Labor Age

UNCOVERING Mr. UNDERCOVER MAN

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION

J. M. BUDISH
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CONTENTS:

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Cartoons by Jerger In response to our appeal to friends of Labor Age for pictures, the talented labor artist, Fred Jerger, has generously sent us a batch of original cartoons. Several will be found in this issue. Others will appear later. Brother Jerger has also drawn an artistic design for our cover page, which we are holding for the Anniversary Celebration number. This is hearty cooperation, indeed.

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Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

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

New Years and New Policies

1929 Demands Rise of Progressive Group

ALTHOUGH Samuel Butler's Erewhonians may be right, and we may all be drawn through life backwards, there are times when we must check ourselves up and take some sort of a squint at the future. The New Year's time is as good a season as any for this mental reconnoitering. Is 1929 to be another cell number for the masses, or is it to be something else again?

The year that has closed came to an end amid a wild storm of stock gambling. It has been the greatest gambling year in American history. By the same token, it has seen the steady growth of millionaires and the rolling up of individual millions. The average wage of the American worker remains at $25 per week, in contrast, and the average wages of women workers are much less than that. Spasmodic unemployment is accepted as though it were in the divine nature of things, and an outward show of servility at least marks the attitude of the masses toward their money-worshipping masters.

The confused mental state of great numbers of the wage-earning population was aptly put by Clarence Darrow, in the recent Chicago mass meeting for the Kenosha hosiery workers. The average worker today, he said, has a flivver and a share of oil stock, and does not know for the life of him whether he wants the stock to go up or down.

Organized Labor finds itself a small portion of the wage earning group in confronting this situation. It is confined to the crafts which can be kept together on the old craftsmanship basis. It has been unable to make substantial headway into the great Open Shop industries of the country. Even the crafts long organized are in grave danger from the further advancement of the machine, which will rid industry of the need for skilled workers. The invention of the new central printing apparatus, under the encouragement of the Gannett newspapers, warns the printing trades that they may shortly be faced with the same difficulties that "canned music" has brought to the musicians. Under the invention, demonstrated the other day, hundreds of newspapers can be made up by one or two operators from a central office, miles away. While that is going forward, we see compositors striking in Albany, with scabs taking their places, while union men on the presses and in other departments remain at their jobs.

That unskilled workers in mass production industry can be moved to united action was shown by the great steel strike. That the campaign among them must be more efficient on the one hand and more imaginative on the other than any ever heretofore attempted can be understood after a few days' organizing work. Daniel Tobin, in his farewell as Treasurer of the A. F. of L., indicated that fact and expressed fear that the needed efficiency and fire did not exist at the present moment in the Movement. (Incidentally, he was correct!)

On the other hand, the Communists heap folly upon folly. They are committed to a policy of doctrinaire dual unionism, which gives only hope of further disruption. They are intent, apparently, upon a widespread campaign of destruction. (To go out and organize the unorganized is one thing; to break into strikes and break them up is another.)

Both the reactionary group in the A. F. of L.—who seem to be gaining control—and the Communists can rally around themselves at best only 100 per-centers of their own type. What is necessary today is to unite around the banner of progressive, courageous and militant action, the great masses of American workers. In that direction lies the future of the Labor Movement. Not by calling names, but by backing healthy criticism with constructive and daring action; not by constant heresy-hunting, but by getting into the fight and letting the fight serve as the record on which they stand—in that way can they serve amid the chaos of inaction and disruption. Inspired by a

desire to create a new social order, they should be ready and willing to work this desire out in the cold, grimy trenches of present union advance.

New years demand new policies, to meet new conditions.

ANOTHER GENERATION

QUICKENING our belief in the future are the thousands of young people rushing into industry.

While talking about new things, we cannot evade this new generation. The British NEW LEADER has paid heed to it, in a series of articles prepared by an able writer who uses the pen-name "No. 27." This quick-acting, dance-loving multitude has about it pleasant possibilities.

It is keener than the youth of days gone by; it is up and doing. Much of its energies go into "idle amusements", as the old folks say, but those energies can be diverted to healthful enterprises and idealistic movements. He who would inspire this group, however, must have the spirit of youth himself. He must have the Dantonesque qualities of zeal and patience and daring. And these qualities, required of the prophet and leader, are required likewise of the Movement to which these boys and girls will give their allegiance.

One of the great things ahead for the progressive group of union crusaders is the raising of the banner of "Youth and Freedom."

