

LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Sherwood Anderson
on Danville

The Lesson of the Hour

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**Why Unemployment
Insurance**

ISRAEL MUFSON

FEBRUARY, 1931

25 CENTS

LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Sherwood Anderson
on Danville

The Lesson of the Hour

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**Why Unemployment
Insurance**

ISRAEL MUFSON

FEBRUARY, 1931

25 CENTS

LABOR AGE

Vol. XX—No. 2

February, 1931

CONTENTS

EDITORIALS:

A REAL PROGRAM FOR LABOR, BITES THE HAND THAT FEEDS HIM, COMMON SENSE TALK BUT NONSENSE ACTION, PROGRESSIVES MUST STAND BY INDIA'S MASSES, OUR INDUSTRIAL RED CROSS—AND DANVILLE	1
SHERWOOD ANDERSON ON DANVILLE.....	3
THE LABOR OUTLOOK.....A. J. Muste	8
THE LESSON OF THE HOUR.....Louis Francis Budenz	10
SHREDDED EDUCATION.....W. E. Payne	12
PROGRESSIVES CELEBRATE BROOKWOOD'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY..	14
THE MARCH OF THE MACHINE.....Justus Ebert	15
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD.....Frank L. Palmer	16
WHY UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.....Israel Mufson	18
ACROSS THE CONTINENT.....	21
IN OTHER LANDS.....Patrick L. Quinlan	23
BOOK REVIEWS:	
A CONTRAST IN SOCIAL BUILDING.....	24
A MARTIAL LEGALIST.....	25
WHOSE GOVERNMENT?	25
ALIENS BE DAMNED!	26
THE PHILOSOPHY OF NO PHILOSOPHY	26
WHAT OUR READERS THINK.....	27

IN THIS ISSUE

SHERWOOD ANDERSON came down to Danville. He spoke to the plain folks he knows so well and to whom he brought immortality in "Poor White," in their moment of greatest agony and exultation. This speech, couched in the simple language of a poet who loves his fellowmen, will stand out for all time for its great simplicity, force and beauty. If only a few others could talk to workers in just that way, what a difference it would make. Because labor literature has been immeasurably enriched by this contribution, what Sherwood Anderson said to the strikers at Danville is printed in full in "Sherwood Anderson on Danville."

SPEEDING across the Rockies at this moment, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, had time enough as well as occasion, to meet with American workers under varying industrial and geographical conditions since he left New York City January 2, to get an idea of what is behind their minds. In "The Labor Outlook" he describes his experience with reflections on the possibilities of the spread of progressive action.

"SHREDDED EDUCATION," is the factual recital of a teacher "who reasoned too logically" for the comfort of those who desire to maintain education as a porous plaster against new ideas. W. E. Payne, Ph.D., the author, has had varied experience with colleges and college presidents, and Battle Creek College, in the home of shredded wheat, is not his first painful encounter with authorities who considered an unorthodox opinion more dangerous than an earthquake. In telling us something of himself he states that: "My academic studies have lead me into (and out of) the Universities of London, California, Chicago, Wisconsin, Ohio State, Utah, and a San Francisco Barber College." At present he is dean of Simpson College and head of the department of Economics.

AS an antidote to "Shredded Education," there is Brookwood. After ten years of vigorous life, Brookwood stands out today as the symbol of the kind of workers education that a progressive and vigorous Labor Movement should cherish with whole-hearted devotion. Unfortunately, this is not the case at present, and whatever widespread educational movement is needed in this country is still a matter for the future. All the more reason, therefore, to rejoice in the fact that on its tenth birthday, Brookwood finds its own existence more secure than ever and its influence spreading. What is being planned to celebrate this occasion is told in "Progressives Celebrate Brookwood's Tenth Anniversary."

IN spite of continued widespread unemployment and the breakdown of the general charitable and special agencies created to dole out relief, there is still very little coherent agitation for unemployment insurance. There is still talk of unemployment insurance as "dole" and as un-American, though we have developed no other means but the "dole" with which to cope with the situation. In "Why Unemployment Insurance," Israel Mufson, C. P. L. A. secretary and member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, separates the problem into its component parts and through questions and answers, shows that the only adequate remedy is still state compulsory unemployment insurance. This article will be reprinted in pamphlet form and orders for it should be sent in immediately to LABOR AGE.

IF all around there is apathy, indifference, indecision and inactivity, what are we to do about it? Are we to sit back and wait upon time and chance to perform the miracle of ferment? Are we to satisfy ourselves with the consoling thought that nothing can happen now and therefore there is no use in trying? This is too easy. "The Lesson of the Hour" points the more difficult way but it is the way to action and accomplishment. It is written by Louis F. Budenz, a man who has his faults, as all others have, but chair-warming is not one of them. Who will follow?

THAT the staff of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at least, is taking time by the forelock and attempting to twist it to its own designs is demonstrated in "Across the Continent," giving something of what A. J. Muste is doing as he is blazing the trail with the message of progressive labor—and relating the plans of Mufson and Bellaver, who will leave the Metropolis behind them as this issue goes off the press, and fare forth in a worn-out auto to see whether the workers are as hard-boiled and uninterested as they are supposed to be.

CONSTANT readers will note a change in the columns of "Flashes from the Labor World." They will like, we are sure, the comments on the important news of the month prepared by the new eastern manager of Federated Press, Frank L. Palmer. We are very fortunate to have Mr. Palmer continue in such fine style this department formerly conducted by Harvey O'Connor.

WE refer our readers to the other departments in this issue. All of them, "The March of the Machine," "In Other Lands," "Say It With Books" and "What Our Readers Think" are important and interesting.

LABOR AGE

February, 1931

EDITORIALS

WHAT organized labor can do in the present unemployment crisis, if it is free from conservative political entangling alliances and has the courage to meet the problem realistically, is demonstrated by the action of the organization committee of the Minneapolis Labor

A Real Program for Labor

Movement. Not only does it demand unemployment insurance, but realizing that measures are necessary for immediate relief application, it calls upon the city government to vote thousands of dollars to help the unemployed, to turn an entire building over, fully equipped, for the use of the unemployed and all of these, including the expenditure of the funds contributed by the city, to be under the control of organized labor.

Realizing that unemployed workers are potential union material the committee further plans the organization of the unemployed so that educational work could be carried on simultaneously with relief work.

Here is a program that leaves very little to chance; that has an eye out for every means available to help those without income and at the same time, takes the occasion to drive home the lesson of trade unionism to thousands of workers hitherto unorganized. Labor organizations in other cities can well afford to study the Minneapolis plan.

As an incentive in that direction, we are publishing the complete program of the Minneapolis trade unionists in another section of this issue of LABOR AGE. It should be helpful to organized labor throughout the country.



THIS material world is a difficult place to live in. Especially must it be difficult for one who, proclaiming at every opportunity America's prosperity and superior

Bites the Hand That Feeds Him

civilized institutions, must daily concern himself with the poverty, helpless industrial bondage, brutal police suppressions and class restrictions which his constituents heartlessly call to his attention.

It is therefore forgivable, as a surcease from the continuous toil and moil of practical perplexities, for William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, to attempt to escape from the real to the mythical, where wish-fulfillment is but a matter of a sigh.

Recently there has been much agitation for restriction of immigration. There may be sound economic reasons upon which the chief labor leader of the country, calling the hunki, wop, yid, dutch, swensky, mick, etc., etc., Brother in official communication, could build an argument for denial of entrance to these shores. One should here tread with care, for after all, it is their sweated pennies

which keep Brother Green in comfort, if not in ostentatious luxury. But no, when he was called upon to dilate upon reasons for immigration restriction, as one contributor to a symposium, he chose not only a mythical explanation for his hostile attitude, but one which is a sneering insult to about three-fourths of the present A. F. of L. membership.

Leading the foray against the foreign born in a volume full of prejudices, President Green unburdens himself in this astute and scientific manner:

"Our Republican institutions are the outgrowth of ten centuries of the same people in England and in America. They can only be preserved if the country contains at all times a preponderance of those of British origin."

Shades of Gompers and of all other brave heroes who fought those valiant battles for the freedom of American labor! Oh, the Murphys and Fitzpatrick's, the Stanislaws and Pobrotzienskis the Cohens and the Kellys, the Bartones and Caltagirones who bared their breasts and their heads to the guns and the clubs at Homestead, Ludlow, Lawrence, Passic and where not!

And what about Matt Woll? And what about Duffy, Rickert, Weber, Ryan, and Bugniazet, members of the official A. F. of L. family, all? They, also are unfit, according to William Green's Wasserman standards.

But this is just what happens when a labor leader leaves his particular field for what to him are untrodden paths. Others, however, realizing the limitations of human knowledge and the dollars that come pouring into the A. F. of L. treasury from Jews and Poles, Irish and Greeks, Slavs, Finns and Italians in prepondering quantities, would be somewhat more circumspect.

For as plain an instance as can be cited of biting the hand that feeds one we refer our readers to the book review section of this issue. Read "Aliens Be Damned!"



THE official news service of the American Federation of Labor in its issue of January 24, engages in some plain common sense talk on "Causes for 'Red' Agitation Must Be Removed."

Common Sense Talk But Nonsense Action

Putting aside all former ideas about revolutionists in general and Communists in particular which in the past seemed to make of the Federation a glorified American institution, like the D. A. R., the editorial comes to the fundamental causes of revolutions with Marxian precision:

"Revolutions are not ordered like a magician draws a rabbit from a high hat," it points out.

"Behind every revolution is a deep-seated cause. The

revolution itself is but a culmination of a long series of grievances.

"To deny this is to ignore history.

"Condemning Communists while the cause for Communism remains, is like covering an ulcer with talcum powder."

So far so good. But while the news service talks common sense many of the Federation leaders are engaged in the foolish antics, the very powdering process, it complains of. While the news service explains the cause behind Communism, Matt Woll, the ubiquitous light of American Labor, prances on the stage with the Hamfish fishing committee demanding suppressions, deportations and boycotts. While the news service talks of low wages, suppression of strikes and bread lines, Green demands immigration bars against all except those of British origin because otherwise our democratic institutions would be jeopardized. While the news service explains that "Social wrong is an ideal soil to plant revolutionary seed," the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which just concluded its sessions in Miami, had nothing to say about unemployment insurance, but joined the reactionary forces in a demand against an extra session of Congress and practically turned its whole machinery over to fight prohibition.

Talk is fine, gentlemen. But for every one who reads the fine phrases on revolution contained in the weekly news service of January 24, thousands read of Matt Woll's histrionic capers against any agitation, revolutionary or otherwise. While the common sense contained in the editorial will be forgotten tomorrow, the nonsense of President Green's attitude on immigration will be used by blind reaction for days without number.

While the editorial recognizes history, the action of the Federation, in refusing to take a sensible stand on unemployment insurance and in practically sidetracking every legitimate union activity for an attack on prohibition, ignores history.

We agree with the Federation news service explanation that economic causes are behind revolutions. But we add to it another: That the causes of the present lethargy and weakness of the Labor Movement must also be considered; that common sense talk must be accompanied by common sense action. There is not only the danger of revolution for nations but for institutions as well.



THE India Round Table Conference has adjourned. It adopted a program which vests "full, responsible self-government" within the British Empire in an Indian legislature, with, however, the control of the very important department of finance and foreign affairs reserved to the British imperial government. Unquestionably

this constitutes a more substantial move in the direction of independence for India than the vast majority of observers dared to hope for from the Round Table. Ramsay MacDonald is to be congratulated on this fact, on the measure of support which Conservatives and Liberals seem prepared to give to the program, and on the fact that disturbances in India did not assume such serious proportions while the Round Table was meeting as to destroy its effectiveness completely.

The Labor premier has likewise made a statesman-like move in announcing that he is prepared to extend amnesty

to India's 50,000 political prisoners if "civil order" is restored in India and in inviting Gandhi and others to take part in the detailed negotiations which will have to take place in India before the new Indian government is established. The move to release the politicals is indeed long past due.

The crucial question now is whether Gandhi and other out-and-out independence leaders are prepared to accept the Round Table's program as a genuine and adequate step toward their goal. If Indian leaders are ready to accept it as such, then we are willing to endorse such an attitude on the part of those most deeply concerned to whose courage, self-sacrifice and determination are due the substantial concessions, which have been wrung from British Imperialism.

It must be recognized, however, that India does not have "full, responsible self-government" so long as Britain controls her finances, foreign relations and defense. What would "our founding fathers" in 1776 have said to an offer of this kind of independence from King George? If the Indian independence leaders decide that the Round Table did not go far enough and that the struggle must go on, progressive laborites and Socialists throughout the world have no choice but to support them unreservedly and enthusiastically.



THE national political arena is being convulsed at present with discussions on the why and wherefore of the National Red Cross. While the Southwestern farmers, drought-victims, and the unemployed suffer from starvation, Herbert Hoover continues his reactionary game by playing the voluntary contributions to the Red Cross against governmental action. These contributions, peculiarly, are slow in coming in; and Arkansas farmers may die and rot before the voluntary method succors them.

There are others facing want in our country, who are neither unemployed nor victims of the drought. They need food and clothing because they have fought for the principle of unionism, and are continuing the fight. The strike at Danville still goes on. Those who are taking part in it deserve support. They have only the forces of Labor and the friends of Labor to look to, for the government will not aid them nor will any of the mighty who assist the Red Cross.

In his appeal for Danville, Norman Thomas used a happy phrase in describing the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. He termed it "our industrial Red Cross." Passaic, Marion, and many other of our recent historic labor struggles have looked to it for aid. Now it carries on for Danville.

The Emergency Committee states that the Danville strike funds are being handled in a highly efficient manner. The strikers, after these many months, retain their spirit of determination. It is up to us to keep that spirit up, and to help them in their time of stress.

Our recommendation is: When approached to help the National Red Cross, think of Danville. Give to the Emergency Committee that which you might give the Red Cross—and as much more as you can bear.

Sherwood Anderson

On Danville

YOU men and women here are on strike. You live in the South. You are Southerners. There is a good deal of feeling about this strike. Some of the people here in this Southern town are for you and a great many others are against you. You live in little houses in a mill village. You live off by yourselves. There isn't any question about it, the great majority of people in the community are probably against you. They want you to stay in your place, stay off by yourselves, be quiet and humble. People do not like disturbances of any kind, they do not like the regular drift of life in their town to be broken up and, there isn't any question about it, by striking you have disturbed things for them. The merchants are affected. Small business men of all kind are affected. There are a good many of you. It doesn't make any difference how little money each one of you make, what hours you work, what home conditions you have, how the lives of your children are affected by the conditions under which you work and live, the fact is that, because there are so many of you, if you would only stay at work, be satisfied, not ask anything but what the mill owners are willing to grant, it would be temporarily more comfortable for the town. That is to say, it would be more comfortable right now. There would be your earnings pouring into the pockets of the town. Trade would be better right now. There isn't any question about all this.

I think you people here ought to understand what you are. You are workers. There isn't any way to get around that fact. Are you ashamed of it? America, the country in which you live, where you vote, for which when a war comes you fight, was started by workers who had a dream. They dreamed of a land in which there would be no classes. All men were to have pretty much the same opportunities. It was to be a land of freedom. It hasn't worked out that way. You all know that.

One of the reasons why the American scheme hasn't worked out is that the lives of workers here have been degraded. People are ashamed to be known as workers. There is a notion abroad in America that to be a business man, to buy and sell, is more

noble. It is one of the strangest ideas in the world. Workingmen and women, farmers and others, who work with their hands, have been pushed down in the American social scheme. Government does nothing for them, is not concerned with them. Government now is concerned with business and business men. It is run for the money changers.

New World in Birth

Why, it is not only in money matters you people are being hurt by present day American life. You are being hurt in your manhood and womanhood.

It can't last. Any civilization in which the producing classes are degraded is on its way to becoming a ruined civilization.

You are men and women living in a new time. There is a new world being born of which your children will be a part. The new world is being born right now. It already exists. We are like a lot of people asleep. The actual world in which we Americans live today is no more like the world of our grandfathers than it is like the life of China or Siam.

People like you, working people, fighting as you are to better your conditions, probably see before you most of all the immediate thing. You live in this town here. You are affected by the attitude of the people of the town toward you.

We are all affected by the attitude of other people toward us. We can't escape. When people look down upon us we are hurt. When they talk as though we were children, not knowing our own minds, they hurt us. They take our courage away. There is a kind of mass feeling on the part of thousands of people against you workers now. They speak too often as though you were children, not knowing what you want. They speak as though they were on the heights and you were down in a pit. "Wait and I will presently help you out," they say.

On the whole, right now, the attitude of the people isn't very friendly. As I have already said they want you to stay put, be quiet, be humble, not

ask anything they are not ready to give. They do not actively dislike you as persons, as separate people, as separate individual men and women. They do not know you that way. They do not come to your houses to visit as neighbors, and you do not go to their houses.

The truth is, and you all know it well, that they look down upon you. There are these people in the modern world who produce nothing, who build no houses, plant nothing in the ground, make no cloth for clothes, make no furniture for houses, who farm no land, cut no trees, who in short produce nothing useful to man, who think of themselves as superior to you who do produce. In the modern world there are almost as many of this kind of people, of non-producers, as there are of the producers.

You can see how much more comfortable it would be for them, for the non-producers, if you would ask nothing, if you would stay in your places and be quiet.

Now I have often thought that you workers more than any other class of men should study your position, you should think out your position in modern society. How did you get as you are?

A moment ago I spoke of a new age into which we Americans have come. The whole world is rapidly changing. Let's look into that a little.

You know, as I know, that the history of humanity, of what we call civilization, is a long, long thing. America was founded and settled pretty much by Europeans. Men and women came here from over the sea seeking a new home.

