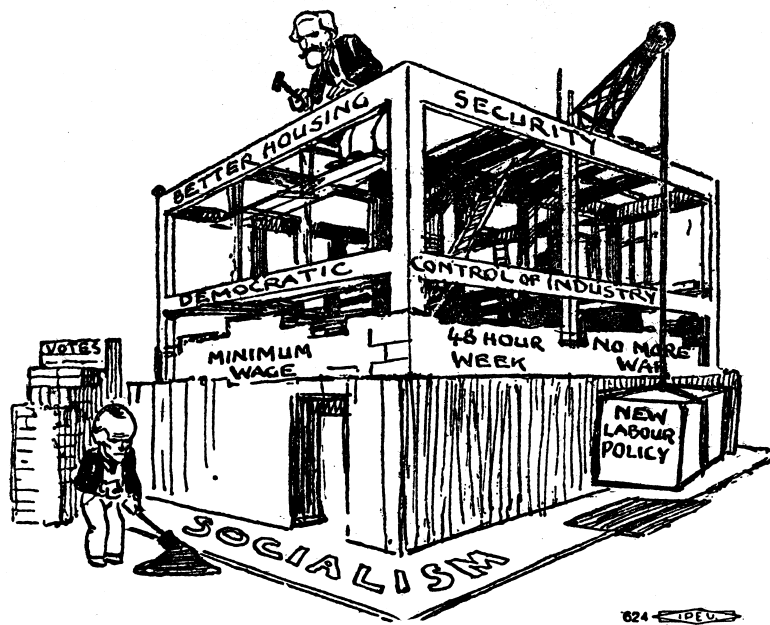
The Labor Party is making a bid for power. It is collecting funds and has published its program, "Labor and the Nation," which the last Party Conference at Birmingham endorsed. What will happen if it secures a majority? This is not unlikely, for Mr. Garvin of the Conservative *Observer* has prophesied that Labor will obtain 250 seats in the new House of Commons. Amongst other things to be expected are: The transference of unearned wealth from the rich to the poor *via* social reforms by a special surtax applied on a graduated scale, well an average of 50 cents on every \$4, on all incomes above \$2500 a year. The disbursement of the resources so gained may take the new form of a family allowance, although this has not been definitely adopted. Schemes of road making and drainage, electricity generation and distribution will be started to absorb the unemployed. Banking

will be controlled by a public corporation. The trade Union Act of 1926, limiting the political activity of the unions and giving the government powers of injunction, will be repealed. Diplomatic and commercial relations with Soviet Russia will be reestablished. The Washington Convention on the eight-hour day will be ratified. The League of Nations and particularly the I. L. O. will receive greater support. Steps to effective disarmament will be taken and peoples now under the domination of the British Empire encouraged to self government.

Opinion is divided in Labor circles as to whether or not the Labor Party should repeat, if necessary, the experience of the year 1924, and assume office without a majority. The majority party opinion is adverse, because that would involve a bargaining with the Liberals before and after the election and have a

disastrous effect upon the party's bid for power, its principles and organizations. Lansbury and others argue it would be fatal to the spirit of rank and file and that it would be much better to remain in opposition and continue Socialist propaganda and education until after a clear majority is secured. It is probable that in accord with the decisions of the Third International (adopted despite the advice of most of the British Communist Party leaders) as many as 20 Communist candidates will be put forward. In all but one or two cases, however, they will not endanger the

THE BUILDERS



London Daily Herald

will not endanger the Labor Party's chances, and incidentally will remove any chance of repealing the Liverpool and later decisions of expulsion against Communist Party members. Despite the organization of conferences and propaganda in the rural areas, the agricultural program of the Labor Party will not secure the farmer's vote to any great extent. In the industrial areas—particularly in Scotland, South Wales and Durham—Labor will increase its hold. In many rural areas Labor propaganda is in its first initial stage and its organization is weak. Can the Labor Party successfully make inroads into the rural and semi-rural areas between now and the general election? It is no exaggeration to say that progressive forces throughout the world would be greatly assisted by a Labor victory or even a greatly increased total vote. This is certain and every nerve is being strained to make the former's hope come true.

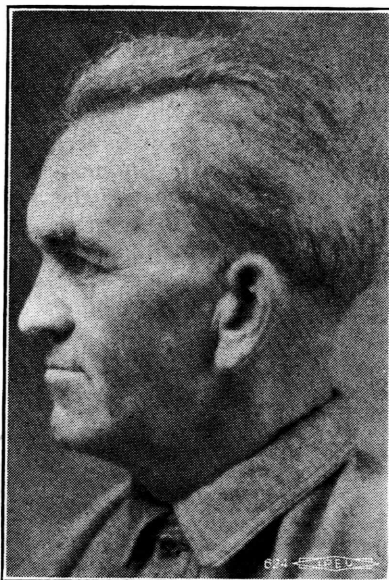
Flashes from the Labor World

Nation-Wide Campaign to Free Mooney and Billings

Impelled to action by labor's dogged, determined fight, national liberal elements have joined in the campaign to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Dr. Harry F. Ward, champion of civil liberties, from his post in Union Theological Seminary, has named a committee of five to coordinate liberal activities in a national publicity and pressure drive on Governor Young of California. Liberal newspaper and magazines are taking up the issue, which progressive labor papers had never laid down, and the country will soon be awakened to the fact that every juror, the trial judge, every prosecuting attorney save one have admitted Mooney's innocence and have appealed—so far in vain—to Young for a pardon. California's governor, treading the footsteps of Fuller, refused to act. But powerful influences in California may convince the Golden State executive that a pardon for Mooney and Billings is preferable to another black eye for California.

* * *

Are judges, black-robed and high-seated, forging iron chains for labor which can eventually be broken only by main force? This question is inescapable when workers consider the New England Creamery Products case, which bids fair to go down in labor history alongside the Danbury hatters case. Alden Bros.' union milk wagon drivers struck to unionize two other plants which had been merged with Alden to form the New England firm. The company rushed to the courts, obtained a ruling that the strike was illegal, sued for damages and obtained an award of \$60,000. Sixty thousand dollars fine for striking! The union appealed to the supreme court, was turned down, prepared to appeal to the U. S. supreme court when— On the Saturday drivers earning \$38 a week got checks for \$18 and helpers earning \$31 got \$11 checks. The company has deducted \$20 from every union man's wages and threatened to do so every week until the \$60,000 claim was settled. The drivers wanted to strike—but that only meant more fines. Ruefully they agreed to settle for \$35,000, of which \$5,000 came immediately from the union treasury and \$3 from each man's



TOM MOONEY

wages weekly until the claim is settled in March.

* * *

"Not a labor union in any manufacturing industry of the city." This is the boast of Binghamton, N. Y., chamber of commerce. The state labor department figures, showing Binghamton wages as the lowest in the whole Empire State, are adequate commentary. Need more be said on this?

* * *

Some of labor's friends resemble gift horses—they need to be looked in the mouth. Mittens, for example. These Mitten chaps, whose offer to "save" the B. L. E. banks was so raw that they were practically thrown out of the Engineers convention hall, have been posing in Philadelphia as friends of labor. They signed an agreement with the head of the street car men's union that was hailed by many labor officials and corporation executives as a magna charta, or something of the sort. But within the past two months the Mittens have practically locked out their elevator operators, and now they are firing their taxicab employes right and left. Of course, the taxi men were never organized, but nothing less than practical serfdom is

good enough for them, the Mittens believe. "Three men were let go yesterday. Do you want to be the next?" That's the sort of tyranny Mitten taxi men confront, as they return from 12 to 18 hours on the streets, cruising for Mitten profits and a bare living for themselves.

* * *

Would you believe it that workers marched down a smudgy mill town on the New Jersey marshes singing the International? Well, they did, when the workers of the Michelin tire factory walked out spontaneously at Milltown, N. J. These workers were imported from France by the hundreds—in violation of the contract labor law?—under a system bordering on peonage. When they got wise to American wage standards, they walked out. Lacking organization, they got little, but even that little is an improvement.