SEARCH FOR THE WOMAN!

ANOTHER citizen of industry is knocking at the door with loud knocks that should be heard by a live Movement. The woman has not only won suffrage politically—which really didn't matter much—but has also won a place beside her husband and brother in the mill and factory.

We cannot ignore her. We must hasten to organize her. A program of progress for the workers in the industrial field must include the organization of women. There has been an old superstition that these newcomers to factory work, on a wide scale, cannot be organized. This has been fostered by organizers who wish an alibi for doing nothing. Women can not only be organized, but can be made the most loyal and enthusiastic members of labor unions.

God knows that they need the message of united action. Quite naively, the National Industrial Conference Board, employers' organization, advises us of that fact. It has discovered —Columbus must have been its patron saint!— that women are capable of doing the same work as men in many instances, but are paid less. This is, of course, particularly true of the monotonous machine industries.

Although the survey showed that women workers can stand up with men in a great number of working operations, the woman's hourly earnings in manufacturing ran approximately 35 per cent lower than those of men. The National Industrial Conference Board rushes to the conclusion that this is due to the shorter hours, which women must work under, legislation secured by Organized Labor. Nothing is said about the house work that the woman workers must engage in, after the manufacturing job is done. We have not yet heard of any great rush of men to don the apron and wash the dishes after working hours.

We must "search for the woman" in 1929, in our quest for a vigorous and effective Labor Movement. Unless we do that, we will not measure up to the test of the time.

CHAINED

REMINDERS come thick and fast that the industrial ways of old have gone forever. We are living in a Chain Store—Big Business era. Organized labor must change with the times, or it will be ushered out of existence.

We must do better than have our Babbitt brethern in the local community business worlds. "Tragic" is the only word that expresses the self-slaughter of these innocent lambs before the altar of Mass Manufacture. Almost every local Chamber of Commerce in this country—supposedly representing the vendors of goods as distinct from the manufacturer—is sending out literature advertising the virtues of its city as an "Open Shop" town.

Thereby are the local business men cutting their own throats. "Open Shoppery" means low wages. Low wages mean the advance of the efficient and price-slashing chain stores. No longer do the chains, as a result, confine themselves to select corners in comparatively large cities. They are in all sorts of places and in all communities. Godfrey M. Lebhar, an authority on chain stores, announces on December 9th that 1929 will be the golden year for the chain idea. On December 11, in confirmation, 22 department stores with total sales of $1,000,000 a year join hands in the vast Hahn System. At the same time the United Cigar Stores subsidiaries add an entirely new group of drug stores to their expanding numbers.

We cannot face the chain store and manufacturing merger development with a small shop idea of organizing. David may have slain Goliath with a pebble, but that will not prove successful in our time. We need not worry about the small business man's lack of efficiency and intelligence. He is doomed to slip into the wage-earning class as a clerk or store manager for the chain. We can and should be concerned with the fate of the masses of workers—slaves to the machine in much the prophetic way that Samuel Butler saw that they would become.

Union revolt based on widespread industrial organization will save us from the fate foreseen for the Erewhonians.

A. F. of L. Convention High Lights

Aggressiveness and Militancy Missing

By CARL HAESSLER

HEADLINE writers with a bias could easily put quite contradictory heads on the complete story of the American Federation of Labor convention, held in New Orleans November 19 to 28. Each would find justification in the verbatim proceedings for his course. Thus the high lights of the meeting could be sympathetically headed:

LABOR MAKES FURTHER PROGRESS
FOES OF UNIONISM UNMASKED
WORKERS' EDUCATION SAFEGUARDED
RED PROPAGANDIST SCOTCHED
SOUTH TO BE ORGANIZED
OFFICERS UNANIMOUSLY REELECTED,
etc.

On the other hand journalistic procedure would not be violated by casting the same items this way:

STAGNATION GRIPS A. F. OF L.
PROGRESSIVE VOICES SILENCED
MUZZLE WORKERS' EDUCATION
LIBEL JOHN DEWEY AS RED
MORE DO-NOTHING ORGANIZING RESOLUTIONS
OLD MACHINE CONTINUES IN POWER,
etc.

Needless to point out, both procedures have already appeared in print. This makes it useful to look beyond the headlines and see in the words of the participants what actually took place. Even this has its dangers, both because of what may be selected or omitted and because the stress of convention debate may give vent to imprudent statements.