There was a vast country here, a rich country. By coming here they escaped the overlordship of the upper classes. They escaped religious persecution. Over here, in that time, there were vast tracts of country, farming country, that could be taken up by the poor man. Land could be had almost for the asking. Land was so free and there was so much of it, the country was so vast, that for a long time, after your grandfathers and mine came here men thought the unused wealth here was inexhaustible.

The early makers of America, the men who directed the revolution that freed America from the dominance of

Europe, such men let us say as Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, had here, when they made the government, a notion of a certain kind of civilization they were making.

All Principal Citizens

You must bear in mind that it wasn't, at that time, a manufacturing country. It was a farming country. There were trades to be sure and tradesmen but they were small tradesmen. Men made shoes. How did the shoemakers make the shoes then? He went from house to house staying in a man's house until he had made shoes for all the family. You people have heard of that time. You have heard your grandfathers talk of it.

Presently the shoemakers set up a little shop in town. Other shops were set up, the harness making shop, the saddle making shop, the wagon shop. Towns grew. Men thought, as they think now, that things would always be as they were. They never dreamed what was going to happen here. They knew nothing of the great cities that were to come, of the railroads that were to come, of the telegraph, the radio, the modern factories into which thousands of men like you were to be herded.

Abraham Lincoln, for example, when he was a young man, lived in a small town out in Illinois. It was called New Salem. Once a man went there to make an inquiry. He asked a citizen of the town a question. "Who are the principal citizens of this town?" he asked. "Why, we are all principal citizens," the man replied.

They were, too. There was at least the beginning of a real democracy here in America once. Men, in coming here, into a great new country, a place of vast forsets, plenty of land, of equal material opportunities for all, got a new start. They felt free, they felt strong, they felt themselves real men.

Then things began to change. Into the South there came Negro slavery. It changed the whole tone of life in the South. Slavery degraded the idea of labor. In a slave civilization the man who isn't a money maker, or who doesn't inherit money, who has to work with his hands, is just no one.

But you people of the South know about that, you working people. Most of you, or your fathers and mothers, came from small, poor, Southern farms. You came out of the hills. Do you know how your grandfathers and your great grandfathers got into the hills, do you know how you got to where you were before you became

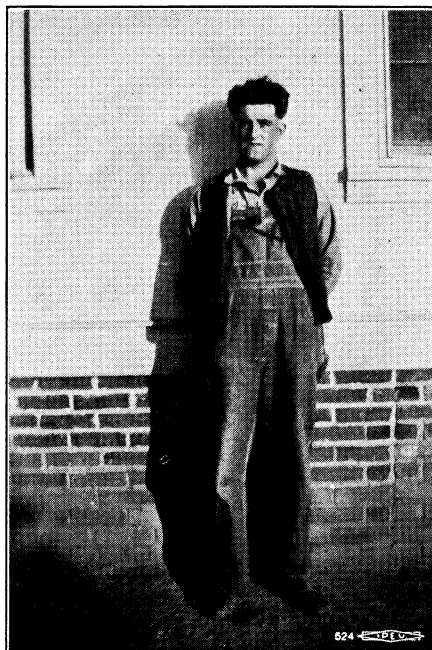
factory workers? You got there because of slavery. You got into the hills, on land the big slave holders didn't want, the land they had worn out, because your people did not want to be in competition with slaves.

Your people, your fathers and grandfathers, did not want to go to work in some rich man's fields beside a slave. Can you blame them? They had come to America seeking the opportunity to be free men and to associate with free men. They felt they would rather go away into the hills, live thin poor lives there, live on birds-eye beans, than be either a slave or on an equal footing with slaves.

People called such men Poor Whites. Did it mean inferior blood, inferior manhood? Why, it is pretty absurd that people of both the North and the South still look back on the slave owning class of the old South, on the men who degraded labor, who recklessly wore out the Southern fields, who had so large a part in bringing on the Civil War, killing of a whole generation of the youth of the South, that people everywhere are proud of being the children and grandchildren of these men and that the same people would be ashamed of being the children or grandchildren of Poor Whites.

The Poor White was simply the white man of the old South who owned

STRIKE LEADER



LAWRENCE HOGAN

Who has just ended a six month's term on the rock pile. His prison sentence was an outgrowth of the Marion, N. C., strike.

no slaves, the white workingman. General Pickett gave the order for the charge of Pickett's men at Gettysburg, that famous charge, when thousands of men ran with cold courage across a field to certain death but General Pickett lived on. The men who charged, who died charging, were Poor Whites.

The Machine Age

But things were changing in the North as well as in the South. A hundred years ago it began on the eastern coast and in the New England states. Modern industry began to be born. The machine came. Gradually, year by year, more and more of the things men wear, the things they use, began to be made by machines. Why? Because with a machine every workman could do twenty—thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred times as much as the hand worker, he could produce a hundred times as much of goods, of things men needed, or thought they needed.

Now I tell you this is worth looking into, this thing called the machine. Every year the machine is becoming more and more powerful in human lives. It has changed all civilization, it has changed war, it has changed the towns, the cities, the tone of the whole country, of every man's life. It has made the new world of which I have spoken.

Where did the machine come from? When you speak of a machine you really mean a tool. When man first invented a wheelbarrow to haul things he invented a machine, an axe is really a machine, as is a maul or a hammer. The first man in the world, some time away back in the dim past of man's history, the first man who used a club began the use of the machine. He could strike a blow with his fist but with a club in his hand he could strike ten times as hard a blow, just as a woman, with a home-made loom, can weave cloth but you, with a modern loom, can in the hours she may put in, weave a hundred times as much cloth.

The machine began to be developed. Every year it has become more delicate, more efficient. From the simple tool used by primitive men all modern machinery has been born, but for a long time in man's history men did not apply power to the machine. He applied only his own man power or the power in domesticated animals. We still speak of the number of horse power in an engine.

Then things began to happen. They happened fast. Some man discovered the power sleeping in fire and water

and out of that came the steam engine. The steam engine was one of the most revolutionary discoveries in the whole history of mankind.

The Struggle for Freedom

You see what it did. So short a time ago as the time when men first began to settle America, when they left the eastern seaboard and began to spread themselves out over the land they still lived essentially as men lived in Bible times. It is true that in those times also men had to work for other men. There were slaves, white slaves, in ancient Rome and in Greece, hundreds of thousands of slaves. Men drove others to work with the lash. In old Europe, out of which came the men who settled America, there were plenty of overloads, kings, barons, dukes, great land owners.

But there had been a struggle going on in Europe. It was in the air everywhere in Europe about the time America was discovered. There was a renaissance, a rebirth of learning. Men had begun to free themselves from old prejudices, old lies. Voices began to be heard proclaiming a thing they called "the rights of Man." The voices grew louder. Learning became more general. Everywhere increased numbers of people learned to read and write. There were more books, more pamphlets, more people were writing letters. Men had begun to ask questions of each other. Men had been living for centuries in what are now called "the dark ages." The minds of men had been buried for centuries under a weight of ignorance. The load began a little to lift. There had come Magna Charta in England, restricting the rights of kings. Then men who demanded Magna Charta did not meet in a hall as you are meeting here. They met in a forest. There was a strike. The king was boss. They made him come to terms. Presently there came the French Revolution. Kings, overlords, dukes, rulers of all sorts were being found out. They were just men. Very often they were particularly brutal and stupid men. What was the French Revolution but a strike? The American Revolution was a strike lasting over seven years. The strikers of the American Revolution went without food. They lived for seven years in poverty, in mud and filth. They wanted, demanded recognition of their union and they got it at last.

It makes me smile sometimes when nowadays I hear men talking. They are always using the word "Never." They say labor can never do so and so. This can never happen and that

DISCIPLINE



Whipping prisoners—an old Southern custom.

can never happen. Sometimes I wonder what they mean by "never." Do they think that men are always going to be as they are now? Do you think that in the long run, men will stand for it to see existing a situation such as you have here? I mean one man or a little group of men being able to say whether or not you shall work, under what conditions you shall work. Why, men once said, and not so long ago, that men could never do away with kings. Even so-called thinkers said it. But where are the kings now. They are gone, aren't they? At least most of them are gone and those who are left have little or no power.

The old kings are gone but there are new kings now. Man has always had to struggle, and I presume he always will have to struggle.

The prince could control the lives of men under him. He could make slaves of men but his power was being taken away. Then a new center of power began to grow up. Men everywhere were building machines. They built them finer and finer each year. Every year they did more and more of the work that had formerly been done by men's hands.

The machines kept on getting bigger and bigger, more complicated, more expensive to build. In the early days, when machines, that is to say tools, were more simple, when machines were really tools, every man could own

his own tools. If a man worked in the fields he could own a spade and a hoe, if in the forests an axe, if he were a builder he could own a hammer and a saw or a stone mason's trowel. The rich man did not have such an advantage. In a sense he was like his neighbor working beside him. He had a pair of hands and so did his neighbor. He could not work in the fields with more than one hoe at a time, in the forest with more than one axe.

He might, it is true, have a bit more money. If he was a man shrewd in trading, a careful saving man, he might own more land, more houses. He wasn't, however, so much ahead. The richest men of old times were pigmies beside our rich men of today.

The machine has changed profoundly all of the relationships of men. It has made a new world. The new world is already here. What one of you could buy the machinery for a cotton mill? Could you buy even one of the huge beautifully accurate machines at which you work when you are at work? It is to laugh. You know you couldn't. The simplest machine in any one of our modern American factories is beyond any one of you. It is beyond your purchasing power. The machines have become so big, so complicated, that they overawe us. I have my two hands here. How long would I have to work with these hands to earn money to buy such a machine. I could never do it.

The New Slavery

But a man's hands are something. A man's brain is something. We cannot, as men and women, go back on our hands, on our own minds. We cannot see our own hands degraded and our minds degraded any more than they have been. It is with our hands we touch others we love, with our hands we touch things we love. They say men do not love their work as they once did. Is it our fault? The machine has come between us and our work. The machine is riding man. It is on top of him. It has destroyed the old world in which our fathers lived, has made a new world, but we will have to use our brains to get into this new world. If we cannot go into the new world, if we are not men enough or women enough, let's not blame the machine. Let's blame ourselves.

The machines grow more and more complicated every year; they grow more accurate, they do their work better. I do not need to tell you men and women this. You know it. The machines have brought a new mystery

into life, a new strangeness. Men and women will have to begin to think of the machine with new seriousness. We are in a new world. We have got to fit ourselves for living in a new world. The matter can't be put off. Even the government will have to begin presently to think of workingmen, of producers, or the government will go to pieces. How many men are there in our Congress who are there to represent workers, how many men are there who really represent farmers? Almost without exception they represent business. That is the whole story of government now.

Now what is the inner story of the machine. The machines have grown and grown. They get constantly bigger, they get more complicated. Every year they do more and more things men's hands used to do. Men are thrown out of work. The number of men chronically out of work grows and grows. Men in government only peck at the surface of the problem. It isn't going to grow any less a problem. How can it?

There is this new machine put into a cotton mill that does the work twenty men used to do. I have myself seen such machines introduced. I am an American. I admire the machine. I stand before it filled with admiration and wonder, but I see also pretty clearly what a dangerous new element it has brought into life. I know what the machine is doing. It is making a new world. It has already made a new world.

Another Valley Forge

You men and women here are on strike. You stand outside the factory doors as pickets. You see other men and women going into the factory to take your places. They are, like you, poor men and women, they are workers. It is pretty difficult, isn't it, to win a strike when there are so many men and women out of work? The cities are full of men and women out of work, the towns are full of them. How are you going to prevent that until you solve the problem of the machine. I think you have a right to think of yourselves on the picket line, standing out there in rain and snow, as people think of other strikers who once stood in rain and snow at Valley Forge.

When this country was new, when there was still free land to be had to the west the worker was more secure. Surplus labor could go west. A man could settle on free land; but that day is gone now. There is no more free land. Already they tell us there is too much wheat raised, too much corn

raised. There is so much wheat raised that men cannot have bread to eat, so much cloth made that men and women must go naked. That is where we are now.

The machine and human life in a machine age is the biggest question facing America. The same question is facing England, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. The whole world is faced with this problem of the machine. That is, at present, in the way we are handling it, throwing men out of work, making paupers of men.

BULL PEN



Seventeenth century penal methods still employed in North Carolina. Background shows bull pen in which prisoners are kept for infraction of rules.

At first, when the effect of the machine first began to be felt in men's lives we in America were all right. Things went fine here for a time. In the first place, we Americans were and are an ingenious people. We were natural mechanics. We got the jump on the rest of the world. We could make all the goods we needed here and then could ship the rest abroad. We couldn't keep the advantage. The world is getting all tied up together. What happens nowadays in America happens also in other countries all over the western world. Now Europe has the same machines we have. They have bought our machines and they have made their own. South America has cotton mills now. So has India. Tomorrow all peoples will have machines. There will be no place to ship

our excess goods. The problem America has to face the whole world has to face. You men and women, here in this little hall, are on strike, but you are not the only workers on strike. Men and women just like you, in the same position in life you find yourselves in, are on strike in England, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in Spain. They also are sitting as you are in little halls listening to speakers. They also have your problem. They do not speak the same language you do. What difference does that make?

Suppose you men and women here lose this strike. Suppose you work next year for less wages and for longer hours. You hurt yourself by that, don't you? But wait. It isn't only yourself you hurt. You hurt every worker in the world. Your own degradation as men and women becomes a little more acute, but at the same time you degrade, by just that much, by what you lose, all other workers.

Pay Reduction Social Suicide

They say to you, every man has his own rights. They say to the man who takes the place of one of you workers when you are on strike that he has to look out for himself, for his family. They tell him that every man has his rights, they are talking about a past age, an age that is gone. They are talking a dead language. They are asking men and women who work to commit economic suicide, social suicide. The goods made in this factory here are sold perhaps all over the world. If the man you work for here, or the group of men you work for, can get you people to work for lower wages and for longer hours, then your boss has an advantage over other bosses. He can cut prices, get trade, but he is at the same time leveling all workers in all competitive mills to the lower level to which he had been able to force you. Men ask what the Yankees are doing down here stirring people up. "Why do they come down here, making trouble for us?" they ask. It is an absurd question. If Northern labor men come down here they come to tell you their story. They are trying to save themselves. What hurts you hurts them. If you have a low wage scale in a Southern mill, if you work children, if you work women at night, your boss can go into the markets of the world and outsell the mill owner who doesn't do these things or who isn't allowed to do them. It should be kept in mind that, in the new world the machine has made, there are no isolated communities. The goods made in the factory here can be on the New York markets next

week. The time when any shop or any factory of any importance makes goods for the people in the immediate neighborhood of the shop is gone forever. Today when a worker surrenders, when he makes a surrender that further degrades himself he degrades all men. You can't get away from it. In fighting this battle here you are not just fighting for yourselves. You are fighting for humanity.

You workers who are fighting the workers' battle today are the warriors of better life, you are the optimists, the hopeful men. You are fighting for the future.

There is a struggle going on here that far transcends any local struggle. It is the struggle of all mankind against the dominance of many by the machine and by the man, or group of men, who happen, because they have money, to own the machine. It is all very simple. Is the machine going to be used to disrupt society, make slaves of men, or are men going to use the machine for the benefit of all? That is the biggest question in the world today. Any sensible man or woman knows that.

Fighting to Save Civilization

Isn't it obvious that there is only one way in which this question can be met now? As the machine is improved, doing more and more of the work men formerly did, labor will have to be given shorter and shorter hours without decrease in pay. There will have to be less profits for the few. We will have to work eight hours a day instead of ten, then six hours instead of eight, then four hours instead of six. We will have to play more, rest more, read more, spend more time with each other and with our children. The machine has already made a new world for us. We will have to go live in the new world.

There isn't any other way out. It is that or men will be made paupers by the machine. Labor will have to come to the end of this period of degradation. You people here are really fighting to save civilization, not to hurt it, you are fighting for your place in the new world the machine has already made.

They talk about revolutions. You here are fighting to prevent, to avoid a revolution. How do revolutions come? They come, do they not, because those in life who have an advantage won't give it up. That has been the history of every political revolution in the world, the mass of men have not wanted it, men have fought

A HANDBOOK ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

The Article Appearing in
This Issue of Labor Age On

Why Unemployment Insurance

By ISRAEL MUFSON

Will Be Reprinted in Pamphlet Form and Available for
Distribution at Once

*The Question and Answer Method
Is Employed in Order to Meet
Every Objection Raised Against
the Measure*

ORDER BUNDLES OF THE PAMPHLET

Price on Request

Conference for Progressive Labor Action

104 Fifth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

and struggled against it, they have reasoned and worked to avoid it.

Revolutions, that is to say political revolutions, are too destructive, they are too cruel and bloody.

There can't be any question of the intelligence of what you people are doing. You are doing the most intelligent thing you can do. You are fighting to help a little toward bringing into actual being the better, decenter world. There is a strike here. Tomorrow a strike will break out in another place. Dark hours will come. You will be sold out again and again in your bitter struggle to make life more decent, better for all of us. The men who fight to hold you down don't really get any satisfaction out of it if they win. What does it profit a man to gain the whole world if he lose his own soul? This strike is but one isolated battle in a great world war. To win it will require courage and fortitude. You will have to stand up against lies, against betrayals, even by your fellow workers.

In the end you will win. You will win or what is called civilization will go to pieces. There is something tough and hardy in men. In such a

struggle they always do in the end survive.

The machine has already made you a new world. Do not doubt it. Think of yourselves as the warriors of the new world. The future is yours.

Bear in mind always that you are not fighting for yourselves alone, you are fighting for all men and all women. I myself think that men like you and women like you are making the only fight that can be made to save civilization. You are trying to come peacefully into a new world the machine has made. You have been patient and brave. Continue if you can to be so. Believe in what you are doing. Stand together. Do not let them separate you from one another. That is always the way in which they will try to defeat you. Why, you are the most hopeful people there are now, you workers, you union workers. You believe. You aren't destructive. You are builders. You are fighting for the same sort of thing men had in mind when they founded America and that has got so lost now. You are fighting as men and women for the right to stand up, to lead decent lives, to breathe deeper, to save your manhood and your womanhood.