* * *

What does New England hold in store for workers? Economists say that New England is "mature"—meaning decadent—and that her textile industry is done for. The bosses' New England Council is fostering a new industry, the tourist industry. But will that help the jobless thousands in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford, whose revolt against the G. O. P. meant that Massachusetts, with neighboring Rhode Island, was the only state in the North to go Democratic? In New Bedford a young socialist got 4,400 votes, running for the first time on an independent labor ticket.

* * *

Ontario hosiery workers won the right to organize by two-weeks strike at Guelph. The Hosiery Workers' Federation worked quietly for six months, educating the knitters in the meaning of organization. Then when one of their number was fired for union membership, everybody came out, Dominion labor officials mediated and now the Federation is gaining hundreds of new members in Canada.

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

Outwitting the Labor Spy

Stoolpigeons Cannot Thwart Organization

By FRANK L. PALMER

"CAN the workers be organized despite the Labor Spy?"

After studying one of the most elaborate spy systems in the United States, reading numberless spy reports, headquarters' summaries, executives' letters, and other documents, I am convinced that the answer to that question is emphatically, "Yes!"

The answer is the same as it would be if it were worded, "Can the workers be organized despite the company union?" or "Can the workers be organized despite some well-directed welfare work?" In either of these cases, the organization may be made a bit more difficult but it is not made impossible.

The greatest asset of the spy system for the boss is not in the information the spies bring in but in the fear they create. And those who are frightened by the spy would be likely to be frightened by the boss almost as effectively. When we get the idea over to the workers that the spies are largely ineffective, we will have killed most of their power to harm.

I have come to the conclusion that the spy's report is largely valueless in itself. First, a large part of it is inaccurate. This is especially true when detectives are hired to do the spying, or when National Guardsmen do it, as is the present situation in Colorado. Following our coal strike last winter, the National Guard put on a spy force which is still in the field. Last summer Adjutant General Newlon solemnly announced there would be another strike August 1. It helped sales of coal, it helped him get funds for his stoolpigeons, and since there was no plan or possibility of a strike on August 1, it really didn't hurt anyone. Now it has become an amusing study in psychology to see how many coal strikes he can predict and get the newspapers to publish his predictions, since none of them come true. His spies are pretty well known and the folks get a lot of fun out of giving them lurid reports about people who do not exist.

Then a lot of the "secret" work is done in getting material which is public knowledge. In a Colorado coal camp a few weeks ago there was a public meeting for

a national lecturer of the I. W. W. Just before the meeting began two "men" slunk into back seats and looked furtively around, being so careful that it was perfectly obvious to the two who were watching for spies that they had arrived. The information was casually given to the speaker and he made the usual answer, "I wasn't going to say anything anyway that the bosses couldn't know for all I care." The only result of the attendance of these spies was to cut down unemployment by two unskilled workers!

I was vastly amused a few months ago to have two city detectives and a Jewish translator disguised in overalls, come to a meeting at which I was the only

speaker. Unfortunately I can only speak English but I am quite sure they knew what I meant during the few minutes I spent on stoolpigeons.

Those reports of the spies which are not inaccurate or public material are largely meaningless. They report that some well known union organizer urged the men to organize. It is as though the Pope came out for religion, important possibly, but not

A "STARTLING" REPORT

RUPARCHICH (Ruparich), FRANK S.,
118 East Menlock.

Miner at Shenango Mine. Joined the American Federation of Labor. 12/19/18.

Member of Chisholm I. U. M. S. W. 2/28/19.

In good standing in union. 3/8/20.

Left service of Oliver Iron Mining Company in March 1919.

Joined I. U. M. S. W. 1/5/19; paid last dues May 1920-dropped. 1/13/21.

Donated 25¢ in support of Proletarec. 2/17/21.

Is satisfied with last election that two of their (laboring men) candidates were elected over steel trust nominees. 7/28/22.

Writes in Prosveta paper dated 8/7/22 advising the laboring men to stick together.

Writes in Prosveta that Oliver Iron Mining Company dismisses men without cause and if men are not for company's interests, also if over 45 years of age and worn out they are not kept either. 9/7/22.

Writes in Prosveta re-labor conditions, wages, etc., regarding employers towards laboring men. 12/9/22.

Writes in Prosveta in 11/3/23 issue.

Employers pay large sums of money for such information.

news. I have pages and pages of personal summaries of the spy system of the Oliver Iron Mining Company on the Iron Range of Minnesota. Repeatedly it is reported that a certain man is a full-time organizer for the I. W. W., for example, and then it is set forth a month later that he is an "I. W. W. sympathizer." Often enough his being a sympathizer with the movement by which he is employed is announced at engagingly short intervals over a period of years. It is as though LABOR AGE carried the sensational story that J. Pierpont Morgan favored capitalism.

Detective Dope

Let us look at one report on an iron miner, covering a five-year period, as an example of what the Steel Trust spy gets for his boss. It will be noted that there are inaccuracies because two dates are given for his joining his union, it being called the American Federation of Labor once. But what has this man done? He has joined the union, remained in good standing,

dropped out, donated 25c to a labor paper, written in it advising laboring men to stick together and expressed satisfaction that his political candidates were elected. Exciting information to collect at the cost of thousands of dollars a month, not to mention the debauching of the loyalty and honor of men, is it not?

A Spy Exposed

Or let us look at a "weekly summary of labor activities" from the secret archives of the same company. There are four notes on the one page reproduced. Two of them sound like "personals" in a small town weekly and are about as startling. They may be interesting to show that the Steel Trust watches the most conservative organizations along with these further to the left. The item about the I. W. W. was doubtless published in "Industrialist" as news, although it might have some small value to the bosses. The information about the Machinists was reported by C. L. McMillan, who acted as secretary. There, if anywhere, was the opportunity for real damage. Yet his report was taken up with the question of a piano player for a dance. It might have been possible that the report on the apprentice could have done some real harm, although in case the young man came from a family of known trade unionists and his eventual membership was probably considered inevitable by the bosses. The net result of that report was that McMillan was disgraced and expelled from the union. He was hurt far more than the labor movement.

And that is a part of the answer to the question. The stoolpigeon can be found and exposed. Being exposed, his life is probably the most miserable among men. His bosses have no more use for him and his fellow workers despise him with a withering scorn that makes the "map without a country" a very fortunate person in comparison.

Typically, the spy system has its members report to

fictitious names at postoffice boxes, writing for a time to one and then changing to another. That is tip enough to catch many of them. Not that anyone found writing to a postoffice box should be condemned but that a loyal unionist who finds his neighbor writing to A. J. Hewitt, Box 194, Duluth, Minn., weekly or oftener can look in the city directory the next time he is in Duluth and see whether there is such a person. Finding none, he can take a day off to wait in the lobby of the postoffice to see who gets mail from the box, whether there are several names in that box, and where the mail is taken. If it is taken to an office with no

name on the door, his suspicions ought to be aroused to the point where he will carry on a real "watchful waiting" campaign.

Many times it is known that a certain man is the head of the spy system or that a certain office is the headquarters. In that case it is fairly easy to trace down the remainder of the members, or at least to get enough of them so that the others will be frightened out of their "jobs". Spies are usually not paid by mail. They either come in to headquarters to get their pay or more likely are paid by one of the headquarters' staff going out to them. If you suspect a certain spot as being spy headquarters in your industry, get a few loyal men together and get a purse to pay one man wages to go on the job of watching it. If you know the chief of the system it is all the better.

ANOTHER SPECIMEN

2/27/22

One William Keenan came to Hibbing early in 1921 as Secretary of the Hibbing Central Labor Union (same as trades assembly) and also acted as delegate of the Hibbing Building Trades Council. He has been very active indeed in organization matters and is regarded as quite radical. His paid position was recently abolished, but he continues his activities. He has been quite busy of late organizing the building laborers and hod carriers.

When he came to Hibbing he was regarded as quite a competent man in the agitation line and has lived up to that reputation entirely. He came there from St. Paul where he was reputed to be active in the same line. Our record shows him to have been the delegate of Local 132, Building Laborers and Hod Carriers of St. Paul, to the St. Paul trades assembly in 1920, and in that same year represented the same local as delegate to the Rochester Convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Will you make careful inquiries as to his past? Has he a police record? Has he ever been indicted in the state court? Has any action ever been brought against him there for non-support or for divorce? Has he ever figured in any of the late radical activities there or in any of the labor troubles such as the street car strike? Any information you can get concerning him will be much appreciated.