Not that there was much stress at the New Orleans gathering, at least not in the convention sessions except when the outlawing of Brookwood Labor College was up in the closing hours. As George W. Perkins of the cigarmakers, one of the surviving handful of Gompers contemporaries points out, it is the executive council that handles controversial matters, keeping them so far as possible off the convention floor. The method makes for harmony but it also makes for boredom and monotony. Delegates as well as reporters and visitors are becoming fed up with the dullness of recent federation conventions.

Now for the quoted words that underlie the headlines. Take the first pair: Labor Makes Further Progress, vs. Stagnation Grips A. F. of L. The executive council's report says: "The paid membership of the American Federation of Labor for the 12 months of the fiscal year beginning Sept. 1, 1927 and ending Aug. 31, 1928 was 2,893,913. This is an increase of 81,387 over the membership of the 12 months of the previous fiscal year." On the other hand Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the federation the past 11 years, declared in presenting his resignation to the convention:

"I think you will agree with me that it is necessary in these days when dissension and misunderstanding surround us, when we are confronted with serious conditions of unemployment, resulting in a great falling off of members in international unions, to be open, plain, fearless and above board."

Tobin as treasurer checked up on the paid membership of the federation month by month. You see where the headline writers can get their opposing inspirations.

Muste is Called Communist

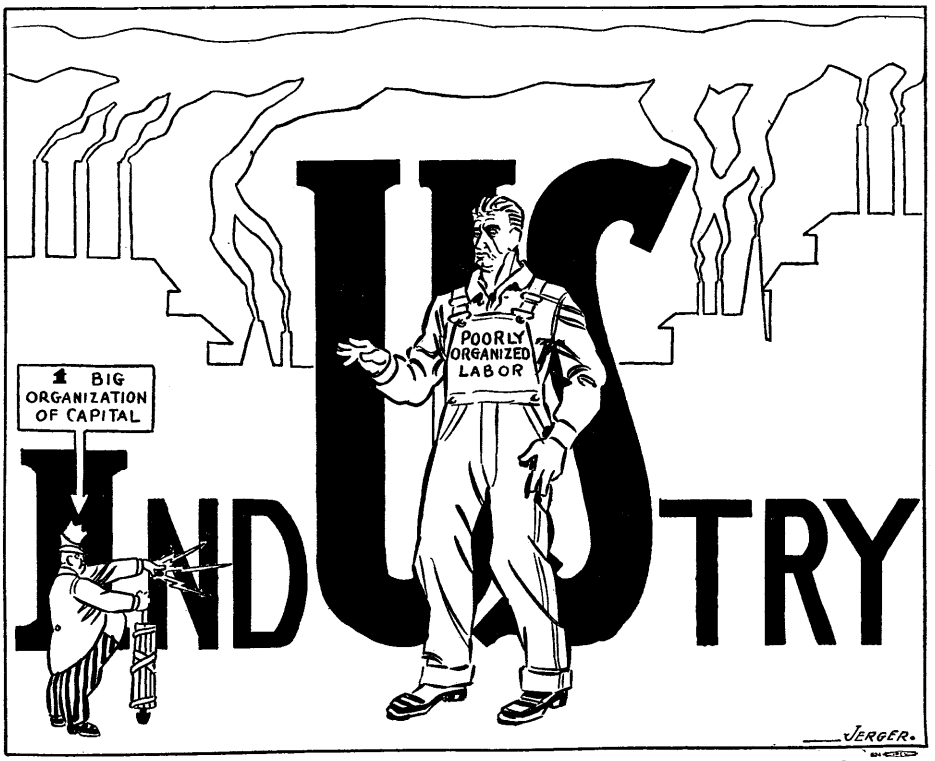
Let us take the next pair: Foes of Unionism Unmasked, vs. Progressive Voices Silenced. President William Green and Vice President Matthew Woll easily had their way in getting the convention to take hostile action against Brookwood. Dean A. J. Muste of the labor college was denounced by Woll as advocating "Communism and nothing more or less, and it is under that guidance that the institution is being conducted." On the other hand when Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary of the American Federation of Teachers of which Muste is vice president, moved that he be "given the right to say here on this floor something for himself", she was ruled out of order. She got no further chance to be recognized to renew her motion when it would be in order.