THE LABOR OUTLOOK

From Michigan to Montana

By A. J. MUSTE

WHAT do I find as I travel across the country? What are American workers thinking about? What are conditions in the Labor Movement? What is the outlook for action on the part of labor and other elements?

First of all, there is no doubt that the workers are hard hit. In a sense one does not need to travel over two thousand or even two hundred miles from home in order to find that out. You can learn about it in the papers and in government reports. However, the facts are forced home a little more vividly as you travel from one section of the country to the other, see the workers, hear them tell what is happening. And the story is everywhere the same. The country is hard hit. Not since "the hard times" of 1891-96 has there been such thorough dislocation of business and such widespread distress. Conditions are generally more serious in the bigger cities such as Detroit and Chicago than in smaller places, but nowhere is there a trace of Hoover prosperity left.

In Detroit, to take a typical instance, the city welfare department spent a million and a quarter dollars in the month of December on providing the bare necessities of life for over 30,000 families. The number of families that had to be cared for in this way in December, 1929, was about 5,000 and the city is still adding families to the roll at the rate of 1,000 per month. The city welfare department is now in debt to the tune of four million dollars and it expects that amount to be doubled before summer is here. Thousands of workers have lost their homes, and even business and professional people have been caught. Places which were bought at prices ranging from \$3,000 to \$25,000 and on which half that price has been paid are now worth less than the half of the purchasing price. They are simply being dumped back on the banks which hold the mortgages. One big Detroit bank had to take back five thousand homes in this way in the last three months. Workers in many towns who bought homes are bemoaning the fact and pointing out that people who spent

their wages during the good times on food, movies, autos, etc., and who now simply do not pay the rent, are really coming out ahead. There are many more people in this land not paying rent today than the papers will admit, and they are not Communists either!

Secondly, I do not believe that this condition has as yet produced any great amount of bitterness or of desire to revolt. I do not see any indication that the workers as a whole are really for action on the trade union or political field. Why is this?

Just Hard Luck

For one thing, it is only a short while since prosperity came to an end. Laborites and radicals who know that this prosperity was spotty, that a good deal of it was a fake and who realized all the time that it could not be permanent, Hoover and Mellon to the contrary notwithstanding, must nevertheless be realistic about the matter and face the fact that from 1920-25 there was a very big increase in real wages of American workers, that from 1925-29 the level for the working-class as a whole did not drop and for some groups continued to rise, that the American workers were to a real degree well-off, and that even where they were not, they thought they were, which comes to nearly the same thing.

It is not so long since this condition obtained, and a man who is ill does not immediately conclude that he is never going to be well again. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the working population of this country which by and large has come into industry since the beginning of the Great War in 1914 has never known anything but boom and prosperity except for the relatively mild and short depression of 1920-21. To American workers before the War a boom was a brief interlude in a regime of hard or at least not easy times. When a boom came, the hard times were in their minds, and fatalistically, they expected hard times would come again. Under the circumstances they were likely to cling to their union, and their economic and political radicalism might be tempered but was not likely to vanish altogether. To the industrial population of the United States today, as a

whole, depression is an interlude in a regime of prosperity. I meet many a man on bread-lines or in the soup-kitchen who "laughs it off" with the remark, "Just a little hard luck; I'll land a job again before long."

Undisciplined Workers

I have said that the industrial population today has come into industry since 1915—off the farms, out of the hills, women workers, young workers, Negroes, etc. This group of workers is more illiterate and ignorant in the realm of economics, politics and unionism than are the workers in any other industrial country and is more illiterate than the American working-class has been for over a hundred years back. During the years from 1820 to 1860 American workers were influenced by numerous agrarian and utopian philosophies. They often talked of serious things at the bench, around the stove in the general store, in the saloon over a glass of beer. After the Civil War and up to 1914, the Knights of Labor, the Socialists, Socialist Labor Party, Populists, I. W. W.'s and others gave thousands of workers a sense of labor solidarity and a means for understanding their constructive place under the capitalist system.

Since 1914 two things have happened. One we have already mentioned—economic prosperity which caused the worker to be absorbed in jazz, radio, flivvers, movies, etc., rather than in fundamental social and political issues. Needless to add that dominant interests have used every psychological device to keep the workers in this state. The other thing that has happened is that since 1914, and more especially since the Armistice, the American Labor Movement has ceased to be an effective labor educational agency. In the A. F. of L. the philosophy of pure and simple unionism—keep out of politics, avoid theory, don't try to make the world over, leave the worker off the job to be looked after by the old parties, fraternal orders, the churches, anything except the Labor Movement—triumphed completely. And more than that, the A. F. of L. leadership actually began to sing exactly the same tune to the workers as big business, the Republic Party, the

prosperity mongers and super-patriots. At the same time, for reasons which need not here be discussed, the Socialist propaganda was reduced in amount and in vigor, and the Communists, again for reasons that we do not need to enter upon here, did not reach the mass of the workers.

The upshot is that we have a new set of workers since 1914, who until this present depression have given little attention to economics and politics, have heard no economic and political propaganda except that of Big Business, who are illiterate and ignorant beyond all previous generations of American workers.

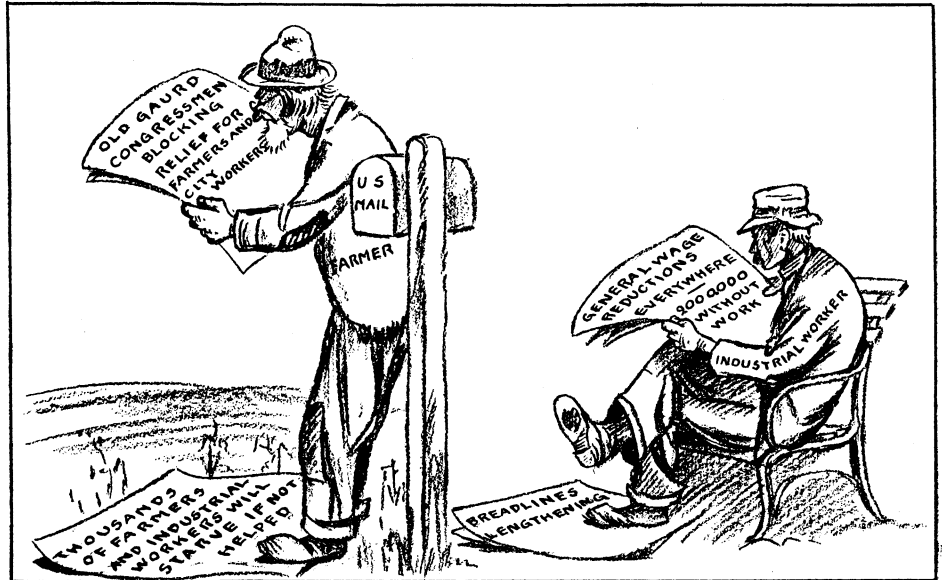
Another and related point must be set down here. The vast mass of workers now in industry have never been organized on the trade union or political field. It takes time to acquire the habit of organization. We can hardly expect the present American industrial population to acquire it over night.

There is still another fact which must be faced when we try to estimate the chances for advance in working class activity in the years ahead, and that is that American capitalism has gotten a big start over labor organization and is prepared to fight every effort at organization, no matter how cautious and conservative it may be, with the most brutal methods and with colossal resources. When a worker risks his job by voting the Socialist not to mention the Communist ticket and when so-ultra-peaceful an effort at organization as the A. F. of L. campaign in the South is met, as is the case in Danville today, with the whole arsenal of injunctions, spies and state militia, naturally it is going to take time before the workers screw their "courage up to the sticking-point" and are forced by conditions to revolt despite the bitter conflicts which would be involved.

Signs of Revolt

So much for the obstacles, the reasons which suggest that we must not be too optimistic as to what is ahead. There are certain considerations on the other side. The first we have mentioned: there is a real, serious, very wide-spread depression. Secondly, the farmers as a whole have been harder hit over a longer period and there is a lot of discontent and very vocal discontent, among them. This may serve as a nucleus around which a political movement might get started, though I think we must face the fact that such a movement cannot be permanently effective unless the industrial

THE ENGINEER'S TECHNIQUE



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

workers are in it. Thirdly, the present depression has hit clerical workers, lower managerial forces, technicians and professional people fairly hard. These elements are "fed up" on the planlessness of the present system, disgusted with the spectacle of poverty in the midst of plenty, angry at the atmosphere of repression which big business has created, and much impressed with what is going on in Russia. In other words, there is at the moment much more rebellion and much more

eagerness for a new political alignment among the intellectuals than there is in the Labor Movement.

Fourthly, the Labor Movement west of Chicago is obviously much less under the domination of the prevailing A. F. of L. point of view than the Movement in the East. In several states such as Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, there is a tradition of independent political action or at least insurgency. One encoun-

(Continued on Page 29)

The Lesson of the Hour

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

ON Tuesday evening, November 1, 1859, Wendell Phillips, well-hated and well-loved Abolitionist agitator, delivered a lecture at Henry Ward Beecher's respectable but liberal church in Brooklyn, N. Y. Mr. Phillips was advertised to speak on "The Lesson of the Hour." Two weeks before John Brown had made his historic attack on Harper's Ferry. There was much flutter and wonder among Beecher's congregation as to what the fiery orator would say at such a time.

This is what he did say, in part:

"The Lesson of the Hour?" I think the lesson of the hour is insurrection. Insurrection of thought always precedes the insurrection of arms. The last twenty years have been an insurrection of thought. We seem to be entering on a new phase of this great American struggle."

Seventy years later—in this winter of 1930-31—we have another "hour" to consider and another "lesson" to be drawn from it. We, too, are entering upon a new phase of another struggle for freedom—not only American this time, but world-wide in its ramifications. As the Chattel Slavery System had to face its time of extinction, so has the Capitlist Profit System to gaze today into the seeds of its own decay.

What is the "lesson" of the "hour" for us?

When we look about us, we see the following picture, in brief:

What We Face

1. The much-vaunted "Machine Age" is scrapping itself. Invention being "too successful" and workers producing "too much," the inventions become paralyzed and the workers are made workless. The Profit System is caught on the horns of its own dilemma; profits produce depression, and yet to put up an appearance of optimism the System must produce profits. The depression has stimulated the use of new machines, if anything, in order to make new profits; while machines new only yesterday are standing idle. Only one economic or national unit has supplied something of an answer to this hopeless paradox, and that is Russia, where the machine is being socialized and profits are no more.

2. Not only are millions of American workers jobless and insecure, but an era of wage-cutting is being ushered in.

This is being accelerated in these bleak winter months of the depression. Youngstown steel workers, Massachusetts boot and shoe workers, Lynn electrical workers, employes in every industry and for every large corporation are having their wages systematically nibbled off and their purchasing power greatly reduced. To this tremendous drive against them, the workers offer small resistance. The American Federation of Labor has been unable to think even in the most primitive terms about unemployment relief. It has surrendered again to "liberal" Big Business elements the leadership in such a small palliative as unemployment insurance. We note the peculiar phenomenon of Owen D. Young, Cyrus McCormick, Jr., and John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, endorsing such a step by legislation, while the A. F. of L. hangs back. Basing its activities on an acceptance of the Profit System, the A. F. of L. finds itself equally unable to form fighting industrial unions, even "in principle," and to take any fundamental political step that would arouse the workers to worker-consciousness. We have this second interesting feature of this era, then: That, for the first time in American industrial history, the immediately preceding period of "prosperity" produced no widespread industrial activity among the working class, and that during this present period of far-flung depression there has been no intensive mass swing to independent political action.

3. To offset the blind discontent beneath the surface, the Powers that Be have matched the biggest depression and biggest dividend year, with the biggest witch hunt in our history. The Fish committee proposes to cap the climax in the continued loss of "American liberties" by outlawing a political party and by other "un-American" acts of repression. In the case of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE, organ of the so-called Majority Communist Party, we now have a Federal court decision which allows the Post Office to stamp out any publication which uses the words "fight," "militant," etc., etc. Following this decision, which has not attracted the attention that it should, two organs of the "regular" Communist Party have been denied second-class mailing privileges. The proposed Fish legislation goes even

further, making the Communist Party illegal, deporting all "red" aliens, and threatening embargoes on goods from the Soviet Union. There are facts, however, which Fishery does not yet understand: There are food riots among Arkansas farmers, who know nothing of Communism, and there is a mob strike of the unemployed in Bisbee, Arizona, without "red" encouragement. This third phenomenon seems to be upon us: While the American workers and farmers have become discouraged with the ordinary "legal" channels of protest, and while Communism is being driven partially underground with the possible loss of its 60 per cent "alien" membership, our workers and farmers are groping about for "revolutionary" expression in their own way and without any set philosophy.

4. In the field of international relations, two high national-economic mountain peaks stand out: The United States, representing the last word in the Profit System, and Russia, representing the first word in the Non-Profit System. In the international valley are the other nations, which may swing one way or the other in the international balance. It is by international competition, ironically enough, that Russia is making inroads on the Profit System rather than in any propaganda. The propaganda is largely defensive in effect, as Stalin indicated in an interview with Walter Duranty of the NEW YORK TIMES. The spectre of civil uprisings out of the slime of War and the uncertain economic conditions have been the best preventive of any armed attack on Russia. There is only one nation anyway able to wage such warfare, and that is the United States. An internationally-minded working class in this country would be the chief deterrent of such a conflict. That is the fourth "ear-mark" of the present period.

Liberals and Communists

These things do denote "a new phase" of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists in the United States, as well as throughout the world. Liberals and "intellectuals" are being moved to consider them. Edmond Wilson of THE NEW REPUBLIC "appeals to Progressives" to take Communism away from the Communists, by coming out boldly for collective

ownership of the means of production. (Issue of January 14th). There are to be other discussions of that subject in that weekly. Lewis Mumford and V. F. Calverton even go further in the MODERN QUARTERLY, and debate whether such a new order should come by peaceful or violent means.

The Liberal shift is doomed to failure before it starts, however indicative it is of the way in which things are moving. Liberals can never make the group sacrifice necessary to defeat the capitalist order; if they do, they cease to become Liberals and join the ranks of the radicals. Liberals can never merge themselves into the masses, and this struggle is fundamentally between the workers and their exploiters, and for worker control of government and industry. The battle is primarily on the industrial field, among the workers, from there precipitating itself into the "political" sphere. It is an outstanding mark of Liberals that they are unable to do effective industrial agitation, as their minds are bent on "political" and therefore soap-bubble manifestations of the underlying economic conflict. It is symptomatic of the shrivelling up of the A. F. of L., however, that this supposed organ of the workers sees the issue much less clearly than the much abused "intellectual Liberals" do.

The Communists have made a considerable contribution in the American field to agitation of the unemployment crisis, industrial unionism and the "impending revolution." Fish legislation bids fair to exterminate them as a vital force, however, even as suppression almost wiped out the I. W. W.'s. Further than that, although their agitation has been more widespread through the country than that of any other group, they are today probably farther away from the mass of the American workers than they were when the Trade Union Educational League flourished. Their "foreign government" inspiration is too complicated for the American workers to grasp or accept. This is the fact which is likely to prove their greatest weakness, when the almost-certain campaign of intense repression is launched. Despite the courageous fanaticism of their membership, they are threatened seriously by the proposed legislation; and their lack of roots in American soil will always handicap their efforts.

A series of groups of militant workers, bound together by American developments, is required to carry on the "subversive" agitation of the "new phase." Here it is that the function

of the C. P. L. A. comes in. It is its duty to get out in the country, with increasing vigor, and carry the banner of aggressive agitation against the Profit System, in the "American language" out of the American scene.

Trips such as those made by Muste and Mufson are the beginnings of this necessary welding together of local groups. But the functioning of these groups and the spread of "subversive" ideas must come from the action of those who believe that the time has come for a new battle all along the line. With the advantage of its American roots, the C. P. L. A. is handicapped by the lack of resources which comes from contact with Moscow and by the present lack of an extensive colorful personnel which comes from those resources. It must build itself out of the hard rock of American economic conditions.

A Job for The Young

There is in this set-up a challenge and a call, particularly to young people, to take up the cudgels in this fight.

We need them to go into industry. We need them to stay in industry, to study and agitate. We need them to dedicate themselves to a patient campaign of familiarizing themselves with the particular industry in which they work, in order that they may be of service when agitation can come out in the open there. We need them to be active in their unions, where such exist. We need them for agitation among the unemployed in their localities. We need them to get the message of radical labor activities and a radical labor program into the press, to reach a wider and wider group of workers. We need them to do spectacular and unspectac-

ular things, as occasion requires.

This is not an easy program. It demands folks who have some hardness about them and a tremendous amount of enthusiasm. But it is not an impossible program; indeed, it is what the pressing requirements of the hour call for with urgency.

Nor will it be a speedy program. There are some people who were disappointed when the C. P. L. A. did not go forth, immediately after its birth, and "capture" two or three large union organizations. Those were utterly unfamiliar with the conditions in the United States and with the things that must be done. Economic forces will bring to a head the issues for which we stand, but not until they have run their full course. What we need today is spade work, and a great deal of it, carried on with a persis-

(Continued on Page 29)



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

THE CALL TO ACTION

Shredded Education

By W. E. PAYNE

A CENTURY ago universal childhood education was deemed by labor leaders to be the only sure road to economic emancipation for working men, women, and children. Education at public expense fought a long battle before it became a recognized right of every child. Whatever success it enjoys may be credited largely to the wisdom and sacrifice of the humanists among workers.