CPP

Any means will do to blacken an active worker's character.

Watch him. Either at the first of the month or the fifteenth, usually, he will go out with the payroll. He will pay in cash in small bills, fives or tens, probably. He will visit every member in his system, although not necessarily in one trip, of course. Train your man to follow him, watch his room at the hotels where he stops, and spot the men who come to him. It may take months of part-time work but you will smash the spy system pretty officially. And once smashed it is difficult to rebuild.

In the meantime there are certain characteristics of the spy which help to center attention on the proper

INNOCUOUS INFORMATION

WEEKLY SUMMARY OF LABOR ACTIVITIES IN DULUTH AND VICINITYAND ON THE IRON RANGES FOR WEEK ENDING SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20th, 1924.BESSEMER, MICHIGAN.

September 14th. At a meeting of Bessemer Branch of Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 210, of the I. W. W., today, it was decided to approve the action of Iron River, Michigan, branch in discontinuing the Upper Michigan District Committee of the I. W. W., and transferring the balance of the treasury of that organization to the recently organized Minnesota, Wisconsin and Upper Michigan District Committee with Headquarters in Duluth, because it was considered that the Duluth office could handle the business of the organization more efficiently, especially among the miners in the iron mining districts of the said states. The recommendation of the board of directors of workers' Socialist Publishing Company for the employment of Lauri Marmi as field representative of the I. W. W. in the above mentioned district was also approved.

DULUTH, MINNESOTA.

September 14th. A. J. Neal, of Crookston, deputy president of the Order of Railway Conductors, and L. D. Kiser, of St. Paul, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen legislative committee, conducted a meeting today for the purpose of organizing a LaFollette-Wheeler Club.

September 15th. W. C. White, of Chicago, traveling representative of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners, who has been visiting Duluth for the past week in the interests of his organization, left today for the Twin Cities.

September 15th. A regular meeting of Local No. 274, International Association of Machinists, was convened this evening at Victor Hall at the corner of Fifty-Sixth Avenue West and Grand Avenue, with W. C. Emerson in the chair, C. L. McMillan acting as recording secretary, and nineteen members in attendance. The application for membership of Fred Frickson, apprentice at the D. W. & P. Ry. shops, was ordered to take the usual course. W. J. Hyes, of the cement plant, reported that the Musicians Union almost caused the failure of their dance at Fairmount Park because at the last minute they refused their piano player permission to play. The secretary was instructed to communicate with the Musicians' Union, stating

This report proved a boomerang, resulting in the expulsion from the union of the Steel Trust's spy.

persons. Warning should be given here that suspicions should not be voiced against leaders or active members until there is real evidence, because the spread of suspicion is one of the purposes of the boss. If you suspect John Smith, the fewer who know it the greater your chance of getting real evidence, if you are right. Keep your suspicions to yourself, watch him carefully, and get the facts before you take anyone into your confidence.

What to Look Out for

One of the characteristics of the spy is that he is always arousing antagonisms in the movement. He is slurring others, charging disloyalty, bringing about fights between racial groups or any other divisions possible. When a charge is made against an active union worker the suspicion should be directed equally against the man bringing the charge. It may be that the spy is directing attack against the most effective and loyal man in the organization. An honest man should not bring charges he cannot prove. A spy will bring unprovable charges and try to cover with generalities.

Another popular sport of the spy is attacking men from the personal side, family troubles, mistakes in their past, and so on. I reproduce a letter here from

the archives of the spy system of the Oliver Iron Mining company again, sent by their chief of operations to one of his subordinates, asking that the personal life of a labor organizer be checked up. I do not know the organizer, he may have been divorced many times and charged with all kinds of things or may never have been in any court for all I know. That probably was also true of "CPP" when he wrote this letter. But there was just a bare chance that he might be able to blast this man's reputation, through his spies at Hibbing, if he had the information. No dirt is too dirty for a man who will head up a spy system.

Other characteristics are yellowness, evasiveness, opposition to all suggested action, desire to know what is not their business, ability to live above the standard of their fellow workers and a certain kind of self-defensiveness that comes from the knowledge they are traitors. Watch for these characteristics and check up on these men. But above all, don't fear them.

Yes, workers can be organized despite the stool-pigeon. They have the final word and the final power. If they will go on organizing militantly, fearlessly, and aggressively, the spy will be ineffective and will eventually be exposed and crushed by the scorn of his fellow workers.

Militancy vs. Defeatism

In Meeting Labor's Present Difficulties

By A. J. MUSTE

In the last issue of LABOR AGE some questions were raised about union-management cooperation in an article captioned, "The Devil and the Deep Sea." Brother Muste indicated that, on the one hand, a trade union must inevitably "cooperate" in certain ways with the employer, but that cooperation for increased efficiency under present conditions, on the other hand, raises many difficulties for the union, such as an aggravated unemployment problem, etc.

This article offers some suggestions as to how union policy might be directed to meet some of the difficulties on either hand.

1. Every union must take account of the realities of the moment. It is not a propagandist society, a political party or a revolutionary committee. The union must be absolutely clear, however, as to what is its first and basic task and what is secondary and incidental. A union that keeps steadily before itself that it is an organization of, for and by the workers, that it must get gains for them and must constantly strengthen itself as over against the forces that would destroy it, and which compromises and cooperates in order to strengthen itself and get results for the workers, is one thing. A union which, consciously or unconsciously, comes to think of itself as an agency to help the employer get efficient production, and which tells itself that as a result of this the workers will inevitably benefit and the union get strong, is a very different thing. The one is an honest-to-God union; the other is a company union, no matter what sign it may have in the front window. If the union has the former point of view, almost any compromise may be temporarily justified; if the union has the latter attitude, any compromise is a step on the road to ruin and the betrayal of the workers. In other words, so long as there are employers who own machinery and capital, and workers who work for wages, the union must first of all be a militant organism to protect the workers, improve their conditions and advance their status. Everything else comes behind.

2. Such a union will drive a hard bargain with management, not because it enjoys being hard boiled, but because in an age of mechanization, it takes determination and backbone to protect human beings from being completely submerged. The trade unionism of the old days, Gompers' unionism, pursued this policy. It insisted on something substantial in wages, hours, conditions, in exchange for every concession it gave the employer. It was in no sense ashamed to go out and

fight in order to get a good bargain. Modern industry should be able to give much to workers, and a unionism that will insist on getting from industry what industry is in a position to supply will have their allegiance.

3. Such a union when it is compelled to give ground because the odds against it are too great, will not fool its members by stories of how the interests of capital and labor are the same, and the workers are bound to profit because the union is making it possible for the employer to keep in business and to make money. On the contrary, it will admit defeat and rally the members to greater effort, prepare for the next battle. There is no disgrace in being licked. There is both disgrace and danger in lulling workers to sleep and getting them out of the habit of battling for their rights and for the strengthening of their union.

The Acid Test

4. A very good test of whether a union is bonafide or not is in its attitude to organization work. A union which neglects the unorganized, which merely becomes a club for protecting a number of workers in a trade or industry, has "sold out," regardless of whether any money passed, regardless of whether anybody wanted to sell out or not. Incidentally, when a union keeps trying to extend its sway, the employers are not apt to be too friendly and the union is not likely to fall into false dreams of how peaceful and beautiful everything is.

5. A union which has genuinely the will to organize will not confine itself to a particular trade or industry. Such a union will want to see a labor movement which is pushing out into new territory, waging battles constantly against the open shop and the company union. It will make its influence felt for this sort of thing. It will contribute money to organizing campaigns and strikes. It will understand that a labor movement that is standing still may win the public approval of employers, but will secretly be despised by them and will be digging its own grave. Cooperate, yes, if you organize the basic industries at the same time, organize them by winning the allegiance of the workers and fighting their battles, not by trying to "sell" trade unionism to employers on the ground that it will do more for them than company unions can.