So with Workers' Education Safeguarded, vs. Muzzle Workers' Education. President Green in the Brookwood debate said from the chair: "Now fellow trade unionists, do you want to send members of the A. F. of L. to a school that employs an avowed Communist to teach these trade unionists economics? I love the A. F. of L. and I love the workers' education, but I am not going to stand by and see the funds of the A. F. of L. used to equip young men to come and fight us if I can help it." On the other hand, Delegate Charles L. Reed of the Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union, who had been trained at Brookwood under the alleged Communist professor, said, "I spent two years in Brookwood and I want to say also that I am not a Communist. Ever since I graduated from Brookwood I have tried to carry out the spirit of Brookwood by being loyal to the trade union movement. I say to you, Mr. Chairman, and I say to you delegates that it is a disgrace to try Brookwood in this manner. I say to you it is not fair." The convention voted to "indorse the position (of outlawry) taken by the executive council on the Brookwood College affair."

The next pair of headlines cover a situation that made the convention stand on its head: Red Propagandist Scotched, vs. Libel John Dewey As Red. This was a particularly interesting opportunity for the biased

journalist on either side. By unanimous vote the convention had adopted a section of the education committee's report in which Prof. Dewey of Columbia University was referred to as follows: "Prof. John Dewey, recognized on every hand as the leading educational authority in America and perhaps the most outstanding figure in the educational field in the world today, a member of our own American Federation of Teachers and at one time vice-president of the New York Teachers' union." But not ten minutes later Matthew Woll denounced the eulogized professor and said the education committee would have done better to include Dewey as a "propagandist not for special interests but for Communist interests — is he not the one who a few years ago went to New York City for the purpose of planting the germ of Communism in our educational institutions!" And so the next day the acting chairman of the education committee, John H. Walker, first reversed himself on that section of his report, which he had signed, and then got the convention to do the same. The eulogy had been passed unanimously. The vote to expunge Dewey's name and the references to him from the record was 91 to 39.

CAPITAL IS KING



American Capital lords it over Labor because it is poorly organized. "When the overwhelming number of workers now unorganized have once entered its ranks the federation (A. F. of L.) will be less compromising," declares Carl Haessler in the accompanying story of the New Orleans convention.

Organizing Campaigns.

Regarding the next subject, South To Be Organized, vs. More Do-Nothing Organizing Resolutions, the record shows a resolution ordering an organization conference for putting union campaigns in the South on a coordinated basis. This was unanimously passed. At the Los Angeles convention in 1927, however, a somewhat similar resolution was also unanimously passed and no reference to results was made either in the 1928 executive council report or in the 1928 convention proceedings. The 1928 resolution states in an introductory sentence that "in many of the organizing campaigns conducted in the Southern states they have not accomplished as much good as circumstances seem to warrant."

The final pair of heads, Officers Unanimously Re-elected, vs. Old Machine Continues in Power, states in the first case the bare fact and in the second an adverse interpretation of it.

What are we to think of the convention and its work? That depends on the point of view from which we look at it. Impatient for results, critics may forget that the federation is essentially a resolution-passing organization with little money and little real power. Unmindful of the precarious position of organized labor in the face of triply concentrated American capitalism, critics may overlook the fact that the federation was forced to choose between practically impotent opposition and equally impotent submission. It chose submission because the immediate interests of the majority of its members are furthered by submission. When the overwhelming number of workers now unorganized have once entered its ranks the federation will be less compromising, less fawning, less eager to be respectable and more eager to be effective, less like Caesar's wife (who must do nothing that might cause criticism) and more like her go-getting husband.

Nevertheless the convention voted to continue the fight against abuse of the injunction, declared against industrial conscription even in time of defensive war, reiterated its stand on free speech and against propaganda by the special interests in the schools.

The 48th convention was not one that will stand out in the long line of such gatherings. It did nothing extraordinary, embarked on no new policies like the Montreal convention of 1920 where the Plumb plan for nationalizing the railroad was endorsed. It was an average postwar convention, symptomatic of the period of marking time before the next realignment in the long conflict between owners and workers over the spoils of industry.

Shall Workers Education Perish?

Progressives Urged To Accept Challenge

By **A. J. Muste**

THE present administration of the A. F. of L. is hostile to genuine workers' education. This was demonstrated anew at the recent A. F. of L. convention at New Orleans. The soft pedal was put on any mention of workers' education, except when Brookwood was "socked on the jaw," as the A. F. of L. organs themselves put it, and the action of the Executive council in advising affiliated unions to withdraw support from Brookwood was endorsed.