Today the philosophy of a century past is changed in scope only. Universal childhood education is taken for granted, but progressively more emphasis is being placed upon adult education. Its ultimate success will depend largely upon the freedom with which teachers and students in or out of college are guaranteed the liberty to pursue truth regardless of whither it leads them.

The modern employer realizes the power of knowledge. He uses it. Whereas ignorance was the instrument of control used by the older autocrat and slave holder, his modern counterpart seeks to direct learning to his own advantage by means of subtle encouragement and indirect repression. He gives the most responsible positions to college graduates, but he chooses well those who are trained in the philosophy of reaction.

Attempts to control academic thought are numerous. Many important cases are recorded in recent issues of the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors. The case which this article briefly discusses concerns Battle Creek College.

A Haven for Plutocrats

This institution is located at Battle Creek, Michigan, and is a sort of educational subsidiary of The Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolence Association which is generally known as Battle Creek Sanitarium and which has been made famous in part by its influential patients and guests including this year such celebrities as Henry Doherty and Harry Sinclair, oil magnates; Billy Sunday; Angus McDonald, President of the Southern Pacific Railway; C. W. Nash, of the Nash Motor Car Company; James J. Davis, former Secretary of Labor; Sir Henry Morgenthau; Princess Rahme Haidar; and

numerous others from many parts of the world.

Battle Creek College derives much of its support through the Battle Creek Food Company and owes its existence to John Harvey Kellogg, characterized by Upton Sinclair as "the shrewd little doctor," who deserves credit for many contributions to human happiness by way of the breakfast table. He is a brother of W. K. Kellogg of corn flakes fame.

The College had its origin in the evangelistic idealism of Seventh Day Adventist doctrine from which economic struggle led it into the more remunerative paths of big business. Its present social philosophy is typified by a statement made by the late C. W. Barron, for many years a star patient at the Sanitarium, to a professor of the college: "The cure for unemployment is for the laborers to go to work." It is to be expected that progressive ideas would receive only a chary welcome in such atmosphere.

Fired

During the past two years five professors have been fired for "bad influence" upon the students or for knowing too much about administrative policy. (It should be noted that Battle Creek College does not have permanent tenure of office for professors. The president is in a position to refuse a renewal of a contract without giving cause.)

The first two of the five professors to be fired during this period were from the departments of history and anatomy. After their departure the president of the college said to me: "There is much more peace in the faculty since these men are gone." At the time I was not aware of any faculty conflict. The president explained to other persons and agencies that the Profes-

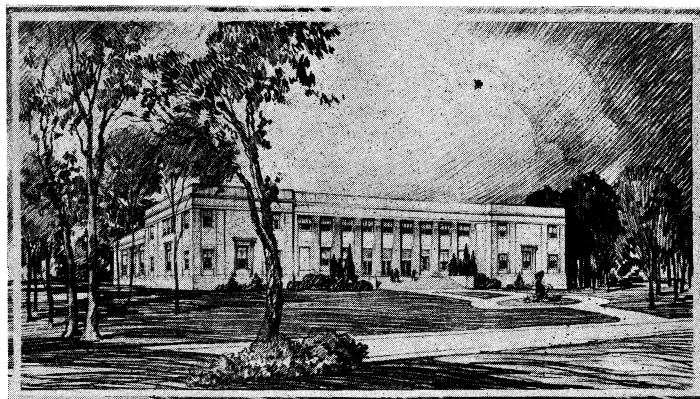
sor of History left because of very poor health. He was as a matter of fact in excellent health, but enough had been said to prevent the professor from securing another college position for two years.

The next professor to be fired was from the Department of English. The private charge against him was that he successfully instructed students to read widely and frankly. His enthusiasm for independent thought was blamed for the waywardness of certain students. One incident will illustrate. The dean of the college defended a student who was charged with the violation of a minor academic rule on the ground that she studied under this professor and that the college was responsible for his presence on the campus.

Conservative Morality

The tendency to explain law violation and immoral conduct upon the breadth and depth of social reading and analysis is surprisingly prevalent. The assistant dean of women at Battle Creek College observed that a certain girl who had overstepped conventional grounds had been reading socialist literature. An explanation by the professor of Economics that he taught labor problems and had occasion to refer students to socialist literature precipitated the following remark from another professor: "I don't care what you say, every time students at the University of California got to read-

BATTLE CREEK COLLEGE LIBRARY



Courtesy of Battle Creek College
New building erected at a cost of \$250,000. New ideas, however, are taboo.

ing that sort of literature they lost their religion."

The kind of morality which develops in the soil of conservative and reactionary thinking is illustrated by the following cases.

The students of Battle Creek College had an annual government expense of about \$6000.00. Frequently their income fell short of estimates. The professor of economics was asked to assume responsibility for handling student government funds at a time when the deficit was approximately \$550.00. By the close of the year this amount was paid and the books showed a credit balance of about \$300.00.

The process of adjustment revealed a number of accounting "errors" in the college books. Two cases will illustrate. The President of the college promised to pay the expenses of a certain student delegate to the Lake Geneva Y. M. C. A. Conference. In actuality, according to the bursar's report, payment was made by the college treasurer and the amount was charged against student fees. The second case concerns the director of the School of Physical Education of Battle Creek College. A professional swimmer was employed to put on a demonstration. It was assumed that the gate receipts would be sufficient to pay expenses. They were not. Consequently, the director paid the balance with money belonging to students.

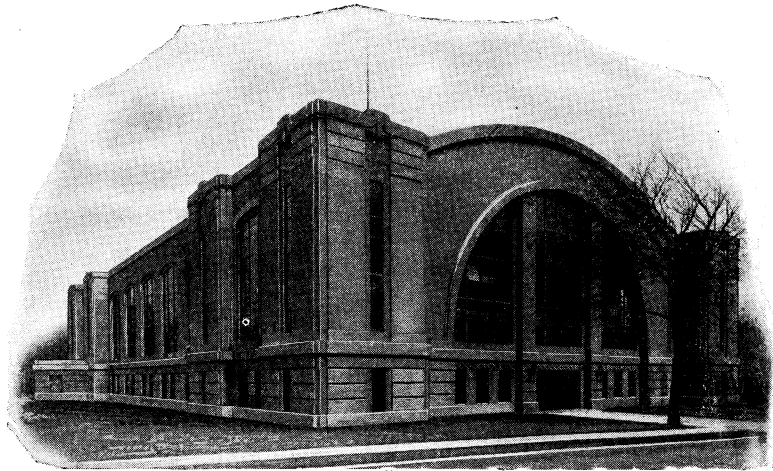
Irregularities of this type were called to the attention of the President of the College and of the treasurer, and some of them were corrected. However, the reporting of these facts was characterized as radicalism on the part of the professor who did the investigating although it was by official request that he did it.

Perhaps more amusing still is the reaction of a board member when his moral support was solicited for a lecture by M. Pierre DeLanux, a Paris representative of the League of Nations. He flatly refused. He exclaimed with a deal of vehemence: "This is a Republican state! Won't the Democrats laugh up their sleeves when they learn that you have invited a representative of the League of Nations to speak here!"

Students and Progressive Action

Fortunately, the spirit of liberalism spreads rapidly among young men and women. The young president of the Student Government Association of Battle Creek College was elected President of the State Student Council of the Y. M. C. A. of Michigan. Acting

GYMNASIUM



Courtesy of Battle Creek College

There is no lag in the equipment for physical development. The lag is to be found in the realm of free thought, as the author of the accompanying article shows.

in the latter capacity, he succeeded in inducing the State Student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. organizations to sponsor an industrial conference at Detroit in the early Spring of 1930.

About one hundred-fifty delegates and faculty representatives from various Michigan colleges spent over two days studying at first hand the employment problems of the automotive center. Dr. Jerome Davis of Yale was the leader. Many other prominent men addressed these students. Among them was John J. Scannell, Secretary-Treasurer of the Michigan Federation of Labor, and Norman Thomas.

The preceding case illustrates the type of work off the campus liberal students can do. The following incident illustrates what frequently happens to students who work in the interest of progressive thought and action.

The president of the student government association for the year 1929 and 1930, who was unanimously re-elected to that office for 1930 and 1931 because of his unusual intelligence, personality, and diplomacy, was informed after commencement of last spring that he would not be permitted to return to that college this year even if he so desired. The same treatment was accorded four of his supporters all of whom were high class scholars. One of them was a leading debater and winner of a nation-wide essay contest on birth control. His article was published in the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW of June, 1930.

"Too Logical"

The professor of economics was held responsible for the activities of the students and all liberal thought among faculty members. The Presi-

dent of the college told the board that he was a "radical." The President further criticized him for being "too logical" for the faculty and "reasoning like a lawyer." The board took up the chorus with variations and called him a "socialist" and a "communist." (He did as a matter of fact deserve credit for organizing a student forum which was affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy and the International clubs of the Carnegie Foundation and for inducing a dozen faculty members to join the American Association of University Professors!) His undated resignation was demanded in December, 1929. He refused to submit such a resignation, but requested the board to proceed as it chose within contractual limits. It did proceed by eliminating the Department of Economics at the end of the academic year of 1929-1930.

The professor of chemistry was one of the most popular instructors on the campus. He refused to countenance tacitly unfair academic practices and the destruction of academic freedom. Also, he refused a proffered bribe designed to purchase administrative support. He was then fired!

Two hundred students signed a protest petition. The college board refused even to read it. On the other hand a frightened faculty were called before a college official and asked to sign an affidavit in support of the President in the presence of a notary public. Many of them did. Some who signed subsequently found jobs elsewhere. More than a fourth of the faculty resigned. Those who remained on the faculty were later required to sign a contract agreeing to teach six weeks during the summer of 1931 without pay.

Progressives Celebrate Brookwood's Tenth Anniversary

TEN years of history, significant in the rise of a progressive Labor movement, is embodied

in the celebration of Brookwood's tenth anniversary. Born in 1921 Brookwood Labor College stands stronger today than at any time during its struggling, and some times precarious, career. The steady growth of an institution in the face of the most discouraging obstacles shows that it is rooted in the soil of reality. Ten years of life, of expanding and of greater influential life, shows that there is a definite need for its services.

When Brookwood was first organized there was a great ferment in the Labor Movement. The trade unions had already emerged from their war experiences when traditional hostility to unionism was forgotten in the general demands of the Nation for a united front and in the free for all grab for profits open to employers. Working conditions improved with but slight opposition and memberships increased to undreamed of numbers. Labor was welcomed as an equal partner in the affairs of the nation. Labor became conscious of its great power and dignity.

Then came the after-war period and reaction. Big Business felt that Labor had gotten too cocky and that now was the time to show it its place. A national move to liquidate organized labor was started. But labor was too strong to be dismembered by a frontal attack. It won out gloriously in the direct fight to crush it. It was to succumb later, however, to a flanking movement of its enemies.

It was at this time, when from every side Labor saw its strength secure, saw its influence in American life increase, that a new hope sprang in the breasts of the workers. They knew that other onslaughts against their integrity were to be made. So they wanted to consolidate their position and move to further victories. They looked across the seas and discovered that the onward sweep of labor there was accompanied by a widespread workers education movement. They wanted to know how to keep up the steady march towards the new social order.

It was then that the workers education movement was organized nationally. It was a little later that Brookwood was founded. Early dreams hoped that Brookwood would become the finishing school for those men and women who had attended evening classes which were then springing up like mushrooms all over the country. For four or five years Brookwood was the apex of an expanding workers education movement.

Meanwhile, however, the official Labor Movement was beginning to succumb to the philosophy of Big Business. What its enemies could not gain by direct attack they succeeded in accomplishing indirectly. Labor fell prey to the blandishments of kind words and flattery. It began to deny its historic role as the spear-head of social change. It began to preach class identity with the profiteers, the exploiters and the idle coupon clippers. It began to interfere in the functioning of workers education. It was thumbs down on social change. It was capitalism forever. The fortunes of workers education began to wane. One by one the labor colleges built up laboriously in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Rochester, and Baltimore, put up their shutters and closed their doors.

Brookwood kept its flag on high. It refused to traduce workers education for the sake of official recognition. It

stuck doggedly to the kind of education that had no strings attached to it. Let knowledge lead to its own

conclusions, was its motto. For this Brookwood was ingloriously, if humorously, excommunicated from the A. F. of L.

Upon its expulsion, Brookwood became the rallying center for those elements within the Labor Movement who wished to protest against the deadening policies of its officialdom. It became the symbol of progressive and militant and intelligent trade unionism. It became the one concrete force standing as a definite reminder to progressives everywhere of the kind of Labor Movement we must build in this country if we are to achieve the final goal of social reorganization on a basis of service and not of ownership.

The story, "Shredded Education," on the pages immediately preceding this, is another reason why Brookwood stands as a symbol for free education in a country where most of this commodity is controlled unmercifully in the interest of property. There can be no free citizenship with the channels of knowledge dammed against new ideas.

It is for these reasons that friends of free education, and of an untrammelled education system, whether inside or outside the Labor Movement, are joyfully banding together to celebrate Brookwood's tenth anniversary. There is a universal feeling that with Brookwood safe and its future assured, the rebirth of workers education, and thereby of the Labor Movement, is but a matter of time.

Throughout the country meetings will be held, parties will be arranged and institutes will be organized. New enthusiasms will be kindled for greater efforts to build a more widespread workers education movement by encouraging the organization of new labor classes in the large industrial centers.

Appropriately enough the festivities, meetings and institutes of this nation-wide program will be inaugurated by the Brookwood graduates residing in New York City with a testimonial dinner in honor of A. J. Muste, Dean of Brookwood and foremost fighter for the kind of education Brookwood stands. While this dinner is in honor of A. J. Muste, the Brookwood graduates realize that equally important in the fight to maintain Brookwood and a realistic program of workers education in the United States were those of the small group who stood shoulder to shoulder with him when discouragement would have been easy and the temptation to give up strong.

This dinner will be more than a testimonial to one man. It will start as a testimonial to the idea of workers education itself and to the whole group which carried on valiantly in the face of the most heartbreaking obstacles.

Those who are in sympathy with the workers education movement and who realize the place Brookwood is playing within it are invited to join the celebrants by attending the dinner which will be held on Friday evening, March 6, at the Woodstock Hotel, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City.

Tickets, at \$2 each, may be obtained by writing to Testimonial Dinner Committee, Room 2004, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

If you cannot be present, messages of encouragement will be thankfully received.

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

HAS our industrial machine, with its excessive output, caused the present business depression? was a query submitted to the New York meeting of the Taylor Society by Prof. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago.

Prof. Douglas did not make the direct charge that the machine is responsible for our depression. He avoids being placed on the defensive by "putting over" his idea in a suggestive spirit.

"On every side," he said, "the question is being raised whether technical and managerial improvements do not cause unemployment, after all, and the belief that they do is today one of the strongest obstacles to the program of rationalization in countries, where like England and Germany, the Labor Movement is strong. It is highly important, both for social and business reasons, that technicians should face this question."

According to Federated Press, electrified farms in the United States increased from 460,000 to 558,000 during 1929 or by 21.5 per cent over 1928. This is the largest increase ever recorded in one year. Montana had the biggest increase, 107.2 per cent. Arizona was second with a 93.1 per cent gain; New Hampshire third with 79.1 per cent and South Carolina fifth with a 46.3 per cent increase.

At the end of 1923 only 166,140 farms were electrified. Since that date the number has doubled every three and one-half years. According to a study made by the Middle-West Utilities Co., within four years electric service will be put in over 1,000,000 American farms, out of a total of 6,300,000.

This means greater and cheaper production with less than human and animal labor. Electricity, large-scale farming and improved technique generally are producing a new agriculture.

Are better times ever to be realized by the workers?

Dr. Isador Lubin, economist of the Brookings Institute of Washington, declared that "a considerable fraction of the unemployed are destined to remain without jobs, due to technical improvements which have increased the effi-

ciency of labor in the manufacturing industries by 45 per cent during the past ten years, with the consequence that some 900,000 fewer workers were employed in 1929 than in 1919."

Considering that there is no let up in the technical improvements referred to by Dr. Lubin; that, in fact, the depression has given opportunity to intensify it by making possible lower wage costs through machine installation, why kid ourselves into the belief that better times, to any great extent, can be possible under present day machine ownership?

The cotton picking machine may revolutionize the cotton industry, Dr. William J. Spillman of the Department of Agriculture, said at the Inter-American Conference on Agriculture.

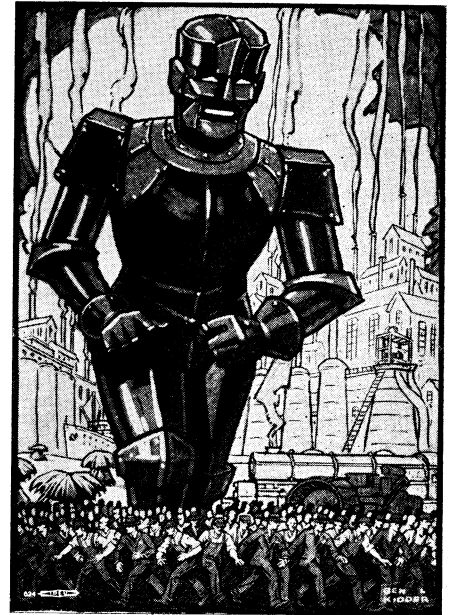
A few of these machines that are now being used in the South can each do work of 40 hand pickers. If they are successful and come into general use three-fourths of the cotton pickers will be thrown out of work.

Dr. George M. Rommell, industrial commissioner of Savannah said that many of the displaced workers would find employment in other activities. He failed, however, to specify what fields are immune from the invasion of automatic machinery.

Prof. Paul H. Douglas is among those who reject the consoling theory that while workers temporarily lose their jobs, the machine reduces prices and this results in increased consumption and eventually creates more jobs.