6. Since the process of organization is general, and under modern conditions every group of workers is dependent upon every other, all of them suffering when, for example, some are thrown out of employment, or are shelved because of old age, since all unions are weakened if great numbers are unemployed and willing to take jobs at any price, a genuine union will recognize that all workers must be given security and must have their purchasing power sustained at all

times. Such a union, therefore, will be concerned about social insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness, and all the various hazards of life in an industrial society. To recognize that the working force in a particular industry must be reduced and to provide effectively for those who are caught in the process is one thing; to permit the working force to be reduced and not to do anything effective for those who are caught in the process is a very different thing, and will have a very different effect on the morale of the labor movement.

7. At many points what the labor movement cannot gain by action on the economic field, it might gain by political action. Political campaigning gives a chance to reach workers who might not be reached at such a time as this by a trade union appeal. In a complex industrial society, where the every day life of the workers depends, for example, on whether the foreign policy of a country is militaristic and imperialistic and likely to involve them in a bloody and costly war, everything that the workers do on the economic field may be undone on the political. A live union in these days instead of leaning to the old parties and going back on its tradition of independent political action, will therefore recognize that now is precisely the time when the working masses must be prepared for independent political action. When unfortunately the economic arm is tied down, to conclude that the political arm must be permitted to wither is surely the height of folly and a shameless surrender.

8. As life becomes more complicated and industry more mechanized, the worker finds himself living more and more in an impersonal world that thwarts many of his instincts and desires. One of the great services his unions have rendered him is that they have constituted a democratic, humane society where he counted for something, where he was more or less on an equality with others, and where he found brotherhood and sympathy. If now the union also becomes a part of the mechanism of industry, if it becomes predominantly a business institution, if it ceases to have the old human personal touch, the democracy, the free fellowship of former days, the worker will certainly lose interest. There will be another reason why he should take to running about in flivvers, to movies, dance halls, this or that, anything except the union. In other words, precisely because of the special conditions of our time, the labor movement must make special effort to keep up the morale, loyalty, enthusiasm of its rank and file members.

A Well-Balanced Policy

How may that be done? Partly by taking pains to keep union meetings democratic, resisting the inroads of bureaucracy and "gangsterism," giving the members a goodly share in determining policy. Partly by looking upon the workers as human beings, and having the labor movement provide for the recreational and cultural needs of the workers and their families. Partly by developing a sound, vigorous, large scale educational movement, teaching the workers what is actually going

on about them, developing in at least a respectable minority a genuine interest in the economic, social, political, cultural problems of the day, breaking the power over the workers of the patriotic and other fetishes that enslave them today. Partly by keeping a touch of idealism alive in the labor movement. Men live by bread and therefore a trade union must produce immediate bread and butter results. The workers will give the laugh to idealists and intellectuals who cannot produce results and follow men who do, without being too squeamish perhaps about their methods. Yet it remains forever true that men shall not "live by bread alone." The labor movement also perishes, if it loses its idealism, no matter what immediate results it may obtain. Workers want a vision of a new world in which they shall be free men indeed and slaves to no man or system. Partly by enlisting the workers in cooperative enterprises and thus utilizing energies which the union once it is established may not need. These enterprises, however, must be genuinely cooperative, enlisting the thought and activity of the membership. Otherwise, they will fail of their purpose. A bank which is a business enterprise pure and simple represents just a bank to a worker, whether you call it a labor bank or the National City Bank, which, of course, is not to say that a labor bank ought to be run in an unbusinesslike manner.

Trade unions which were a part of such a labor movement as this would undoubtedly compromise on all sorts of matters all of the time, as trade unions have always done. The workers belonging to them would continue to cooperate, to build industry, as workers have always done. It is not only since the war that the world has been able to feed and clothe and house and educate and enjoy itself because of the cooperation and sweat and toil of the workers! But such a labor movement would live in and for the workers, not in and for industry. It would be constantly seeking to extend its bounds and its power. It would not be losing membership. It would not resign big industry to the company union and open shop crowd. It would not be apathetic and defeatist but militant. Doubtless it would find that no matter how eager it was to make industry indeed efficient for the service of the people, there are forces wanting to use it for private gain, regardless of the needs of mankind, forces entrenched and powerful. It would find further that it would have to battle against these forces more intensively and on a wider front as the workers gained intelligence and power. How that conflict would ultimately be resolved, who shall say? That bridge too we may cross when we come to it. In the meantime, we shall not lay down arms. We shall strive ever to increase the power and the intelligence of the organized workers of the world, never fearing that they will not use the power and intelligence they develop.

Thus does the situation challenge us. There is no cause for discouragement. The labor movement is always "between the devil and the deep sea." It always fights its way through, for the workers need it and the future is with them.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

VIII—GOVERNMENT LABOR BUREAUS

THE greatest labor research organizations are the labor bureaus of the United States government and the various states. Every research worker should be thoroughly familiar with the work they are doing by examining their publications regularly.

Labor bureaus came into existence upon the demand of organized labor. The National Labor Union, founded in 1866, carried on propaganda in favor of the establishment of government labor bureaus and gained its first success in Massachusetts in 1869. Pennsylvania followed in 1872, Missouri in 1876 and Ohio in 1877. The Knights of Labor began an intensive campaign in the same direction in 1878, and when the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (later reorganized into the American Federation of Labor) was founded in 1881, it too took up the cry. Fifteen states in all had established labor bureaus before the United States Congress in 1884 finally passed a law creating a Bureau of Labor in the Department of the Interior. Four years later at the request of the Knights of Labor this bureau was made an independent body with the title, Department of Labor. In 1903 it became the Bureau of Labor in the newly created Department of Commerce and Labor that Roosevelt and others had advocated to deal with industrial questions. Ten years later when the Department of Labor was established, headed by a Secretary with a place in the President's cabinet, the Bureau of Labor became the Bureau of Labor Statistics within that Department. It is this Bureau of Labor Statistics which at present conducts most of the Federal Government's statistical work in labor problems. All but five states today have similar bureaus.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics makes public its findings in two types of publications: (1) the "Monthly Labor Review," and (2) its "Bulletins." The "Monthly Labor Review" has been appearing since July 1915. It is a most invaluable publication. From the point of view of cost it is probably the cheapest periodical in the field of labor, if we consider that it contains some 200 pages each month and costs but 15 cents per copy or \$1.50 per year. Subscriptions are taken by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

The "Monthly Labor Review" aims to give current information about labor conditions in the United States and foreign countries. It not only publishes the results of the researches of the Bureau of Labor Statistics but also of those of official and unofficial investigations all over the world. It is one of the best sources of information upon problems that are of immediate interest. Its bibliographies or lists of articles and books on current labor subjects are especially useful. It is in the "Review" that there appear the famous sets of statistics on employment and earnings, wholesale and

retail prices, and strikes and lockouts. The first two are published in pamphlet form for advance distribution to organizations that have immediate need for them. One of the especially useful sections of the "Review" supplies the texts of important new agreements, awards, and decisions affecting workers. There is a cumulative index of the "Monthly Labor Review" for the period from July 1915 to December 1920. Semi-annual indices enable the research worker to locate material that he needs in back numbers with the least amount of effort.

The "Bulletins" of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics cannot be praised too highly. They are variously priced—cheaply enough—and can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents. However, a certain number of each "Bulletin" is set aside for free distribution and while the supply lasts copies of any "Bulletin" can be obtained for the asking by writing to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Of course, the larger public libraries keep the "Bulletins" and the "Review" on file.

The predecessors of the Bureau published annual and special reports and bimonthly bulletins. These were discontinued July 1, 1912 and since then bulletins have been published at irregular intervals, beginning with No. 101. Today they are fast approaching No. 500. These Bulletins deal with special subjects, arranged in series of topics as follows: Wholesale Prices, Retail Prices and Cost of Living, Wages and Hour of Labor, Employment and Unemployment, Women in Industry, Workmen's Insurance and Compensation Laws, Conciliation and Arbitration, Labor Laws of the United States (including court decisions), Foreign Labor Laws, Vocational Education, Labor as Affected by the War, Safety Codes, and Miscellaneous Series. A list of the reports and bulletins of the Bureau which were published before July 1, 1912 is furnished upon request.