In an editorial in the October number of the American Federationist, the official viewpoint as to the future development of workers' education was given. This editorial speaks of two kinds of education as needed by the workers, cultural education on the one hand, and trade union education to make the unions and union activities more effective on the other hand. The first editorial proposes to hand over to the Extension Departments of the colleges and universities, believing that they are quite capable of meeting the cultural needs of the workers, and that no special labor classes or colleges are needed to teach the workers history or psychology or literature or general economics. On this suggestion, Professor John Dewey aptly observed that it might be true that the colleges and universities were capable of expanding to meet these needs of the workers, if you put great emphasis on the word "capable", but that they certainly were not so expanded now, and for that reason labor colleges and classes such as Brookwood, were needed to show the way, and furthermore, that the teaching in many of the colleges and universities was mightily influenced by special interests, including the power trust, as the Federal Trade Commission has brought out, and therefore pretty dangerous stuff to hand out to the workers!

Trade union education, the editorial in the American Federationist goes on to say, must be strictly under the control of the unions, and when an issue arises in this field, it is a trade union issue and has nothing to do with academic freedom. This may sound like an innocent observation to those who do not know about the issues confronting workers' education at the present time. Actually, there is dynamite in this suggestion. No question of freedom of teaching and discussion can arise in labor classes? What kind of education is that where there can be no difference of opinion, and therefore no question about freedom to express dissent? This means that somebody is to decide what is to be taught in these trade union classes (the National Civic Federation perhaps?) and that this is to be handed out as the very word of God to the students. How many international unions and other labor bodies will want to intrust their members to such dictation in the field of education? It is indeed a far cry from that day in 1923 when Vice-President Matthew Woll said: "The A. F. of L. welcomes the work of the Workers Education Bureau. It does not seek to control the method of the teaching of the Bureau—This movement is concerned solely with the problem of arousing men to think and presenting to them facts about our industrial system, so that with these materials they may, of their own accord and by their own light, reach those conclusions they believe best calculated to solve the great problems that are confronting our people today."

Killing Real Education

At the recent A. F. of L. convention, it was decided that a commission be appointed by President Green to appraise the results so far achieved in the field of workers' education and to suggest a program for the future. A commission that has been voted by a convention which showed no interest whatever in workers' education, except such interest as was indicated by the lynching of Brookwood, and that is to be under the control of an Educative Council that has the notions about workers' education indicated in the editorial just cited, will be used for just one purpose, namely, to kill off, if possible, free, genuine, intelligent, working-class education, wherever it exists. This will be true even if the Workers Education Bureau of America is permitted to continue in some fashion to exist. The Executive Board of that Bureau has not had a real meeting in a year. That Executive Board never raised its voice during the months that Brookwood was under attack, though this meant among other things that the President of the Workers Education Bureau, James H. Maurer, and at least three of the Executive members of the Board, also Brookwood directors, were under attack. It is the simple truth to say that the present administration of the A. F. of L., whether it be aware of it or not, is out to kill workers' education.

Think now of the trade unionists who founded the Workers Education Bureau, founded Brookwood, founded many a labor class and college in all parts of the land. Names that stand out in American labor history come to mind—James Maurer, Fannia Cohn, Abe Lefkowitz, Abe Epstein, John Van Vaerenewyck, John Brophy, Harry Russell, Arthur Gleason (now gone to his rest) and many others. Who were these men and women, and what were they seeking to accomplish through workers' education?

They belonged to the progressive elements who were at that time influential or even dominant in many city central bodies, some of the state federations, a number of international unions, such as the garment trades, machinists, railroad organizations and miners. They were interested in organizing the masses of workers in the basic industries, in actively combatting the open shop, company union and yellow-dog contract, in ex-

ploring the possibilities of building a labor party. They envisaged an ultimate goal for the labor movement, the good life for all men, in a world controlled by the producers. They carried resolutions for the nationalization of railroads, for example, in A. F. of L. conventions. These elements founded the workers' education movement. They wanted American workers trained for the class struggle, but not indoctrinated with cut and dried theories as to just how the struggle was to be carried on or as to precisely what kind of social order it was to achieve. They wanted the workers to be critical, realistic, intelligent. They wanted the minds of the workers opened and their program being what it was, they could afford to take the risks which that involved.