"Up to a few years ago," says Prof. Douglas, "this was the unfailing answer of managers and engineers to critics who urged that by increasing output per worker the number of employed were reduced and unemployment resulted.

"During the past decade output per worker in manufacturing increased 45 per cent with 900,000 less workers," asserted Prof. Douglas. "Nor is this phenomenon confined to manufacturing. Railway efficiency has arisen, but the numbers employed there have fallen by approximately one-fifth from around 2,000,000 to about 1,400,000. The output



New York Times

per worker has increased very appreciably in coal mines, but the number of miners has diminished by nearly 200,000."

We like the rhetoric of the machine age. Stuart Chase's "two billion wild horses" arouse the imagination to a sense of immense, unbridled energy, sweeping on to—where?—with all of the irresistible force of a stupendously overwhelming stampede.

Prof. Jos. W. Roe's "12 billion slaves," while multiplying Chase's numerals by six, are not quite so impressive. They suggest subdued, docile power "trained to know its place." They do not suggest the headlong dash, the running away with civilization, that those 2 billion wild horses do. Besides, as already intimated, it is a question of who is master and who is slave.

However, both Chase and Roe show how possible it is, via the machine, to have a real civilization, since through it, we can achieve the security and leisure which makes real civilization possible. Does it suggest a revolution before the machine can be controlled for mankind?

Census of Manufacturers figures show that manufacturers of household laundry machines in this country in 1929 paid their 8,152 workers an average of \$1,465.04, while the average worker added \$5,049 to the value of raw materials and fuel by the process of manufacture into washing machines. Who said racketeering?

Flashes From The Labor World

"Bread and Circuses" has been the headline of the labor world lately. Amid the bitterness of the millions who are hungry stalks the tall, ungainly, sour-visaged figure of Ham Fish, Jr., clown de luxe, so that there may be a touch of comedy to the tragedy that is present day America.

Taking himself seriously, as all clowns must do, Fish has spent months rushing from spot to spot in America uncovering the amazing facts that short sellers of wheat do not have the wheat; that the Daily Worker is the organ of the Communist Party; that at least some Communists are more or less opposed to capitalism.

Having put labor spies and patriot-racketeers on the stand over the country to prove the obvious, Fish and his crowd make a long report, the gist of which is that the Communist Party shall be made illegal. "If you don't believe what Ham Fish, Jr., believes, you're illegal," shall be the twentieth amendment to the Constitution. Of course the inevitable is happening. Thousands of non-Communists, who understand a little of fundamental Americanism and what it would mean if any group could be driven underground because of their opinions, will rush to the defense of the Communist Party. Hundreds of thousands will study their philosophy who didn't suppose it was important. Money and men will flow to them because of one poor Fish.

Perhaps Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker, summed it all up when he said, "Go ahead, you fool; the Czar did it."

* * *

For millions there has been little circus, less bread. Never in American history have so many people been hungry, has there been so much dire need, as there is at this time. The Hoover bluff that all was well has been almost completely broken down. Only one thing remains to sweep the bluff away—and here and there that one thing has happened, beginning in Arkansas, of all places.

The Hoover bluff began in December, 1929, when he had business executives add up an impressive total of work they were going to have done. The totals

were impressive, unless one knew the comparative figures and how small a part of the needed construction the great corporations were really going to undertake. Then came the unemployment figures, and every kind of political twisting of facts that could be imagined was used to hide the seriousness of the situation. That human beings suffered meant nothing if the reputation of the Great Engineer were protected.

Now the bluff is shattered. Facts can no longer be hidden. Failed bank liabilities in 1930 were more than three times as great as any year in American history. More businesses failed than in any year. Employment is at a record-breaking low and is still going down, rapidly. New York state—one of the

now, too. Not much—from \$1.15 to \$2.75 worth to feed a family on for a month. But they had learned the way to get more food if that didn't spread far enough. Like a flash that story crossed the country to hungry men. Others began to follow suit. In cities and little towns, crowds went into restaurants and grocery stores and took what they had to have. Many of them were jailed; they got fed, too.

In Washington Senator Robinson of Arkansas read the news. He started a drive for federal funds to get those people fed before he had to go home for the recess. John Barton Payne told a Senate committee that the Red Cross' fund of \$4,500,000 was bountifully sufficient for any emergency that might arise. Three days later he led a drive for \$10,000,000 which he found was immediately and seriously necessary. It's hard to enjoy a White House meal or a soft bed when hungry Americans—many of them trained to fight—get the idea there's plenty of food in this country if they want it. Senators, homeward bound March 4, want the farmers fed at least before they get there. Hoover isn't going home yet.

* * *

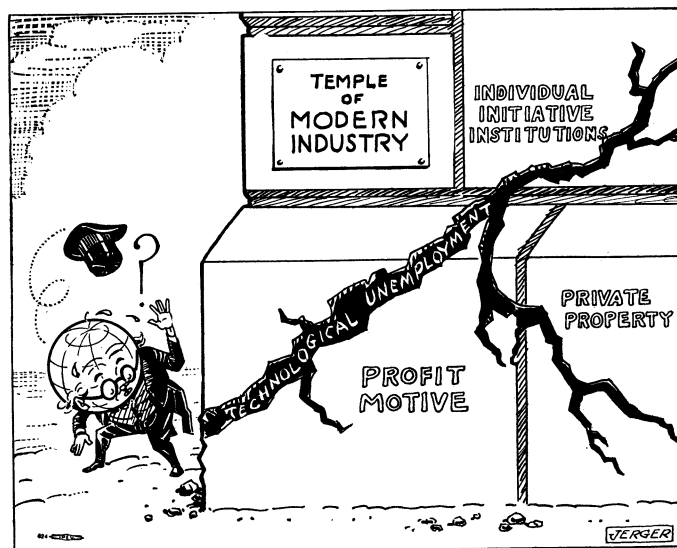
The Childs restaurants cut wages 10 per cent. Radicals made a fuss about it. But they just didn't know all the facts. The Wall Street Journal explained that this saved the company \$1,000,000 a year and so helped the employes. And that in addition, the com-

pany helped out their employes by stopping installment payments of the company stock which the employes had been allowed to buy at \$56 a share. Yet some people would criticise even an employer like that! The stock is now selling for \$26 a share, on the exchange.

* * *

The Mooney case was put back on the front page with a bang when Los Angeles Socialists staged a series of dramatic stunts during the native sons' parade and the inaugural of Gov. Smiling Jim Rolph. As the governor came blithely up the street at the head of the parade, a huge banner fell across his path screeching, "California Justice Is Dead." A hearse, relic of early days, was quickly changed to bear a similar message. Probably the unkindest cut of

LOOSENING FOUNDATIONS



Drawn for Labor Age by Fred Jerger

few places where the figures are reported—had the lowest amount of employment since the records have been kept (16 years) in November. In December that record low dropped 4.5 per cent. Failures the second week in January were hundreds above the same week last year. The Coolidge myth was never entirely exploded. The Great Engineer myth is shot.

* * *

American workers are hungry and they're not used to being hungry. American farmers have raised so much food and textile material they can't get food and clothing. They're not used to that either. What's more they don't intend to get used to it. Hungry farmers in Arkansas marched into a little town and ordered food. Now. They got it

all was when one was flung to the breeze with the warning, "Since Mooney went to prison, no California governor has been re-elected."

Gov. Young sneaked out of office after having released two convicted murderers—though that means nothing in California—and three others, going out of his way to take a slap at the labor prisoners.

Gov. Rolph is going to have the cases of Billings and Mooney thrown in his face from now on until they get justice or he crawls away to make room for a successor. Labor may not be effective in fights for justice but it is persistent. While Mooney and Billings live and remain in prison, no governor of California will be left in peace.

* * *

Eastern railroad workers probably face the toughest battles of their experience as result of the so-called Hoover merger of roads into four trunk lines, a merger which the veteran Washington correspondent, Laurence Todd, says is really a Morgan merger. Just as Morgan used an earlier depression to bring Tennessee Coal & Iron into the Steel Trust, so today a severe depression is being used to bring about Morgan control of transportation. That doesn't frighten the railroad unions. It gives just one more argument for the 6-hour day and for the bringing of craft unions together into a powerful industrial union, strong enough to face Atterbury or Morgan or both of them. The trend of the times is toward bigger and bigger industrial units among the bosses. Nothing can stop that trend. Labor can build more powerful unions to meet the powerful boss, submit to serfdom, or let someone else build the labor weapon of the future.

* * *

Equalling in number the prophets who explained a year ago why there couldn't be a depression are the doctors now prescribing remedies for the problem of unemployment. Work for nothing for a month, a blanket mill boss at Hinsdale, Mass., suggested. Maybe there might be work for pay after that. Allow the jobless to fish through the ice, a state senator in Wisconsin moves. Await a new invention, says a group of scientists. Living on what meanwhile, they forget to say. Cut wages, says the head of the Chase National Bank. Owners took too much, we need adult education of bankers, Frank A. Vanderlip remarks. And that bloody hulk of a man on the hospital cot tried to suggest that the workers run the industries for themselves and so do away with unemploy-

ment as they have done in the Soviet Union.

* * *

J. P. Morgan has been sailing about Havana, awaiting the battle as certain birds are said to do; the press is gagged; the police have orders to shoot to kill women, students, workers, anyone speaking of liberty; unions prepare quietly for action—in short, Cuba seems on the verge of revolution. Only the threat of American intervention, with all that means of brutality and slaughter, holds off the day.

* * *

Wage slashes continue—Labor Bureau reports 120 in a month—and they are especially hitting the textile workers. The average wage in cotton textiles in 1929 was \$753 for full-time workers, the Census Bureau reports. Cuts of 10 per cent and 20 per cent below that are bringing strikes among even the unorganized. Hosiery workers in Philadelphia struck when they were paid in stockings. Workers stay out of the union for years; get a wage cut; strike; rush to the union; get the pay back at the old basis; rush back to the boss. A few keep the power that protected their living—the union. It is evident from reading the textile industry press that there is a general move on for wage cuts in rayon, cotton, garment trades, clothing trades—from spinning to finished product.

* * *

Some workers understand that it is better to give to someone else on strike than to go on the picket line themselves. So when there is a great fight like Danville's going on, they give and work and sacrifice to win the one fight and prevent a dozen. Such a policy, widespread throughout the movement, would put a commissary in Danville that would feed and clothe the children and would throw a picket scab herders in Virginia couldn't break. Fighting hard, but not quite hard enough to win, costs more in sweat and blood and treasure in the long run. Danville is settling down to a long, hard struggle. Unions are pledging gifts for every week until the battle's won. Clothes are coming in. That's fine. Given that support, the workers will put the fight into their strike that will pull those 2,000 unskilled scabs out of the mills and keep them out.

* * *

Well, these are a few spots from a crazy-quilt world in which farmers are told there's too much food, workers are told there isn't enough to eat; where fathers come home from a boss who told them there is "no demand"; to face children who cry piteously for food and

clothes and shoes; where there's an oversupply of money so that interest rates are the lowest in history, there's an oversupply of raw materials so that prices are lowest for many years, there's an oversupply of machinery, there's an oversupply of labor, there's an oversupply—surely?—of brilliant and able capitalists; yet millions suffer desperately for lack of the simplest necessities!

* * *

Denouncing the effort of Noel Sargent of the National Assn. of Manufacturers to persuade governors to favor unemployment insurance through private insurance companies, Sec. Louis F. Budenz, Conference for Progressive Labor Action, has wired Gov. Roosevelt as follows:

"We note that National Manufacturers Assn. which fights compulsory government unemployment insurance has presented a plan to you for private insurance companies to write unemployment insurance.

"Any such step would make the state a co-conspirator in making profits out of the workers' misery. Conduct of insurance companies has been marked by nepotism, excessive salaries, defrauding workers of millions of dollars and scandalous waste.

"This manufacturers association suggestion is the last gasp of reaction in the unemployment crisis and you may be sure will not be brooked by the workers for one moment."

* * *

Suggesting that the withdrawal of technical help by other countries and the placing of embargoes against Russian goods would mean the complete collapse of the 5-year Plan, the Wall Street Journal carries an article showing that America is already tremendously handicapping the economic progress of the Russian people by refusing them credit.

According to the article, about 2,000 American firms are carrying on business relations with the Soviet government; in 1930 Russia's equipment purchases in this country totaled \$144,000,000, of which all but \$35,000,000 or less has now been paid. The industrialists of no other country in the world are required to meet obligations on such a short-time basis.

In spite of the fact that other foreign purchasers are granted credit of several years, the outside time limit on Russia's notes seems to be three years. A typical order is on terms of 50 per cent cash before shipment, the balance within six months. Many American firms deal with the Soviet government on a strictly cash basis.

FRANK L. PALMER.

Why Unemployment Insurance

What Is Unemployment Insurance?

Unemployment insurance, like life, fire and other types of insurance is the pooling of group resources for the benefit of any member who may suffer from a hazard which may at any time strike any member of the group. In this instance it means pooling the resources of industry for the protection of the individual worker when he gets into trouble because he loses his job, his chance to earn a living.

Why Can't Workers Save in Order To Have Enough To Live On During Periods of Unemployment?

The workers, whose average wage in the United States according to the latest census is less than \$25 a week, cannot put enough aside to take care of unemployment periods lasting from six to eighteen months, and sometimes longer. It would be just as fair to ask that the worker save enough to leave his family a handsome income after he dies or to save enough to pay for new household furniture in case of fire as it is to expect that he save enough to pay himself wages if he is unemployed. Twenty-five dollars a week, and millions of workers do not even get that much, is not enough money to live on, let alone to save on.

Why Should Industry Be Called Upon To Pay Wages to Workers For Whom It Has No Jobs?

The only source of income workers have is through their jobs. While they are employed they are creating wealth for their employers and the essential commodities for society in general without which life would be impossible, as well as the comforts and luxuries which make life pleasant. Because the workers' lives depend upon wages, it is industry's responsibility to furnish them with continuous jobs or continuous wages.

Workers are not idle because they are lazy but because causes over which they have no control such as lack of planning in production and unequal distribution of the products of production make for unemployment. Industry, which uses the workers to create wealth for the benefit of the owners in the form of profits and for society in the form of the necessary goods they

QUESTIONS and Answers on Why Workers Should Have Their Pay Insured *

By ISRAEL MUFSON

create, should not be permitted to throw the workers out on the street to starve the moment they cannot be profitably employed.

Besides, business is in a jam now just because the masses of workers are not able to buy what they have made. Tell the poorly paid workers to spend less and we shall be in still worse trouble.

Where Would Industry Get the Money to Pay for Unemployment Insurance?

Industry can put aside from its earnings and profits a certain sum of money each week or each month for each worker in a special fund from which the workers can draw wages when there is no work. It has been calculated that if a little over one per cent of the national income were put into an unemployment insurance fund, we could pay higher insurance to our workers than any other nation does. On that basis we could pay \$3 per day to two million unemployed heads of families for 180 days in the year.

Does Industry Set Aside Money in This Manner for Any Other Purpose?

Yes, industry maintains a number of reserve funds for special purposes for which it sets aside money out of its general income or surplus earnings. Every well managed business has a depreciation fund where money is put aside to replace outworn machinery and other equipment. It has an overhead account to which the costs of maintaining idle machinery are charged. It creates reserve funds in which money is set aside during prosperous years to pay dividends from during depression years. During the present depression American industry has paid higher dividends to its stockholders than during its prosperous years because it set aside hundreds of millions of dollars out of surplus earnings in

the good years. Thus in September 1929, about \$400,000,000 were paid out in dividends, but in September, 1930, after nearly a year of depression the poor little rich folks got \$500,000,000 in dividends. Workers can and should be treated at least as well as machinery and stockholders.

Will Not Industry Adjust Itself So That Eventually There Will Be No Unemployment?

There are many things which show that we shall always have millions of workers idle even in the best of times and many millions more unemployed during periods of depression. Even before the present depression set in, during the best years of the past period of prosperity, there were never less than one and one-half million industrial workers unemployed. Economists claim that because of technological changes, weather conditions, changes in styles and seasonal demands we shall always have these millions of workers idle, good years or bad.

In addition, every seven or ten years we have several millions of workers thrown out of jobs because of recurrence of depressions, so-called hard times. We all remember how during the past period of prosperity we were told by politicians, engineers and economists that we would always have prosperity and that all workers could be assured of continuous employment. But the year 1929 came around and towards its close the bottom dropped out of our prosperity and we entered another one of those periodic crises which hit capitalistic society everywhere. This should emphasize the fact that as long as we have the present system of society where those who own get the major share of wealth and those who work get the smaller share, there will be an unequal balance between the consuming power of the masses of workers and their producing power. Under this system of high dividends and profits to owners of industry and low wages to the workers who produce, there will always accumulate a surplus of goods which the workers cannot buy back and which causes industry to remain idle for months every seven or ten years. In other words, depressions are bound to reappear under the profit system.

Is the Situation Likely to Get Worse Or Better?

The situation is likely to get worse. The gigantic strides made in mechanization of industry during the past ten years has done two things: It has speeded up production per worker and it has made fewer workers necessary to turn out the required amount of goods. In the ten years since 1920, industry reduced the number of workers employed by 900,000. In mining, transportation and manufacturing more and more workers are thrown out of employment because of the use of machinery, speed up and efficiency methods. This means that every year more workers are bound to be unemployed, no matter how prosperous business may be. It also means that in the future depressions will probably come oftener and be more bitter because the difference between the purchasing power of the workers and their producing power is becoming greater.

Is Unemployment Insurance a Cure For Unemployment?

No, unemployment insurance is only a stop-gap to prevent workers from becoming pauperized and starving to death. It is chiefly a relief measure designed to make society assume responsibility for the periods of idleness from which workers suffer and which are caused by the present faulty social system. To cure unemployment would require a drastic shortening of the hours of work, increasing wages all around, the raising of the age at which children would be permitted to start work, the taking out of industry of the two million children now there, and the planning of production on the basis of need rather than running industry planlessly for the sake of private profit. Unemployment insurance is a measure for immediate relief before society can be changed to do away with unemployment. If rightly set up it may be a first step toward taking some income from the profiteers and using it to increase the purchasing power of the workers.