For recent "Bulletins" see the last few pages and inside back cover of the latest "Bulletins", where the titles are usually listed. Two recent numbers are handy for general reference purposes: "Handbook of American Trade-Unions," No. 420, price 20c; and "Handbook of Labor Statistics," No. 439, price \$1.

For Your Own Research

1. What publications are being issued by the Labor Bureau or Department of your state? Inquire of the librarian or write to the state capital.

2. Compare the copies of the "Monthly Labor Review" for several months to acquaint yourself with the general order in which the topics appear.

3. Consult the indices of the "Review" and the lists of the "Bulletins" for material relating to your industry and union.

Note: Moody's Investor's Service mentioned in the last article, is now at 65 Broadway, New York City.

Workers and Students

Student-Industrial Movement Proves Worth

By SADIE GOODMAN

I FIRST became acquainted with the idea of the student-industrial movement in 1922 at a weekend party conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association. At that time I was not much impressed with its importance, and wished I would not be invited again; however, since then I have learned to appreciate the value of this movement.

When students actually go into industry, not for financial help only, but for the purpose of seeing for themselves what it means to work in a factory; and on the other hand when factory girls are actually given an opportunity to taste college life, the student-industrial movement becomes something more than mere good times and discussions; it is getting down to brass tacks, and stimulating thought and action which affects our whole industrial problem.

The best thing that happens to the student who has worked in a factory is that she has her illusions shattered on how to help the working class. She learns that it is not important to teach workers how to live properly, how to be good Americans or to be good producers. Nor is it important to teach them more religion or to inspire them to become millionaires or the President of the United States; but that it is important to awaken workers to the fact of the big role they play in industry and in helping to develop civilization, and to teach them that if they want respect and a square deal out of life they cannot get it as individuals or with an "everybody for himself" philosophy. Workers must learn that if one is hurt, all are hurt.

Some students do get that understanding out of their experience and decide to ally themselves with workers' movements and remain in industry. But few stick it out; the adjustment is too difficult. It often means the cutting off of all family and social contacts.

I would not discourage students who want to ally themselves with the workers' cause, but I would not encourage it. Instead, I would advise them to go back to their professional and intellectual fields and do the job from there.

College students apparently do not realize their opportunities to influence workers' minds—what damage, what misleading and deadening work has been done by their group. If they are really interested in helping the working class, why don't they become teachers, and instead of glorifying kings, war-lords and wars, emphasize the part that workers play in developing civilization and tell what their heroes and martyrs have done in bettering working conditions?

When teaching economics, they should not glorify the wonderful opportunities our country offers for making profits. Instead, they should tell how our economic system can be run for service.

If they become social workers, and wish sincerely to help the workers, they should not be satisfied with just patching up cases. They should question and trace back reasons. If they become lawyers they should see that workers get a square deal in the courts, especially when involved in the industrial struggle. If they become journalists they should not live off scandals and murders, but should give the workers a little space when they are in a strike.

Some students hope to be active politically. In this field there are opportunities to help the workers to "clean up." If their ambitions spur them to become industrial engineers, why not give human beings at least as much consideration as machines and production? And ministers who tell workers that if they are denied things on this earth they are made up in heaven are not the kind that will help the workers' cause. In fact, that kind of talk has a terribly deadening effect on the workers' mind. Students who become Y. W. C. A. secretaries should not be interested only in teaching girls how to play, neither should they, when they realize the struggles and needs of the workers, find the Industrial Department too small and limited and go out into other fields. In that case, they are very often lost to the cause.

The Price of Ideals

It is not going to be easy, this job of helping the working class from the professional fields. Those who try are going to have plenty of opportunities to experience that glorious feeling of martyrdom and suffering that always comes to those who stand for progressive ideals. They will get the same thrill that we workers get when we lose our jobs, go into strikes and get arrested. I know of three people of the professional class who in the past year have lost their jobs. One of these was a man with a family to support, and who is now selling vacuum cleaners. I would not advise students to try to lose their jobs. It is much better to learn how to compromise, if it means gaining a point a little later. But if they are put in a position where they must almost sell their whole soul, then it would be better if they went out and sold vacuum cleaners instead.

What happens to my industrial sister when she gets a taste of the intellectual world? First a dizzy pain in the head. If she gets her taste at Bryn Mawr, Madison, Barnard, the Southern Summer School, or Brookwood, the dizziness is soon relieved with the help of teachers and tutors who understand the purpose of "workers' education." The second thing that happens is that the world begins to stretch out. They begin to see and hear things that have always been there, but to which they have been deaf, dumb and blind.

For instance, at Bryn Mawr Summer School, the study of economics taught me that my employer was not the only one responsible for the struggle of workers. In fact, he too was a victim of forces such as inventions, discoveries, climatic changes, wars and new theories, all of which have resulted in separating our interests. Some understanding of the history of civilization gave me a feeling of importance as factory worker. The study of English made speakers and writers out of us overnight. A taste of literature seems to flavor life and make a library look larger. We see books that have always been on the bookshelves but have meant nothing to us. The study of science opens our eyes to the skies and trees. A theoretical understanding of the trade union movement strength-

ens our faith in it, even when our fellow workers and leaders seem to fail us. The biggest thing that the industrial girl gets out of a workers' school is the contact with the other working girl. She learns that though workers may be different in religion, nationality or color they have one common problem as workers; that though they are many theories, philosophies, and tactics the ultimate goal is the same.

I hope that the student-industrial movement will keep on growing. Students should be encouraged to go into industry and industrial girls should be encouraged to go to school. Students will find that any activity they engage in to help to solve our industrial problems will enrich their lives more than any other activity can possibly do.

A School in the Old South

Women Workers Study Industrial Problems

By LOUISE LEONARD

UNTIL recently little attention has been given to Workers' Education by organized labor in the South, although Central Trades bodies have sponsored classes in Atlanta, Ga., Louisville, Ky., and Lynchburg, Va., and recently we have been hearing of mass education efforts on the part of the Piedmont Organizing Council (N. C.), also a few southern men and women have attended Brookwood and other schools for workers in the north, but the great majority of organized workers are still unaware of the workers' education movement.

Realizing the need for Workers' Education in their section, an independent committee of Southern men and women, have, for the past two years sponsored the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry which held its first session at Sweet Briar College in Va., and the second, this summer just past, at Carolina New College at Burnsville, N. C. Each summer the committee has rented campus and equipment and the Summer School has had no connection with the college administration.

From the beginning about two-thirds of the committee members have been workers, mostly women from garment factories, knitting mills, silk mills, etc., and the majority of these are members of trade unions.

The purpose of this school is to help industrial women to realize the position in which women workers of the South are placed at the present time and to fit them to assume their special responsibilities.

Students came in 1927 and 1928 from eight southern states; from textile mills, including silk, cotton, rayon, came spinners, spoolers and weavers; from cigarette factories, packers; from hosiery mills, loopers; from garment factories, button and button hole operatives, overall, coat and shirt workers; from cigar factories, skilled cigar makers; from shoe factories, French "folders" and fancy stitchers; from glove factories,

laundries, telephone offices, box factories, and men's clothing factories girls also came so that in a group of twenty-five students, all typical southern industries were represented by girls from some of the largest plants in the South.

From economics to health education, the courses of study were especially designed for industrial workers. After studying industrial history since before the invention of machinery, these worker-students saw their jobs in a new light, as parts of a great modern industrial movement which is revolutionizing the South even as it has wrought changes in Europe, in New England, and of which beginnings are now evident in the Orient and darkest Africa. They learned economics in relation to their own jobs and labor problems in terms of their own long hours, low wages, unemployment and other handicaps, compared and contrasted with conditions surrounding other workers in other places.

English composition and public speaking, teaching worker-students to read more intelligently, to write more clearly, and to speak in public, were closely correlated with Economics and drew upon the girls' industrial experience. Among subjects for public speeches were "The Time I Was Asked to Sign a 'Yellow Dog Contract'," "The Effect of Low Wages Upon Workers," "The Advantages of a Trade Union," "Industrial Democracy in My Plant," "The Mill Village in Which I Live."

An hour a day was given to physical education for the group with emphasis upon such exercises as teach relaxation and muscular control; this work was supplemented by talks on personal health habits, social hygiene and care of children; also individual help was given each student regarding exercise and diet suitable for the special needs growing out of her type of job.