Have Other Countries Adopted Unemployment Insurance?

There is no industrial country in the world which does not have unemployment insurance. Many of these countries adopted this measure before the war. Every country in Europe, with the exception of Portugal, Hungary, Roumania and Monaco, and a few

other small nations has some form of unemployment insurance. None of them is giving it up after as much as twenty years of experience with it.

Can The United States Take Care of Its Unemployed Without Unemployment Insurance?

No, unless bread lines, soup kitchens and charity hand-outs are considered fair substitutes. These methods of relief, entirely inadequate and characteristic of the haphazard and thoughtless way in which America meets its problems, destroy self-respect and the self-reliance of the workers. No decent, self-respecting worker likes to stand shivering in the bread line for a cup of coffee or beg for \$2 worth of groceries from a charity organization. The United States spend hundreds of millions of dollars on these entirely unsatisfactory methods of relief, a good deal of that money going to pay for the fancy salaries of executives and other employes. Much of that form of relief is tied up with politics and it is always associated with the degrading stigma of charity.

Is Unemployment Insurance a Dole?

No, unemployment insurance is not a dole. It is just the opposite of a dole. The bread lines, soup kitchens and charity hand-outs, mentioned above, are doles. Unemployment insurance is like workmen's compensation, a dignified and self-respecting program of just compensation for an industrial accident. Unemployment is an accident of industry, as is having a leg hurt in the course of a worker's employment. Compensation for unemployment is as much a right of the worker as compensation for an injury received while at work. As a matter of fact workmen's compensation awards are based not on the injury of the worker but on the length of time that injury keeps the worker from being employed and getting his wages. Actually workmen's compensation is unemployment compensation. Unemployment would extend this compensation to idleness caused by other reasons than through accident. Unemployment insurance is no more a dole than workmen's compensation is.

Unemployment insurance is a wage—the recognition of the principle that the first legitimate charge on industry is a living wage for the worker, not a few weeks or months in the year but the whole year round.

Will Unemployment Insurance Pauperize Workers?

No, unemployment insurance will save the workers from pauperization. Today, when workers are thrown on the street without income, they face the possibility of losing their furniture, their homes, of sending their children to public institutions, of having their families completely broken up. Discouragement, the degradation of charity seeking, and hunger make for the loss of self-respect and of the ambition to continue to look for work and maintain the family once again. Driven to the bread lines and to the soup kitchens, the worker's personality is in many cases injured beyond repair. The next step is begging, hobnobbing and tramping. Unemployment insurance would provide the means for keeping the family together and permit the workers sufficient income for food and shelter until other work is found. No worker, unless ill, would rather get unemployment insurance compensation than work for wages. Besides, if a job is provided for a worker, his insurance ceases.

Cannot Industry Itself Create Unemployment Insurance Without State Action?

No, because if we leave it to industry itself, the workers will never get such protection. Through all the years when industry was most prosperous only about 150,000 workers, out of a total of thirty million employed in industry, were covered by private insurance, either through plans adopted by employers themselves, by unions or by agreements between the two. There is no reason to expect that in the future, without that prosperity, the idea will grow voluntarily. It is too costly a project for single industries to undertake on a large scale.

But even where there is an unemployment plan in an individual plant the workers are not secure. What if the plant fails? What if the management decides to discontinue the plan? What if the worker loses his job and obtains employment in another factory where there is no unemployment insurance plan? All these possibilities of losing their protection are always open to workers if there is no compulsory state unemployment insurance plan. Under a system of compulsory state unemployment insurance every worker will be protected no matter how often he changes his job or where he may work. He need not fear to organize or to ask for higher wages, for

should he lose out and be fired, any other job would have the same protection as far as unemployment insurance is concerned.

Should Not Private Insurance Companies Write This Kind of Insurance?

No, not if we are interested in getting the highest unemployment insurance compensation for the lowest possible cost. Private insurance companies are organized for profit and if we should let them handle this kind of insurance a good deal of the money raised would go for the high salaries of the insurance company executives and to the stockholders in dividends instead of to the workers in compensation. A few figures to show what happens to life insurance policy holders will clinch the matter.

During the prosperous year of 1928, there were outstanding 22,454,695 ordinary policies. Of these only 563,088, amounting to \$1,161,975,765, were terminated by death, maturity, expiry or disability. 764,733 policies, amounting to \$2,055,035,127 were permitted to lapse. So that in ordinary insurance two-thirds of the policies are either surrendered or lapsed in which the policy holder loses everything he ever paid in as premiums or gets only a part of what he was promised.

No, only insurance conducted by the state without millions of dollars going to salaries and other millions to stockholders, all coming out of the pockets of the workers, can adequately protect the workers.

Are There Specific Unemployment Insurance Plans in Existence?

Yes, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was one of the first organizations to sponsor an unemployment insurance plan, and to draw up bills both for state and federal legislatures.

What Are the Provisions of That Plan?

First, this plan calls for contributions to be made by industry alone and not by the workers.

Why Should Not the Workers Contribute to the Unemployment Insurance Fund?

The workers' wages are low enough without money being taken away from them for this protection. Since unemployment insurance is an extension of

the workmen's compensation principle there is no more reason why the workers should help pay for the former than for the latter. The workers have no control of management and therefore the responsibility for unemployment should rest entirely upon the employers. And finally, unemployment insurance, in the last analysis, acts as an increase in wages. Who ever heard of workers contributing out of their own pockets to a raise in their wages? Industry finds money for all purposes to benefit its owners. It can find this money for the benefit of the workers as well without forcing the workers to help out of their own pockets.

The workers will have just as much right to these unemployment insurance benefits when they don't contribute towards the fund as they have to workmen's compensation benefits. Unemployment insurance must be a charge solely on industry and the state.

What Are the Other Provisions of the C. P. L. A. Unemployment Insurance Bill?

Every worker would have the right to draw wages for 26 weeks during any one year, if unemployed. The compensation would be 40 per cent of the worker's regular pay if single, 50 per cent if with dependent wife, 55 per cent if there is one child and 60 per cent if there are two or more children.

No worker need take a job where there is a strike; if the wages offered are lower than the prevailing rate for the same or similar work; if the job offered is too far from home or is of an entirely different kind to what he has been accustomed to do. Though refusing work under any of these conditions he would still be entitled to draw his unemployment insurance compensation.

How Would This Insurance Fund Be Handled?

The fund would be administered by the State Department of Labor under the direct supervision of a special board consisting of two employers, two workers or their representatives and one representative of the public, all to be chosen by the Governor of the State. Thus there would be very little added expense necessary to administer unemployment insurance.

What Would the Federal Unemployment Insurance Bill Do?

The C. P. L. A. federal unemployment insurance bill calls for Congress

to appropriate an initial sum of \$100,000,000 to be administered by the United States Department of Labor. From this money, any state passing a satisfactory unemployment insurance bill will be able to draw up to one-third the costs of such insurance. This is to encourage states to pass unemployment insurance legislation and to assist them in meeting the costs of such insurance.

Are There Any Organizations and Outstanding Individuals in Favor of Unemployment Insurance?

The number of organizations and individuals in favor of compulsory unemployment insurance is too large to list here. Many State Federations of Labor have endorsed such legislation. Others are actually introducing these bills in their state legislature. International unions like the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, the American Federation of Teachers and others have also endorsed this measure. The American Association for Labor Legislation, the Socialist Party, Governor Roosevelt of New York, Senator Wagner of New York, the People's Lobby, Prof. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. William Leiserson of Antioch College and hosts of other organizations and individuals, in addition to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, are working for unemployment insurance.

How Can Individuals Help Spread The Idea of Unemployment Insurance?

Every one's help is welcome. You can agitate in your union, club or other organization of which you are a member. You can circulate the petitions for unemployed workers to sign which the C. P. L. A. is distributing. You can write to your state and Congressional representatives urging them to act on this measure and get legislators to introduce bills along C.P.L.A. lines. You can organize meetings in your locality and organize city or state conferences uniting various elements prepared to sponsor these bills, where unemployment and unemployment insurance can be discussed and action on the bills taken. And you can write for further information to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Across the Continent

The C. P. L. A. Message Meets With Enthusiasm as Muste Addresses Thousands

The "Coast to Coast Tour" in An Automobile

SPREADING out as it had never spread before, the C. P. L. A. message, delivered by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, on his continental tour which is now approaching its western terminus, is bringing new enthusiasm to thousands of laborites and progressives who hitherto have been removed from contact with the activities of the organization. There is eagerness to learn about methods to adopt. There is hunger for new ideas. A. J. Muste is supplying both.

Before going into the details about the chairman's experiences the readers should be informed of another C. P. L. A. venture which is scheduled to start on February 3, and which has for its purpose the popularizing of unemployment insurance on a national scale and the bringing to every industrial center the C. P. L. A. idea. No trains or airplanes will be used on this tour. Israel Mufson, one of the C. P. L. A.'s secretaries, and Cal Bellaver, Brookwood graduate and former miner, are leaving New York in an auto, headed in a general westerly direction, without scheduled itinerary or definite time limits for any stay. "We shall stay as long as there is need for us in any town; we shall go anywhere wherever there may be a call," is their slogan.

This is the way the trip will be conducted. Readers who want the C. P. L. A. message delivered to them; who want the unemployment situation explained, and remedies for it presented; who want to know more about the American Labor Movement and what can be done to bring more enthusiasm and activity into it; who want to understand the whole program of progressive laborites and what they can do to aid, should write at once to this office for dates for the "Coast to Coast" entourage to appear in their town. Eventually, it will get here.

Incidentally the two tourists will be supplied with plenty of literature on organization, independent political action, and general C. P. L. A. propaganda. Wherever they will be, the community will be aware of their presence. Watch for the car with the sign "Coast to Coast for Unemployment Insurance, under the auspices of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action." Write at once to LABOR AGE for dates.

All Eager to Listen

And now to return to the trail which A. J. Muste is blazing. Starting with Detroit, where the first stop was made, the C. P. L. A. chairman spoke to 800 people, chiefly workers, at the Open Forum, an institution maintained by the Detroit Federation of Labor and local unions, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The same evening another 150 heard him at Bethel Church Forum on "Educating Labor for World Control." The very next day he attended an open meeting of labor and liberals where he described the work of the C. P. L. A. and Brookwood Labor College. There was a great response and carpenters, machinists, electrical workers and other union men decided to form a Labor College under the supervision of Brookwood's extension department.

One straight jump to Chicago and he ran into another storm of activities. Luncheons, forum meetings and more intimate gatherings kept Chairman Muste very much on the go. About forty people responded to the idea of forming a local chapter of the C. P. L. A. A working committee was appointed to line up new members. Unions represented at this meeting were teachers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Garment Workers and Carpenters, as well as others. On his return A. J. Muste will be greeted by a local that will be a going concern.

At another meeting the same day where leaders of union labor, women's clubs and other organizations were present, the C. P. L. A. unemployment insurance bill was presented for discussion. The result was that a subcommittee was appointed to line up more organizations to build up a real unemployment insurance movement. An unemployment insurance bill along the lines laid down by the C. P. L. A. will be introduced in the Illinois Legislature.

More conferences and meetings repeated the schedule in Milwaukee out of which came new contacts and better understanding. Even university

students are not immune from A. J. Muste's attention and the undergraduates of Marquette University were treated to a lecture on "Tendencies in the American Labor Movement."

In Minneapolis, the Chairman found practically every organized group (Chamber of Commerce excepted) tearing his doors down with invitations to speak. Thus on January 18, his report reads as follows:

"11 A. M. Lecture at Workmen's Circle Forum, Labor Institute. A venture started about two months ago, another sign of revival of workers' education. About 150 attended. LECTURED ON C.P.L.A. program, criticized lunacy and factionalism of the Community Party, lack of militancy in Socialist Party and the A. F. of L.-general approval. Noticeable that all factions seemed to be much more hospitable to C. P. L. A. program than ever before.

"2 P. M. Chief guest speaker at unemployment conference organized by the Education Commission of the St. Paul Federation of Labor. S. S. Tingle, a member of the Teachers' Union, is chairman of the Commission."

A Comprehensive Union Unemployment Program

This conference adopted the following measures:

The five-day and 40-hour week without reduction in pay in all industries. Request City Council to petition Legislature to authorize selling of special bonds to amount of 10 million dollars for a municipal improvement building program; for a constitutional amendment for a new system of taxation based on average income, net profits and property. Incomes below \$3,500 a year to be exempted.

Demanding that the State Legislature authorize the expenditure of 10 million dollars for relief to the unemployed in the form of food, clothing, rent and medical care.

Protection to workers threatened with loss of their incomes be-

cause of their inability to pay taxes resulting from unemployment and low wages.

To turn over to the trade union movement and organization committee the old Asbury Hospital or the Ford building with equipment for lodging and feeding for the relief of the unemployed.

To give the committee credentials to solicit the City for food, clothing and necessary equipment. All management and order to be maintained by committee.

An executive committee of five be elected to take charge of this matter and to work under the jurisdiction of and in cooperation with the present Organization and Education Committee.

That all jobs from sources outside of the Trade Union Movement are to be dispensed through an Unemployment Bureau set up in the building under the jurisdiction of the above committees, and at union wages.

That the City Council turn over to this Committee in cash donation \$50,000 or permit the Committee to buy food, clothing, fuel and medical aid to the unemployed and same paid for by the Welfare Board.

To organize the unemployed workers in order to maintain contact with them for future organization and education work.

Compulsory unemployment insurance, revenues to be obtained through taxation upon net profits of industry. No contribution from the workers.

Requesting every union to donate at least \$5 towards expenses for a mass meeting on unemployment to be held on February 11. Demand that all unemployment committees appointed by municipal, state and federal governments, have equal representation from organized labor and unemployed.

"3 P. M. Spoke on independent political action to joint meeting of Railway Clerk's lodges.

"4 P. M. Meeting under joint auspices of Teachers and Industrial Y.W.C.A. at which two hundred were present."

Too bad there is no record of what else Muste did on that day. Some may accuse him of loafing. But the very next day, to soothe the critical, the rounds of meetings continued without letup. 12:30 P. M. of January 19 finds him regaling Professors and graduate students of the University of Minne-



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

sota on "Tendencies in the American Labor Movement." Six P. M. there is a conference.

Winding up his stay, Chairman Muste reports with enthusiasm:

"Had enough bids to speak to keep me busy for two weeks. Most of these bids were from labor leaders who were interested in the C. P. L. A. program. The militants are coming back into the movement in Twin Cities, especially in Minneapolis."

Tie Up with C.P.L.A. Activities

Now we shall leave Muste speeding towards the Pacific Coast, fortified for greater efforts by the splendid spirit he found in the Middle West. Watch LABOR AGE next month for his further ventures.

Meanwhile, the hard work of Chair-

man Muste should be a stimulus to those of us others who have no such opportunity for serving the progressive cause. Be a C.P.L.A. evangelist in your own community. Help with every means to continue the work in spreading the C. P. L. A. program. It has met the test of reality and stands firmer rooted than ever.

And don't forget the two who are going out in February to spread the gospel from house to house, practically speaking. Make arrangements for their coming, organize meetings, give them leads about friends who can send in a check now and then for the C. P. L. A. cause. Mufson and Bellaver are going without expense to the office and without any salary. If the worse comes, they can sell apples, they say. But there are enough apple sellers already. Keep them on the job for C.P. L. A. and off the bread lines.

In Other Lands

GREAT BRITAIN

Brilliant, bold and courageous on foreign affairs: inept, ineffective and cowardly on home issues will be the verdict on the Labor Government if it passes into history a month or two from now, as seems likely. It is a striking paradox that the least imperialist of all British parties should be the most successful on imperialistic issues. MacDonald and his associates who a few years ago were violently anti-imperialist have since they took office done more to weld the scattered pieces of the Empire together, to preserve its unity and develop a coordination greater than even such empire builders as Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain and their aides ever thought of. They have secured some kind of working basis with the sovereign Dominions, J. H. Thomas and his blunders to the contrary notwithstanding. They have soothed Egypt, avoided a serious row in Malta, consolidated Central and other parts of Africa into fair-sized responsible governments under the authority of the Colonial Office. They have won a great diplomatic triumph in Mesopotamia and created new and safe air routes to India. Last and most important of all they have almost solved the Indian problem, at least they have gone a step further than any other party on India. Had their domestic policies been a quarter as successful as the foreign ones their return to office and perhaps to power would have been a foregone conclusion.

Unfortunately at home the Labor Government has been a rank failure. A prominent member of the party characterized their coal mine policy as "humiliating." Anything gained by the miners was due to their own courage and audacity rather than to any assistance they got from their government, which in the interests of "peace" wanted the miners to accept the program of the operators. Just why men who call themselves "Socialists" or at least used to, think they can have "peace" in the midst of a crashing capitalism and an accentuated class struggle is hard to understand.

MacDonald sensing that matters had gone too far and realizing that something had to be done came out with a bold and striking statement in the course of which he threw all the blame for the trouble on the coal barons. It had a good effect and one wonders why he did not talk so bravely long ago. Perhaps he would have held back longer had not a general election been in the

offing. Observers have noticed how he successfully tackled the American bankers, politicians and industrialists, how he outmaneuvered Hoover and our Big Navy men and got away with a great victory with little cost and have asked why he did not display the same talent and capacity in defending the rights and prosecuting the interests of the workers at home.