A week's course supplementary to economics was

SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENTS



Photo by Esther Lowell

Group of southern working girls at the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, second session, held at Burnsville, N. C. July-August, 1928. Tallest girl is the physical education instructor and youngster was the school "mascot", son of one teacher. Girls from 8 states attended and represented these industries: tobacco, cotton textiles, union and non-union overall, knit underwear, rayon, telephone.

given by A. J. Muste, dean of the faculty at Brookwood Labor College, covering the position of the worker in different stages of history, labor problems in the United States at the present time, and the structure and functions of the American Federation of Labor.

The faculty of the Southern Summer School is made up of teachers who have not only a wide knowledge of subject matter to be taught, but experience in teaching workers. Their work was supplemented by talks by visiting labor leaders and educators among whom are Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins University, Elbert Russell of Duke University, J. L. Kesler of Vanderbilt University, W. C. Birthright, Secretary of State Federation of Labor in Tennessee, T. A. Wilson, President of State Federation of Labor in North Carolina, Mary C. Barker of Atlanta, Georgia, President of American Federation of Teachers, etc., etc.

All members of the school, students, tutors, teachers, attended most of the classes; discussion was free and the contribution of the student from her industrial life as enlightening to the group as that of the discussion leader who had spent more time studying theory. There were tutorial hours, individual conferences for each student about her written work, projects undertaken by a student or a committee of students working with faculty members. Thus the program was flexible, adjustable to needs of students as they appeared and progressive educational methods were followed.

Over one week end in August, a conference of labor

men and women from three states, met at the Southern Summer School in response to the call of the President of the North Carolina Federation of Labor. They considered the present status of labor organization in southern states in the light of reports from Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina and tried to face problems to be met in organizing. Under A. J. Muste's leadership they discussed Workers' Education as a tool in the hands of workers. Visiting trade unionists and students found the discussions of mutual benefit and in a number of cases organized and unorganized saw chances to cooperate in educational work in their home towns.

The Summer School is supported by contributions from interested organizations and individuals in local southern communities from which students come as well as from other places where there is interest in the South and in Workers' Education. The committee is encouraged by the support that has come from organized labor as well as from other sources. This next year the director of the school will travel in the South working with local committees to secure funds and applicants and offering workers' classes as a means of following up the work begun during the summer.

The school is not large—the aim is to have forty students next summer, and its contribution as a pioneer in Workers' Education in the South is significant only in so far as it releases the powers of southern women workers and sends them back more able to function in the labor movement of the South in this important period in its economic history.

Efficiency and Joy in Work

Making the Best of Standardized Mass Production

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

THE almost universal rise of the standard of living of the working classes has provided the stimulant to more energetic industrial work, or, in a word, efficiency. Otherwise the working classes would not have obtained or permanently retained that rise of wages which they needed for the satisfaction of their growing demands.

As division of labor, however, has developed towards its present mechanization and over-specialization, employers of labor frequently have found workers who are endowed with low-grade minds cheaper than the higher types employed at similar jobs. The reason is plain: a less keen mind, in a highly competitive social order, is always able to outbid his betters, because content with a lower standard of living.

In the next place, the influence of monotonous, repetitive work, amidst noise and machinery, is deadening the mental life of the factory worker. It is impairing his health too. A man who continually uses but one set of muscles grows so that eventually he can use no others. Herein lies the main danger of unregulated industrialism — a gradually increasing multitude of workers are cut off from all interest in their work by their unsatisfying, joyless toil.

Thus the question arises: How, if a better order of industry and civilization is to be prepared, can the influence of boring, routine work be defeated?

Basic Principles of Efficiency

A recent critic of our economic-industrial system has aptly summarized the essentials on which our questionable "prosperity" depends.*

The twofold principle of the fully efficient, 20th century American industrial management, as seen by this observer, is this:

1. Give as much work as possible to machines and to system; give as little as possible to men.

2. Never give to any man work which another man of less ability can do equally well, so far as the finished product is concerned.

The first half of this proposition has been realized since the beginning of the Industrial Era, or for more than a century. But it is only in our own generation that the industrial magnates headed by Henry Ford have become familiar with the second half. Previously it was generally maintained that any worker ought to have the best possible native ability and education. But by the test of dollars and cents this rule has been found wanting, because the less the capitalist has to pay for labor the larger his profit. According to Henry Ford's philosophy, the best man for a job is he who is barely adequate to it.

* Walter B. Pitkin: *The Twilight of the American Mind*, New York, 1928.

In the automobile industry today the character of work, according to Stuart Chase, has been summed up by engineers as follows (in per cents to the total labor force): Machine tenders 40, assemblers 15, skilled workers 10, inspectors 5, helpers to skilled workers 15, laborers, clean up men, etc. 5.

The first two groups, comprising 55 per cent of the total, are made up of employes who can be taught their jobs in a day or two. Needless to add, their relentless, purely automatic operations at the machines or "on the belt" wipe out every trace of interest and joy in the man's daily work. The situation in the automobile industry is not different from other industries which have adopted standardized mass production.

Now, why do modern industrialists favor the so-called Unit Operation method which lies at the root of mass production? Because it leads to enormous efficiency, to precious economy of time and effort. This method (unit operation) enables a hundred low-grade toilers, each performing one tiny part of a manufacturing process, to turn out from 2 to 5 times as many finished products as one hundred high-grade workers, each of whom makes the entire product or a large part of it. And the wages of the hundred low-grade men are much less than those of the high-grade. Thus the efficiency experts have come to accept the following guiding rule: Never allow anybody to touch a job which a less skilled worker is able to handle.

Specialization and Joy in Work

However discouraging such a development, machinery and division of labor (specialization) cannot be abolished. We can, nevertheless, rearrange work in such a way that the factories will become filled with workers whose skill is not mere routine, but intelligent, methodically trained skill, productive of inventiveness and pleasure. Obviously, therefore, the remedy for the disadvantages of over-specialization is to be found in the diminution of the hours of labor, in improved arrangements of the work-rooms, and in more and better education for workers.

Specialization of factory work, combined with a higher standard of living—short hours and high wages—on the one hand, and on the other with an acquaintance with the manufacturing processes and economic significance of this or that industry as a whole and with a sense of social responsibility, gives the worker a better insight into his particular branch of work. On such a basis it will be possible to interest the workers more deeply and permanently in the problems of efficiency and output, thus calling out their higher mental qualities which cannot be occupied by the simple, workaday processes. As a result, factory life will become endurable, if not attractive.

It must be remembered, however, that every worker

KENOSHA GIRL STRIKERS FREED



The nine girls jailed by Federal Judge F. A. Geiger when they refused to pay their fines of \$100 each for violating his injunction against picketing the Allen-A plant were freed after 19 days in the Milwaukee House of Correction. Funds to pay these fines were raised at a big mass meeting in Milwaukee and from sympathizers and labor organizations throughout Wisconsin—state opinion demanding that they should be released.

In the ninth month of the strike enthusiasm continues to run high, and the 17 men still in jail are just as full of fight as those outside.

is not only a producer, but is first and foremost a consumer as well as citizen. In the second place, invention and mass production create for any worker, be he a factory hand, a tiller of the soil, or an artisan, both an increased opportunity of, and a constant spur to, higher enjoyments and nobler satisfactions attainable outside of the job proper. During the age of automatic machinery, electric light and radio as well as of international banking and world markets, one's own productive work simply cannot provide full satisfaction for one's soul, just as the direct product of one's toil never can satisfy his or her various material needs. In our times, how can an urban shoemaker, for instance, live either by or for shoes and boots alone? To conclude, the disadvantages of the dull life in the factory must, for the workers, be compensated by the nobler gains consequent on a rise of their cultural level, standards of living, and intellectual interests.

In fact, a vast number of people actually prefer unvaried monotony and fear every suggestion for change. These workers are content to hold a routine job at decent pay and good hours. True, to them the work in the shop will be stripped of meaning and interest, but on account of their higher standards of living their intellectual interests, through proper education, will be directed to objectives outside the shop or industry sphere.