The biggest test from a domestic standpoint will be the Trades Dispute Act. The bill as introduced is not a good one. Instead of repealing the offensive and hamstringing Tory clauses of the existing measure a new set of ambiguous clauses are introduced that are capable of being interpreted in any old way. Unless the bill is amended it will be of dubious value. I am sure the reactionaries will fight it all the way through every stage both in the committee rooms and on the floor of the House of Commons and, of course, in the Lords. If beaten, as I think it will be in the Lords, should the bill weather the storm in the lower house the measure will give MacDonald a fine rallying cry and a badly needed issue for the general election that will come along soon. In this respect MacDonald is playing sound politics and is acting wisely. If he maneuvers the Tories and Liberals into rejecting the Trades Dispute Act he may be able to galvanize the party into life and vigor and restore its old time fighting form.

RUSSIA

The Soviet Union has regained much of its lost prestige by its internal economic work and its external trade. In some parts of Europe they are worrying far more over Russia's competition in wheat and other raw materials than they used to over the Soviet's propaganda batteries. The sale of Russian wheat has caused a crisis in our Western states. It has disrupted the economy of several other countries which had learned to get along without Russia. The Five-Year Plan looks like a partial success. The political prestige of the Soviet at Geneva and at other centers of international activity has been enhanced. Germany's demand for a place for Russia at the last conference put the other powers in a hole and raised a doubt as to their honesty of purpose.

Russia has made several trade treaties with the great and little countries of the world. At present the only important country in the entire Northern hemi-

sphere that refuses to do diplomatic business with Russia is the United States. To offset any loss due to the latter cause the Soviet Union is pushing its trade in the Argentine. Its agents in China are pushing the revolution to a success which even the most optimistic a year ago would not dream of. It has refused to allow any country to inspect its labor camps. MacDonald was the latest to be snubbed on this line. Its efficient army and large military air fleet has been the means of affording protection to Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. On party matters Stalin has grown stronger and today his power is as great as Lenin's was at the height of his fame.

Stalin and even many of his lukewarm friends as well as his avowed opponents seem to think that the Western Powers are preparing for war against the Soviet. Lunacharsky has openly stated his fears on this question. We think the unemployment situation in the West will nullify any war intentions on the part of the anti-Soviet nations. One war is enough for them. Fancy Britain with over two million six hundred thousand idle and Germany with still more; Italy with a large idle army to feed and now even prosperous France with all its gold is beginning to feel the unemployment problem, yes, fancy those countries going to war. The United States, which has twice as many unemployed than any country besides a severe agricultural depression to keep it worried is not going to bother about war with Russia. There may be substantial reasons for Russians thinking that the world is arming against them, but we who are on the outside think those fears are groundless.

Stalin is reported to be planning another campaign of land nationalization. The Kulaks like Carthage must be destroyed. When that is done the revolution will be complete and an epoch has ended.

GERMANY

There are serious rumblings being heard in Germany. It is said that Berlin will repudiate the Young Plan if the Reich does not get more loans. Already there is talk of its ancient enemy going to the rescue and a loan is being arranged in Paris for the Fatherland. Stranger things than that have happened. As France never does anything for nothing, at least not since 1871, one must conclude that if Paris gives Germany a huge loan to meet her obligations domestic and international, the bankers will demand their

(Continued on page 29)

"Say It With Books"



A Contrast in Social Building

The House of Morgan, A Social Biography of the Masters of Money, by Lewis Corey. G. Howard Watt, New York, 480 pages. \$5.00.

The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union, by G. T. Grinko, International Publishers, New York, 338 pages. \$3.50.

At first glance it may seem either stupid or fantastically ambitious to place such two widely different titles together for review under one heading. A second thought will convince the readers that neither is the case. Both books deal with the story of a nation rising from an agricultural economy to industrial maturity. The geographic similarities of the two countries, Russia and the United States, their vastness and their climatic parallels bring out in deeper relief the differences in the processes of industrialization each country pursued and is pursuing.

Mr. Corey's book is a misnomer, that is why it is so easy to use it as an apposite to the Russian five year plan. Instead of being "a social biography of the masters of money," it is more an analysis of the development of our financial oligarchy as the American brand of social planning. Therefore it is more interesting. Individuals weave in and out of the story as they are bound to do in any history, for individuals are the mechanisms through which social forces express themselves. But they are only incidental to the main theme, the beginning and rise of the power of finance over the other forces working towards the creation of the American empire. The House of Morgan receives more sustained attention because it happened to assume a position of power and influence above all others. It was "Money Bag" stabilizing industry, forcing the elimination of cut-throat competition between warring industrial and financial groups and bringing some kind of order into the economic chaos that reigned during the middle of the 19th century. The House of Morgan stepped in to protect "ownership" at so many hundreds of millions dollars of profits to itself and at the cost of brutal repressions of the

workers, and at the expense of farmers and small merchants.

Industrially speaking the United States at the middle of the 19th century was another Russia of today. Vast undeveloped domains spread toward the Pacific luring the pioneer hungry for land as well as the industrial brigand hungry for loot. Strong men with a will to power and simpler men with acquisitive instincts just as strong had a free hand to realize their ambitions. No lawyers were needed to advise how to circum-

themselves were done out of their possessions, by tricky manipulations.

"Separate the constructive and the predatory aspects of large fortunes," comments the author, "and the predatory dominates overwhelmingly. They expropriated the public domain—the government records are full of cases of fraud and theft. They plundered the nation's natural resources, recklessly and wastefully. They sold tainted food to the people, and to soldiers in the Spanish-American War. They captured the places where wealth produced by others could be intercepted and accumulated. . . . Speculators plundered corporations, manipulated the stock market [echoes of 1929], engineered 'corners' in grain and produce exchanges. They crushed competitors, oppressed labor, juggled law. Businessmen extorted millions of government and politicians blackmailed businessmen. In the larger cities the 'community of interest' between vice, crime and politics produced many respectable fortunes (at least one of which became 'aristocratic' by buying a castle in Britain). . . ."

Thus was built the United States, the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. The House of Morgan was successful in controlling this vast wealth in the interest of "ownership." The masses of people, the wage earners, the farmers, the lower middle class, were left out in the cold to continue to produce for the accretion of greater private fortunes. Low wages, unemployment, bread lines, soup kitchens, charity, brutal suppression of workers during industrial uprisings, speak eloquently of the lop-sided virtues of the American plan of social building.

Not so Russia. There a vast domain, greater in potential wealth than even the United States, is also ready for exploitation. And for the first time in history, the attempt is made to bring the masses within the fold of concern to share in the social heritage by a socially controlled and scientifically planned program of industrial development. Russia is looking towards the United States as

CHECKED!



Thus far Russia has been able to discomfit its enemies. The success of the Five-Year Plan will make the revolution secure.

vent the law. It was a period of unmasked rape and plunder. Money came pouring in from England and other European countries, siphoned here by the prospects of fabulous gain. In the process the wealth of the nation was filched from its social ownership to build new aristocracies that eventually were to overwhelm and to ape the older blood aristocracies of Europe. As well, the workers were ground under the heels of the grabbers, settlers were despoiled of their property and even many investors

a model for its technical methods but not for its social and industrial policies.

Whatever the outcome of the plan there is tremendous wholesomeness in the idea of so arranging the economic life of a nation as to avoid the senseless waste; the cruel exploitation of the masses; the disregard of the social welfare in the aggressive accumulation of private fortunes which characterized American growth. Confronting us in Russia is the possibility of national existence without baubles, hypocritical double-dealing, cyclical peaks and valleys of hysterical prosperity and depressions, insecurity for the many, anti-social fortunes for the few.

"The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union" brings out in complete detail the achievements thus far attained and the accomplishments hoped for by 1932. The author is vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U. S. S. R., and though his presentation is in many places tinged with political bias, it is an important enough document for all who are interested in a new social order to review with care.

Already that plan is not entirely a matter of conjecture. From many sources come information which fortify the hope that its practical application works. We know, for example, that in the face of a universal problem of unemployment, Russia cannot find enough workers to man her agricultural and industrial enterprises. In a world of glutted markets Russia has no selling problems. "One hundred and fifty million people are, as it were, standing in a que to be served." This from the Economist of London, the leading English financial weekly.

Certainly the standards of the masses are low in comparison to those of the United States. But looking back at the history of the United States during the past 80 years we cannot find that this country has been a heaven for the workers. And after 80 years of building, 1930 still finds tremendous unemployment, bread lines, charity, bare subsistence wages and general insecurity.

Russia, lifting itself by its own bootstraps, there are no foreign loans to ease the burden of its industrial development, is suffering now to accumulate social wealth so that the future may be happier. One thing is already safe, that what they have all enjoy in comparative equal proportion. The Five Year Plan, if it succeeds, will forever dispel the illusion that social development is impossible unless private fortunes are accumulated. "The Five Year Plan" is the Russian answer to "The House of Morgan."

ISRAEL MUFSON.

A MARTIAL LEGALIST

Citizenship, by Charles Hartshorn Maxson, Oxford University Press, New York, 483 pages, \$3.50.

THE title of this book suggests something prepared either for ambitious aliens aspiring to second papers and naturalization or as a patriotic text for eight-graders in flag bedecked school rooms. But the volume turns out to be a collection of legalistic lectures delivered by the author, a professor of political science, to his University of Pennsylvania students.

The contents deal with the rights and status of women, children, aliens, orientals born within the United States, Negroes and Indians; naturalization, both with and without formal papers; private and public corporations; freedom of assembly, association, speech, press and worship; the due process of law concept; and both federal and state police power. An enormous number of legal decisions and statutory laws are quoted.

In the preface we learn that the author "believes mighty in the law, a growing thing, not static, and in its enforcement." He believes in property and insists upon its protection. Also, he believes in human beings and sees a vision of their progress.

All this becomes reasonably clear as one reads the lectures.

(1) "...the will of the people expressed in law [must] be obeyed no matter what an individual citizen may think of a particular law, for otherwise there is no law and no government, but anarchy and death of the nation."

(2) "It is in the interest of discipline and the moral progress of both races [i. e., Negroes and Whites] that they be kept separated in the period of adolescence."

(3) "From the training of girl scouts they [women] should graduate into the militia and have one summer of intensive military training. No greater health measure for women could be proposed." This contention is bolstered up with a reference to the bravery of a Florida sheriff's wife and another to the Russian Battalion of Death. But he is puzzled at the attitude of the National Women's Party and their Lucretia Mott Amendment.

(4) Exuberantly, it would seem, the chapter on the legal status of the American Indian ends with a quotation to the effect that no government has been more generous or more faithful to its trust than has our own government toward the American aborigines.

(5) However the author appears almost, but not quite, in the role of Jef-

fersonian Democrat in the matter of civil liberties.

But despite these bits of personal opinion, of which the book abounds, the studies, taken as a whole, are excellent and are to be recommended to any one interested in the present legal status of any of the groups mentioned in the second paragraph of this review, and, too, to those interested in the development of legal institutions. Also, to those interested in the types of social philosophy to which a University of Pennsylvania student in political science is exposed the book is commended.

WILLIAM L. NUNN.

WHOSE GOVERNMENT?

The American Leviathan, The Republic in the Machine Age. By Charles A. Beard and William Beard. Macmillan, New York, 1930. \$5.00.

A POSTSCRIPT to "The Rise of American Civilization" has now been written by the Beards, father and son this time. It deals with the functioning of the governmental machine in the midst of the Machine Age. A mass of valuable data has been included within its pages, showing the increasing expansion of Federal powers into various fields, but with continued hesitancy to do aught for the wage worker.

The American Democracy is revealed as a huge world empire, with far-flung colonies, with 93 per cent of its expenditures devoted to war or the by-products of war, and with the manufacturing and financial classes dominant in its control.

It is somewhat to be regretted that the authors did not see fit to devote one chapter to a consideration of the rise and decline of various economic forces during the Machine Age. These facts can be pieced out from the interplay of "pressures" on the government, delineated in the book. The waning power of Labor stands out in the paralysis of the movement against child labor, the nullification of anti-injunction legislation in the Arizona case, and the surrender of a number of labor groups on the high tariff issue. The growing power of Big Business can be gleaned from almost every chapter. But the study would have been even more satisfactory had a clear-cut, factual summation been given of the growth of merger control of government.

The Beards have an irritating way of referring to Herbert Hoover as "engineer and economist" and of praising his peace efforts without showing the economical limitations of those efforts. This item is important only insofar as it blunts the purpose of the work, which is clearly

to set forth the underlying determinants that make American government what it is today. Hoover's relation to the large business interests, his acquiescence in the oil scandals and his uniformly reactionary policies are of decided importance in indicating whose government it is today that rules in Washington.

In "The American Leviathan" we have, nevertheless a splendid reference book, both as to how the various departments of the government operate and as to how they are being used for economic ends. It is the social order in which the government functions that determines its problems and methods, and that is stated in the book and re-stated with factual backing on page after page. The changing interpretations of the Constitution, the shifting activities of the Federal bureaus and other agencies, and the trends of governmental action in world affairs arise not from ethical concepts primarily but from the social necessities dictated by the dominant industrial-financial forces. The American Leviathan is molded by the Machine Age, and is serving those who control the all-powerful Machine.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

ALIENS BE DAMNED!

The Alien In Our Midst or Selling Our Birthright for a Mess of Pottage, Edited by Madison Grant and Charles Stewart Davison. The Galton Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 238 pages.

THIS is a collection of forty statements and essays regarding immigration; the average six pages in length and all opposed to immigration.

The question of immigration is an important one. This book will neither help nor hinder its solution. The reason is that nobody will read the book unless he is assigned to review it by a heartless editor. The little trustworthy information it contains is not new, so it will not attract the specialist. It is devoid of "human interest" so it will not attract the layman. It is so obviously narrow minded that it will repel any seeker after information. It will have a wide circulation—to the extent that it is given away.

Wage earners will be most interested in the essay by William Green which is first in the book and is followed by a contribution from the pen of John E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers. William Green's pontifical pronunciamento is made up of truisms and of vagueness and of untruths. For example, it is untrue to say that "employers have learned the economy of efficient workers at high wages." Workers whose wages have been

and are being viciously slashed will not believe Mr. Green. The crowning observation in this particular essay comes at its conclusion. "Our republican institutions are the outgrowth of ten centuries of the same people in England and in America. They can only be preserved if the country contains at all times a preponderance of those of British descent," is Mr. Green's solemn warning. Mr. Green's constituents in the American Federation of Labor who are of Swedish, German, Italian, Jewish, Irish, French and Negro origin can put that in their pipe and smoke it.

There are many other amusing features in the volume. For instance, poor Thomas Jefferson is represented on one page to have been opposed to immigration and on another page he is shown as having been an "ostentatiously vaunting" man who was selected President by foreigners. He gets it "coming and going." Similarly the immigrant is damned for not becoming naturalized, and he is damned for doing so. He is damned for not marrying into American families and damned for doing so. He is damned for being thrifty and is damned for being wasteful. He is damned for coming to America to better his condition and he is damned for not seeking to better his condition. He is damned for forgetting the traditions of his fatherland and he is damned for not doing so. He is damned for having an "unpronounceable name" and he is damned for trying to simplify his name. He is damned for being religious and he is damned for being unreligious. He is damned for coming to America to stay and he is damned for coming here temporarily. He is damned for remaining poor and damned for becoming rich. He is damned for staying out of politics and is damned again for entering politics. In fact, his basic sin seems to have been that he did not come over on the Mayflower.

LLOYD M. CROSGRAVE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NO PHILOSOPHY

The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, by Louis S. Reed, Ph.D., Columbia University Press, New York, 1930. Price \$3.00.

MORE or less familiar ground is covered in this volume. Progressive laborites actively engaged in the Labor Movement, who saw Samuel Gompers in action have often wondered what his philosophy really was. A number of Socialists have said it was an anarcho-syndicalist philosophy. But Dr. Reed after reading everything he could lay his hands on that had any bearing upon

Samuel Gompers, including his own biography, decides that Gompers' philosophy was "no philosophy."

In his concluding chapter the author asserts that the late leader of the American Federation of Labor was by nature a leader of men in action and not a philosopher. Gompers' leadership, according to Dr. Reed, was not one in ideas. "He was not one to take hold of new, unpopular ideas and to convert the movement to those ideas. Rather his leadership was a leadership in tactics, a leadership in the day-to-day activities of the movement." That explains his readiness to change his position on occasion when he found the leaders of the dominant international unions opposed to his policies. In fact, the author maintains that there were very few policies Gompers would not have sacrificed in order to remain president of the A. F. of L.

Since Gompers had no philosophy, no wide outlook, but lived as it were from day to day, it is no wonder that so many inconsistencies are to be found in his policies and action. Although opposed to intellectuals he himself was an intellectual. The greater portion of his life was devoted to speaking and writing. Although he started out as a Socialist, his early struggles against those Socialists who were indifferent to unionism made him a bitter enemy of Socialists. The author declares that his hostility to Socialists and Socialism actually became an obsession, as did his belief in "voluntarism." Gompers day in and day out preached to the workers that they should avoid the political field, and ironically he devoted most of his time in his later years to legislative matters. Gompers was regarded as a realist and yet he was naive enough to believe that he had found a short and painless route to industrial democracy through his Portland Manifesto and to hope that "forward looking management would separate itself spiritually from ownership and to produce for use and not primarily for profit." Gompers was against state paternalism and we have in America a paternalism of the employers.

Within recent years it has been noticed that practically every student of the Labor Movement refers to its weakness and ineffectiveness. Dr. Reed is no exception. He says:

"It has almost come to the point where one may say that the Labor Movement in this country will either change its basic philosophy and policies, or there will be no labor movement worth talking about." A telling argument for the philosophy and progressive policies advocated by the C. P. L. A.

LEONARD BRIGHT.

WHAT OUR READERS THINK

THE FIGHT IS ON

Dear Editor:-

And so the principles upon which the A. F. of L. was founded are upheld. The fighting spirit was revealed at its meeting in Miami. The official Labor Movement in America with its 3,000,000 members is going to launch a militant campaign...for the modification of the Volstead law. Brother Matthew Woll will be its leading spirit, and we can readily foresee its results.

The clarion call was sounded and the demand is to modify the Volstead act so as to make it possible for brewers to manufacture and sell 2.75 per cent beer. It is going to be, so we are assured, a highly organized drive; the entire machinery will be set into motion. No stone will remain in its place until this ideal will be attained. It is whispered among those in the saddle that with the modification of the law, several thousand workers may find employment. (With technological displacement of workers from all industries, we are not so optimistic about that.) The movement, however, will be financed by unions and headquarters will be opened around February in Washington. The 14,000 paid organizers of internationals and other bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. will be the servants of this new movement, as well as the organs of international unions and the radio.

All this to fight for 2.75 per cent beer! What a shame! To set up a machinery and not to do something that would shake up the millions of workers for something better, something ultimate, something lasting! Why not set up machinery to educate the millions of unorganized workers who are scattered throughout this country and are at the mercy of every shark? Why not utilize these 14,000 paid organizers to solidify the ranks of the working class into a Federation that shall win the admiration, instead of the sneers of every worker? Why not fight against discrimination, against the yellow dog contract, against company unions, against the injunction? Why not fight, if fight we must, for better working conditions, for shorter hours, for decent living conditions, for a better school system, for, for, but there are so many more important issues to fight for than the 2.75 per cent beer.

Instead the fighting machinery will be set up and available forces used for a thing so incidental, so unimportant to the laboring masses at this present stage of unemployment and slumps, that one feels hurt for not being able to kick

these misleaders out of their jobs and use the organization for what it was formed.

Members of the A. F. of L. should read these resolutions of the impending campaign and remember that the money to be used will have to come out of their own pockets in the form of taxes.

Workers should demand that national machinery should be set up to organize the basic industries, where millions and millions of unskilled workers are mercifully exploited without protection.

ROSA PESOTTA,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

A NEW CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Dear Editor:-

Local No. 433 of Pittsburgh, a local of the Teamsters' International, had an election due and a group of drivers under the leadership of two members, Thomas Meagher and John Tait, put forward a slate, printing and distributing a platform on its behalf. The slate was defeated, including Meagher, the only incumbent not re-elected. A week had not passed before the local officials of the Teamsters' Union notified Meagher and Tait that they were suspended. This action was without legal base or form of any kind, bare notice of their suspension being given the men without explanation or charges being preferred. According to the local secretary, directions to suspend the men had come by telephone! The International official declared responsible was one whom Meagher had personally aggrieved.

When the union met January 7th, the obvious illegality was acknowledged by local officers upon protest from the rank and file. These officials kindly agreed to file charges, etc., as required by union rules. Whether they will or have been called on a bluff remains to be seen.

These men, suspended apparently for daring to run for office, have been most outspoken and active in their advocacy of affiliation with the A. F. of L. and loyalty thereto. The platform on which they sought office called for "Reform in the Brotherhood and A. F. of L. along the lines suggested in the letter of the Chairman of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor to the recent convention of that body in Boston; formation of a Labor Party; active participation of the Cab Drivers' organization in the fight for unemployment insurance legislation; complete provision for the drivers' interests when proposed new companies seek our support in their application for charters

from the Public Service Commission; rigid economy in management of our local's affairs, and no scabs admitted until they have redeemed themselves by joining in our next strike."

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SOME THINGS TO PRAISE

Dear Editor:

With some amusement I read Mr. Lopatin's reply to Harvey O'Connor's article about Russia. Will Mr. Lopatin restrain his tears about the starving and shivering people in Russia until he either comes here and sees for himself or at least looks at Soviet pictures published in the N. Y. Times, Tribune and other papers. (I hope he will not accuse them of being agents of the Soviets).

As far as poor Harvey O'Connor and all visitors being led around like a babe in the woods by these terrible Soviet propagandists—all I can say is that I have seen the workings of the institutions which take care of foreign visitors here and I wish they were only half as efficient as Mr. Lopatin thinks they are. As a matter of fact the newspaper Pravda recently printed a complaint stating that foreign visitors are not shown the workers' clubs, rest rooms, etc., of the new Russia and mainly see the old Russia of palaces and museums.

Perhaps Mr. Lopatin like Emil Vandervelde will also visit the Soviets and will likewise find, despite his hatred of the Soviets, that there are some things to praise here.

HARRY JAFFE. Moscow, Russia.

"THE WORLD DO MOVE"

Dear Editor:-

O, these changing times!

The present depression and unemployment wave seem to be working miracles in certain directions. Hard times come and hard times go, as is well known; unemployment goes and unemployment comes again, but never before was there evident such public concern about unemployment and the hardships our people are forced to endure because of unemployment. The charity organizations, the civic organizations, politicians and private persons are tremendously interested in the welfare of every body else and of the out-of-works, especially. Moreover, those at work and those out of work seem to have a common cause, a hidden bond which ties them together, as it were. Why, even our Army and Navy and the Salvation Army find that they have something in common with

the common worker, and those out of work. Witness the late Army-Navy-Salvation Army football adventure, which raised some thousands of dollars for the unemployed.

Fine, we think it is great. In former years the Army, the Navy, and the Militia were ordinarily employed to suppress strikes, ride over strikers and trample under foot organized or unorganized workers. But things have no doubt changed and it appears as if the Army and Navy, any way, have a feeling of close fellowship with the unemployed workers. In all probability they realize that after all, they too, are workers, the majority of them, and the sons of workers. And therefore the interests of the unemployed and the boys of the Army and the Navy are very much related, one might say almost a blood relationship.

We wonder whether that hereafter, if any labor trouble should occur, the Army, the Navy and the Militia will think twice and more, before attempting to round up or shoot down workers on strike or on parade for better conditions. No doubt, it is true that labor is labor and a working man, a working-man whether his pay comes from an individual employer or from the collective employer—the government, but will the workers in uniform understand this?

JENNIE D. CARLIPH,
New York.

LET'S HAVE IT

Dear Editor:-

The situation in the paper mill industry calls for no great shouts of joy. Employment conditions are very bad and, of course, we are not able to do much organizing under the circumstances. As you know, it is a very difficult matter to organize the workers at any time.

The indifference of the average working man to his own welfare is enough to make men and angels weep. I think that most of the writers in Labor Age shoot far wide of the mark when they place the sole blame for the slow progress of the Labor Movement in America upon the heads of the poor labor leaders. Occasionally I show certain articles in Labor Age to our organizers and ask them what they think about it. I wish you could hear what they say. Our organizers would like to have some of the writers in Labor Age tell them just how to go about organizing the paper mill workers in the Province of Quebec, or in the progressive State of Wisconsin, or in some of the Southern paper mills.

I expect to see some of these days one of the much abused labor leaders turn on his tormentors and tell his side of

the story. Perhaps I shall do it myself. Believe me it would be an interesting story.

JOHN P. BURKE, President-Sec'y.,
International Brotherhood Pulp,
Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

* * *

Editor's Note: We would be most anxious to receive an article from Brother Burke or from any of his organizers, depicting the difficulties in the way of organization and wherein the articles appearing in Labor Age are faulty. We have invited Brother Burke to contribute to any future issue of Labor Age.

A FEW QUESTIONS TO DR. WOLMAN

Dear Editor:

Leo Wolman discusses unemployment in a current issue of the Yale Review. As a remedy for unemployment he proposes unemployment insurance, the kind they have in the men's clothing industry.

In a statement on unemployment insurance in that industry, published in Labor Age several months ago, I stated that the advocates of this scheme, as a remedy for unemployment, always avoid details as to the specific amounts paid to each respective worker and instead, give the general amount collected and paid out from the fund in the entire industry. The same is done in the present article. The reader inevitably is under the impression that the workers receive at least a hundred dollars a year in unemployment benefits.

What are the facts? Dr. Wolman knows his mathematics and he should have little difficulty, as head of the Amalgamated Research Bureau and as an economist of note, to supply his readers with details as to the specific amounts paid out to each worker. He should state what means he has at his disposal to determine the amount of insurance each worker is to receive and why some workers do not get insurance at all, even in those markets like Chicago, where a percentage of each worker's earnings are deducted with or without the worker's consent.

Dr. Wolman should also tell us why they are trying to introduce the "check-off" system in the Amalgamated. This does not seem necessary, for if true that the unemployment insurance scheme is a success then it follows that the workers in the men's clothing industry are grateful to their leaders and should therefore pay their financial obligations voluntarily, as in the past, and not by compulsion, as demanded by the leaders.

Finally, I should like to have Dr. Wolman answer my charges regarding the unemployment insurance, as presented

in my pamphlet, "Justice for Organized Workers," and if he expects the workers to read his answers he should have it either in the Amalgamated publications or in trade union papers and not in the Yale Review or in any other Ph.D. publications, who pay him for his articles and not for being the head of the Amalgamated Research Bureau.

L. KIRSHBAUM.

ALL FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Dear Editor:

A few words about the situation in the steel industry around K.—would probably be interesting to readers of LABOR AGE. Last week I worked four days but was forced to double up and thus received only two day's pay. This week we will work but two days making a total of four day's work in the last three weeks. Things here are growing worse, if that is possible. A nearby mill, I am informed, is operating but one open-hearth furnace and it expects to close down the one bessemer furnace that was operating. I have been told that the K.—Steel closed all of its open-hearth furnaces the first of last week. This is of particular significance because these furnaces supply the steel which is fabricated into various products of the industry.

I have spent considerable time during the past three weeks working on the job of getting signatures for the unemployment petitions. So far I have been able to get around 500 names. The petition was circulated at the right time as a Community Fund drive was then on. The foremen in the mill came through the plants demanding one full day's pay for the Fund and there was quite a protest. The unorganized workers were forced to "come through," but the union men stood their ground, suggesting that the amount asked be taken out of the company's treasury.

After that the men were much interested in unemployment insurance and were filling in their names on the petitions in great style.

STEVE D., Missouri.

Chateau de Bures

Par Villennes, Seine et Oise
17 MILES FROM PARIS, FRANCE
Country Boarding School

To Prepare Boys for American Colleges.
30 Acres. Own Farm. New Dormitories.
Outdoor sleeping porches. Gymnasium.
Athletic Fields. Modern, Progressive
Methods. Music, Art, Science, French,
English and American Masters.

For information address

Edwin Cornell Zavitz, Headmaster
Chateau de Bures, par Villennes, Seine-et-
Oise, France

The Labor Outlook

(Continued from Page 9)

ters no such horrible fear of Socialists or even Communists among the leaders in the Movement here as prevails on the Atlantic seaboard. There is a tradition of militancy and insurgency in the unions which the A. F. of L. leaders have fought bitterly and for some years with success, but I observed that the militants of 10 years ago are coming back and it will be hard to force them out, unless we are in for another long period of great prosperity. The very militant and radical unemployment program under way in Minneapolis, for example, outlined elsewhere in this issue of LABOR AGE, is being sponsored by the Central Labor Union itself under the lead of the militants of the post-war years.

I have no doubt, as just suggested, that if another long-time boom sets in soon not much progress in labor organization can be looked for, though even under that condition I doubt whether we shall return to the intense apathy, the complete deadness of the last four or five years. If the depression in a severe form lasts a good while longer, then we may look for a rapid growth of political revolt and probably violent demonstrations under left-wing leadership. (To date the Communist demonstrations have not drawn in any large section of the workers even in centers like Detroit and Chicago.) Presumably, if a really desperate situation were to develop the powers that be would treat us to a war.

Assuming that we are not at the hour of "the final conflict" but that on the other hand such recovery as we get is likely to be slow and gradual and that we are not likely to get such hectic prosperity as we have passed through, the years ahead should see a definite, though for the reasons I have indicated, probably not a rapid heightening of labor activity. On the analogy of similar situations in the past, we may expect that this activity will first manifest itself on the political rather than on the union field.

Interest in Political Action

In view of the general situation plus the fact that a presidential election is due in 1932, it seems almost certain that some attempt at labor or labor-farmer political party building will be made in the course of the next twelve months. It is a temptation to try to analyze in detail the forces that might be counted on to help and the prospects of success. Space does not permit that in this issue. The following

swift generalizations may be made. In Michigan there is no farm revolt likely to express itself in a definite break with the old parties and there are no signs at the moment that the Labor Movement is ready for another try at independent political action. Automobile workers if they move at all are, I think, quite as likely to go Communist as Socialist or Labor Party. However, there is distinctly more life and militancy in the Detroit movement for example than a year or so ago. In Chicago discussions about reviving a labor party have begun, but they are as yet of a very tentative nature. In Wisconsin there is considerable talk of a new party and Wisconsin Socialists are on the whole ready and eager, I think, to cooperate. It seems to me very doubtful whether a new party can get under way, however, unless the LaFollettes join in and whether they will, remains very much of a question. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota would like to see a move for building a party on a national scale, and I think it can be counted on for considerable help.

In watching and to some extent perhaps guiding developments progressive laborites must, it seems to me, have certain guiding principles in mind. A Labor Party must be in a measure opportunistic, it may not be able to speak a Communist or Socialist language in the beginning. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that the time is past in this country for a liberal party even though it bear a labor label. In the present advanced state of industrialism, no new party can hope for effectiveness and permanency which is not based on the allegiance of the mass of industrial workers, aims to overthrow the profit system and to establish a regime of thorough-going social ownership and control. Nor can such a party assume that it has a century to do its job. Anything less than this, progressive Republicans and Democrats can do, and it will be much better to let them do it, or try to do it, than to go to the pains of trying to build a new party, which will be unable to hold together and must go the way of the Bryan, Bull Moose and LaFollette movements. If a Labor or Farmer-Labor party is to be a milk-and-water affair and largely in the hands of labor fakers, it will be better for progressives and militants to discourage it, and to support some definitely left-wing political organization which will carry on a radical workers education program which will count in the end, even though it does not poll many votes in the elections. Further-

The Lesson of the Hour

(Continued from Page 11)

tency born of intense conviction. It is characteristic of pioneers that they do not halt because every step is not a giant stride.

The "intense conviction" that must guide us is the knowledge, so evident in our time, that the Capitalist System has failed to meet the needs of mankind. It must be overthrown and destroyed, roots as well as branches. But we are working out this "intense conviction" among a people trained in a diametrically opposed philosophy of life and action, who have had drilled into them the Capitalist ideals of the school system, the newspapers and all the other organs of education. We must take these people where they are, talk to them in terms they understand, and go forward with them to the inevitable: Revolutionary industrial unionism, labor party consciousness, international solidarity of the workers, and to the conquest of the world by the working class.

The lesson of our hour is that there is a real demand for such "a return to the people" as characterized the initial stage of Russian revolutionary history. Where are the enthusiastic souls who will take up this heroic task? We await their increasing enrollment in the American crusade.

In Other Lands

(Continued from page 23)

quid pro quo. Will that be an aggressive policy towards Russia? Germany has nothing else to give except the empty title to her lost colonies and a waiving of her objection to their being incorporated into the various countries which hold mandates. Germany's domestic situation is serious. Hindenburg alone is keeping the fighting groups from attacking the Reich and wrecking the Federal Republic. Austria and Hungary have formed a sort of union and the next step will be a deal with Germany. When that happens Poland will behave decently towards the German and other nationals within its borders.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

more, if some sort of general labor party movement is launched, it will be very important that within it a left wing party or a strong left-wing educational agency should be at work keeping the movement away from by-paths and headed straight for social ownership and workers control, and cooperating with militant industrial unions of the basic industries on the economic field.

Progressive Labor Library

S E R I E S

WHY A LABOR PARTY?

By A. J. MUSTE

THE MARION MURDER

TOM TIPPETT, FRANCIS J. GORMAN and A. J. MUSTE

THE NEGRO WORKER

By ABRAM L. HARRIS

GASTONIA

By JESSIE LLOYD

WHY UNIONS GO SMASH

By JAMES ONEAL

10 cents each

LABOR'S SHARE IN THE LATE LAMENTED PROSPERITY

20 cents

Bundle rates on request.

CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

What Kind

of labor union does
your employer favor



Read

Company Unions

By ROBERT W. DUNN

*This is the ONLY kind
of union your employ-
er likes. Why? Read
this book for the ans-
wer to that and to other
important current labor
problems.*

75c a Copy

75c a Copy

Order through

LABOR AGE

104 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

LABOR AGE

Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

25c Per Copy

\$2.50 A Year

Published Monthly at
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

JAMES H. MAURER, President

A. J. MUSTE, }
A. J. KENNEDY, } Vice Presidents

HARRY W. LAIDLER, Treasurer

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, Managing Editor and Secretary
LEONARD BRIGHT, Business Manager

Directors

JAMES H. MAURER
A. J. MUSTE
A. J. KENNEDY
HARRY W. LAIDLER
LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ
LEONARD BRIGHT
J. F. ANDERSON
JOHN A. BURNS
WALTER E. DAVIS
JUSTUS EBERT
ABRAHAM EPSTEIN
C. W. FITZGERALD
ALBERT FODOR
CHAS. W. GARDNER
JOSEPH GILBERT

CLINTON S. GOLDEN
EDMOND GOTTESMAN
A. A. HEIST
CARL HOLDERMAN
PRYNS HOPKINS
HARRY H. KAVILLE
JOHN C. KENNEDY
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
E. J. LEVER
WALTER LUDWIG
ROBERT E. MACHIN
A. L. MATLACK
ISRAEL MUFSON
WILLIAM ROSS
NATHANIEL SPECTOR
H. A. SPENCE

*Labor Age is indexed in the Bulletin of the
Public Affairs Information Bureau*

Books Reviewed

In

➔ **Labor Age**

And All Other Books



MAY BE OBTAINED

From The

Rand Book Store

7 EAST 15th STREET

NEW YORK CITY