Efficiency and Industrial Democracy

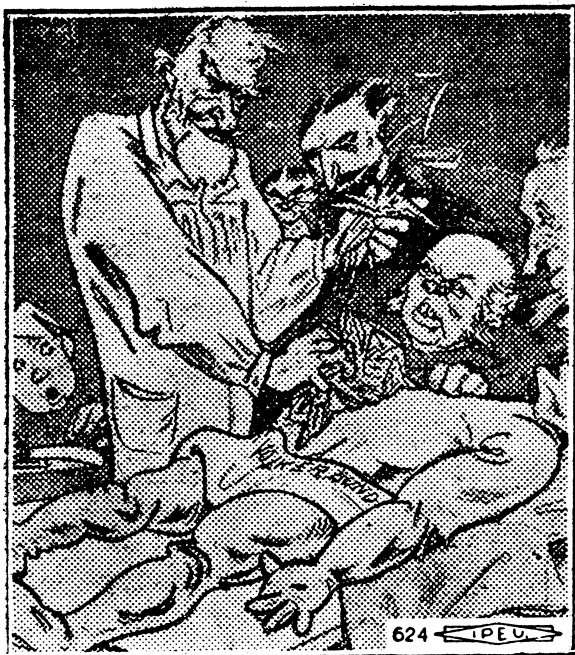
It can be seen that the only radical remedy for all the evils of industrialism lies in the substitution of economic democracy in place of the present-day profit-hunting social order. As things stand now, industrial

efficiency defeats its own purposes. Standardized mass production at low costs coupled with high-pressure salesmanship resulting in high distributive costs is utterly illogical and wasteful, the very opposite of genuine efficiency. The problem of finding a market capable of absorbing the huge production of standardized goods made under conditions of mass production and sold at low unit costs is by far a more difficult problem than the creation of the large output itself.

In the next place, the view held in the past ages that the world had been preordained for the special benefits of the few, whom it was the duty of the majority to serve—economically as well as politically—is on the point of extinction. Compulsory schooling and the nationwide enfranchisement have lifted the "laboring poor," as Adam Smith, father of Political Economy, called the patient, submissive masses, to the plane of social consciousness. They demand higher standards of living and self-determination, both as citizens at large, consumers, and citizens of the industrial realm. This, in its turn, calls for a well organized attempt to make an end to the de-individualization of the worker by joyless labor.

On a long-range view, social progress is bound together with the displacing of the profit-motive in industry by the principle of social function or service. Energies turned toward profit-making can never be productive of "the greatest good for the greatest number"—this honorable but betrayed watchword of political democracy. Unless industrial efficiency and economic democracy grow together, modern industrialism, despite of all its unprecedented glory, will inflict degradation and suffering upon the majority of mankind.

In Other Lands

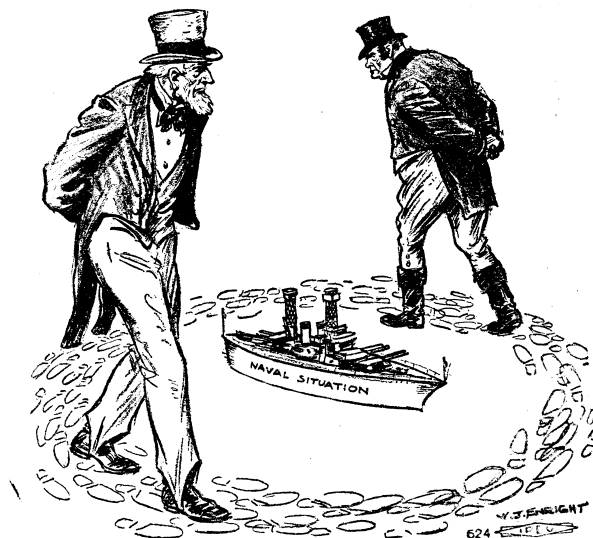


Bernard Shaw, famous British dramatist and Socialist, after a first hand study of the League of Nations in action at Geneva wrote an article on it for the London Herald. In his usual way G. B. S. resorts to brilliant paradoxes, shrewd witticisms and other thrusts caustic and penetrating, with which the editors and cartoonists of the Berlin "Kiadderatsch" agree. In this cartoon they picture the League "as a man of straw" in the presence of the representatives of France and Britain.

COOLIDGE INCENSES BRITISH

The biggest and most thrilling news of the month, indeed of the past six months, was the Armistice Day speech of President Coolidge and its reaction on Britain and France. In the London House of Commons the British legislators lost all their customary restraint and decorum. Flinging all their wonted dignity to the winds the members of parliament flew into a rage and denounced Uncle Sam and Coolidge in no unambiguous language. Honorable members, both Tory and Liberal, said Coolidge and the damned Yanks could go to hell and called for war. Copenhagen them and teach the upstarts a lesson, they shouted. It took all the diplomacy of Premier Baldwin and his cabinet colleagues to restrain the members in their rash and violent talk. The press gallery reporters and special writers who deal in "scenes" in the House were told by the Speaker and Baldwin and their aides not to mention what happened. The free press of Merrie England obeyed and New York had to wait five or six days for a full account of the most extraordinary scene that ever occurred in Parliament since the days of Par-

nell. Baldwin in pleading for calm and restraint said to the members, "The peace of the World is at stake." In this connection the New York World, through its artist, Enright, depicts where the economic forces of Britain and the United States are leading to ultimately. Both John Bull and Uncle Sam, the legendary figure of the wealth and commerce of these two countries are scowling at each other as they walk around a lake symbolical of the ocean with a warship in the middle. The logic of history says it is war, a struggle to death. Only the election of the Labor Party to power and its complete control over the British empire and the forces that make for imperialistic domination will prevent war between the two countries. From the Tories nothing can be expected, judging from the sympathetic reception Lord Birkenhead's jingo speech



received in the governing circles of London and the provinces.

The only serious industrial clash this month was the strike of the bus drivers of Belfast and the six counties of North Ireland, an area equal to three quarters the size of Belgium. The strike was bitter, brutal and bloody while it lasted for the North is socially, culturally and politically in the 17th century. The men won the right to organize and the blacklist was abolished. Other points in the dispute were to be arbitrated.

GERMANY'S HEAVY LOAD

In the Kladderatsch we also find the versatile pencil of the artist depicting the Reich as an almost broken down, overloaded porter for the rest of Europe. Michel, the once proud imperial Germany, is complaining of the load he is carrying and says Peace is as ruinous as war and more thankless. One must admit that the Reparations payments and the cutting of his territory in the



East and other charges are indemnities with a new name to make the German the bondman and serf of Europe. The cables tell us that a move is on foot to lift the load from the backs of the German people and that all the victor nations except France are agreed to scale the payments down to a reasonable figure. As France is the War Lord of Europe controlling the largest military machine in the world we do not look for an appreciable reduction in the Reparations unless Paris gets compensation elsewhere, which will be the hardest diplomatic nut to crack.

The industrial life of the Reich in all industries except steel, is healthy with unemployment at the 350,000 mark, which is considered good when compared with Britain. The steel and iron industries are idle or on part time owing to a lockout. The arbitrator gave the men a cent and a half an hour increase instead of five cents demanded. This small advance did not please the steel barons for they rejected the decision and continued the lockout, even resisting the suggestions of the Federal government. This stand of the steel magnates is due in part to their having been enrolled in an International Cartel with the French, Belgian and Luxemburg iron masters. They seem to be assured that no other producer will take their orders while the dispute is on, or if they do, the profits will be secured for them. The workers, on the other hand, are displaying a solidarity unusual in such cases. Led by the Socialists all sections, including non-union and even Christian unions, are holding together and fighting back, with the leaders gaining steadily in power and influence. The struggle has caused a depression in other trades owing to the close relationship between them and the steel industry as well as the decline

in purchasing power of the workers as consumers. Some small plants have closed down while many of the large ones are operating part time. The lifting of the American embargo on German pig iron may relieve the situation as far as the blast furnaces are concerned. The Reichstag voted five million marks to relieve the suffering caused by the lockout and a further grant is expected this month should the dispute be prolonged.

THE COMING EXPLOSION

The last vestiges of liberalism and freedom, as we understand those terms in this country, were wiped out by the legalizing and glorification of the censorship of the press and the passing of the law giving legal recognition to the Fascisti. All that remains for the Mussolini autocrats to complete the circle and the work of reaction and counter-revolution is to abolish the monarchy and proclaim the Duce Caesar or Consul.

Italian industrial conditions in spite of the autocracy of the Fascisti and their willingness to suspend all laws except gravitation and economic are very bad. Italy can not make use of its own surplus population and its industries are unable to absorb the youth of the nation as they come of working age. As there are no colonies and the quota of the United States coupled with the hostility of Canada and Australia to Latin emigrants, Italy will soon be in the position of the well fired boiler without a safety valve. An explosion is bound to follow.



The precarious condition of Italy does not prevent its journalists from observing other countries and poking fun at them. The *Il Travaso*, Rome, is cutting in its comment on our national elections. Young Miss America after reading European papers says: "I notice Europe is interested in our elections." And Uncle Sam gives a bitter rejoinder, "Not half as much interested as I am in having them pay their debts."

PATRICK L. QUINLAN



"Say It With Books"



"BOSTON", A GREAT LABOR NOVEL

Boston, By Upton Sinclair, in 2 vols. (Albert and Charles Boni). \$5.00.

DID you know that the Boston police strike was a frame-up of blue-blooded bankers? That the bankers bribed the Massachusetts legislators wholesale in putting through public utility bills? That the bankers own the Massachusetts supreme court and save millions by this holding? That the blackmailing gangs of Massachusetts frame up badger games on rich youths in collusion with district attorneys? That the president of Harvard University is a tool of the electric power interests and bankers?

All this contemporary history is woven into Upton Sinclair's great labor novel, "Boston." The book will inseparably live with the tragedy of Sacco and Vanvetti, whom the bankers and politicians crucified as a warning to other rebels. It dramatizes this tragedy with historical fidelity and a narrative power that keeps time with the tremendous movement of this event that sent its vibrations through the entire world.

But "Boston" is not merely the story of the life and death of two radical immigrant workers. It is an illuminating historical study of the period that began just before the war, a fascinating portrayal of the social conflicts of the Boston region, which with some changes in detail would be true of San Francisco, Indianapolis, Philadelphia or any other large American city where the bankers trampled their way to power and then martyred the workers who resisted.

Sinclair takes us into the inner circle of the aristocratic money lenders of the Hub City through his created heroine, Cornelia, the widow of an ex-governor and the mother-in-law of the leading banker. Cornelia belongs to the "saving minority," that has always stood for humanity in New England against the broadcloth mobs that dragged William Lloyd Garrison through the streets and killed Sacco and Vanzetti. She runs away from the hypocrisies and polite brutalities of the Back Bay, and takes a job with the Plymouth Cordage Co. She boards in the Brini household that Vanzetti lives in and takes part in the strike he helps to lead. When she returns to Boston with a new social viewpoint, her eyes are opened to what her family is doing.

Just then her sons-in-law were putting America into the war to protect the allied bonds they had sold to the public and taken back as collateral. The same war that Sacco and Vanzetti would not fight in—a capitalist war they

called it. How their trip to Mexico to avoid the draft would be used against them by a jingo judge a little later!

The jingo judge was Web Thayer. He did what the financiers wanted in railroading the two Italians. But what contempt they had for him! He did not belong to the "right" Thayers; just a vulgarian from Worcester. A neurotic self-centered, cheap actor in black robes, boring the blue bloods in their clubrooms with his complaints about those "anarchistic bastards." But Web represented the courts, their courts, and publicly his prestige must be upheld against their enemies.

Sacco and Vanzetti had no more chance with the supreme court of Massachusetts than with vulgarian Web Thayer. The bankers controlled the appointments to the high bench. This former city alderman and that corporation lawyer sat in the judicial holy of holies because the big money lenders had whispered their names to the governors who appointed them.

The supreme court appears as the servant of the bankers in the famous felt industry suit which ran for a year in the same courtroom where Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced to death. The bankers ruined the felt king by pledging him credit and then double-crossing him, so they could seize his plants for debt. Despite elaborate lying they lost the suit the felt man brought in a lower court and were assessed \$10,000,000 and deferred interest payments by the jury. But the supreme court reversed the decision, and saved the bankers their loot, after denying the Sacco-Vanzetti appeal on the grounds of no jurisdiction.

This is history, and very significant history to New England workers. The bankers who pulled this deal are Kidder, Peabody & Co. Labor knows this outfit. They have taken over one industrial plant after another, and company unions, wage cuts and strikebreaking follow in their train. Among their properties are Amoskeag Mills, of Manchester, N. H., with 10,000 employes, and the Waltham Watch Co.

In this review I will not attempt to summarize the Sacco-Vanzetti case again. That story has been so brilliantly told in Eugene Lyons Life and Death of Sacco-Vanzetti (International Publishers), and again in the 750 pages of "Boston." I merely here wish to indicate the rich historical value of this great labor novel and to urge all workers to get this book, even if it means sacrificing a new hat, a few packs of cigarettes or a new radio tube. There is nothing like this on the air.

ART SHIELDS

A CHALLENGE TO INTELLECTUALS

The Treason of the Intellectuals, by Julien Benda, William Morrow & Co.

IF IT be true that 5 per cent of the people think and 10 per cent think they think and 85 per cent would rather die than think, then the stimulating book by Julien Benda can only be enjoyed by the 5 per cent and possibly by but few of these. With unusual learning, Mr. Benda proves his thesis that the 19th and 20th centuries are characterized by the fact that the political passions have been narrowed, intensified, perfected and made supreme. Nationalism and patriotism is the overwhelming passion swelled by three sub-passions: (1) Anti-semitism; (2) War of classes; (3) Championship of autocracy as against democracy. The national movement gets its significance from the material advantages secured or the realization of the nationals as individuals distinct from others. In a word, life is real when it is a fusion of these two passions; that is, recognition of self as an individual and the acquisition of material advantages. Those who pursue purely spiritual life or sincerely assert themselves in the universal, are living outside the real.

In national crises such as war, the intellectuals will support the national passion. During the war preachers stood by their country (John Haynes Holmes was one of our conspicuous exceptions) and if they had not done so their congregations would have walked out on them. In fact, the national extremists even talk of a national mind, a national science, etc. It is this devotion to political passions that produced, Jingoism, German Kulture and is typified by such expressions as "science must not soar beyond the frontier but be national"; or, "A true German historian should especially tell those facts which conduce to the greater Germany."

In the opinion of the author the function of the intellectual is to resist and to restrain political passions by telling the people the truth. Instead, the intellectuals have proven traitors to their trust and are advocating the creation of a powerful autocratic state, arbitrary action, and complete submission of the people to state authority. Their ideal is a strong and not a just state. The result is national pride which is but a tumor filled with corruption.

Intellectuals, instead of challenging custom, the rule of might, the cult of success and the cult of cruelty, succumb to them and thus make possible the conquest of the spiritual forces of justice, truth and the like. This

book is a challenge to progressive liberalism the world over. It is a philosophical call to arms. Dare the intellectuals accept it?

OUTLINES OF ECONOMICS

"PROBLEM Economics" by Professors D. M. Keezer, Addison T. Cutler and Frank R. Garfield and published by Harper Bros., does not deal with specific economic problems like the tariff or the determination of railroad rates nor, like most texts, does it deal with general economic principles. It is an attempt to get material from economic problems and weave it in such a way as to describe the outlines of our economic system. The authors try to accomplish this by using carefully selected quotations from men who are recognized leaders in the fields studied.

To show how this method works let us take the chapter on the aspirations of the workers for more wages. The authors begin with a topical outline of the essential points to be covered by the chapter, follow this with a general introduction and then with quotations from specialists in their respective fields. The excerpts vary from the dynamic and vivid description of a coal mine using an electrically driven cutting machine to the prosaic articles of Harry Laidler or Leo Wolman, Samuel Gompers, Prof. Hoxie, John Mitchell, Matthew Woll, James H. Maurer, Owen Young, Henry Ford and Eldridge Gary. These names show with what care and impartiality the authors have made their selections.

The reviewer strongly questions the value of this method. As a text it can have little value. As a reference book for busy students it will win high praise.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

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