Hope in Progressives

Many individuals belonging to these groups are still alive. There are many others, especially young people, in the country today, who share their views. As a movement, however, militant progressivism in the American labor movement hardly exists today. There is no space here to enter into the reasons for its decline. We may pass on at once to stating that workers' education can exist and flourish only if such a militant progressivism, a movement of those elements in the trade unions and other labor bodies who will not and cannot commit themselves either to the present A. F. of L. administration and its policies, or to the Workers ("Communist") Party and its present policies, exists to back up workers' education, and to use it as an instrument in its progress. A school or educational system is always in the last analysis a child or instrument of some social group. Workers' education, Brookwood, all similar enterprises, are the children and the instruments of a militant labor progressivism, or if the expression be preferred, a non-Communist left. Let it be emphasized again that such a progressivism is interested in sound and high educational standards, and will want its educational institutions to be critical expounders of its own policies as well as of the policies of other elements in the labor movement.

One sees such a militant progressivism as has here been alluded to standing for aggressive effort to organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the basic industries into industrial unions, with special attention to such groups as women workers, young workers, negro workers, immigrant groups; determined resistance to injunctions and yellow-dog contracts, with recognition of the fact that mass resistance to judge-made law on the picket line is of fundamental importance; active campaigning for social insurance against sickness, old age, unemployment, death; development of genuinely cooperative enterprises under the control of the workers; presentation of the labor movement as not only a business proposition but a great idealistic force, having for its ultimate goal the good life for all men, in a world controlled by the workers; the working out of a realistic, scientific, courageous attitude toward the problem of "union management cooperation vs. class collaboration," recognizing on the one hand that a trade union is not a revolutionary political party and must make compromises, and on the other hand, that the trade union is primarily a fighting instrument by which the workers may defend their rights, improve their conditions and raise their status, and not a personnel agency for the boss; recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, opposition to all efforts on the part of reactionaries and imperialists to prevent the Russian people from carrying out their experiment in workers' control, and resistance also to efforts on the part of such elements to throw a smoke-screen around their own designs and activities by "pinning Communism" on every progressive individual or proposition; rigid opposition to militarism and to imperialistic adventures of the United States; recognition of the international character of capitalism and the consequent need of an international labor movement binding together workers regardless of race, nationality, creed and color, against the forces that are using them as machine fodder and cannon fodder; development of a labor party based on the mass organization of the industrial workers, including farmers and agricultural helpers, whose social and economic status is that of workers, and excluding all exploiting groups and interests; and finally, a workers' education movement that has for its primary aim not extending to workers the same cultural advantages now enjoyed by other classes, but equipping them for the struggle against the company union, the open shop, the injunction, the labor spy, the struggle to improve their conditions and to gain control of industry.

A Call to Action

If genuine workers' education can exist only if there be such a militant progressivism in the American labor movement, it is also true that militant progressivism can exist and flourish only if there is a genuine workers' education movement. There are indications that workers' education may furnish the field on which the honest militant and progressive elements in the movement may first rally themselves and prepare for a new advance that will lead on surely and perhaps swiftly to organization on the economic, political and cooperative fields. There is bitter resentment in many circles at the attempt to kill Brookwood and similar enterprises, to wrest workers' education from the ideals of its founders. Let us take advantage immediately of this opportunity, and rally all those who want to see to it that education of the workers, for the workers and by the workers shall not perish in this land.

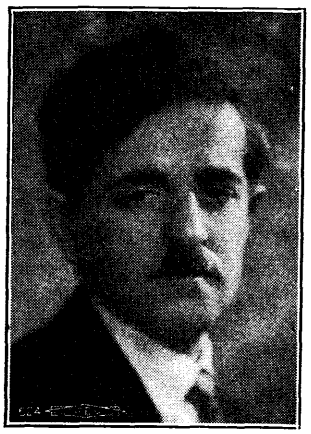
More clearly, more insistently, more hopefully than ever Brookwood calls: Let workers' education flourish. Let us accept the challenge of its enemies. Let us rally all friends of genuine workers' education, education with the union label on it, in a great movement—a movement to reach the masses of the workers, organized and unorganized, to break the chains of ignorance, fear and superstition which bind them, so that they may be free to organize, free to build a better world than the world of big business, of unemployment, of child labor, of yellow-dog contracts, of injunctions, of militarism and imperialism, in which we live today!

The Strategy of Disintegration

Trade Unionism by Lobbying

By J. M. BUDISH

IT is impossible to discover any enthusiasm for the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. Old timers who attended practically every convention of the Federation cannot conceal a certain feeling of disappointment. Not that there was any serious disagreement on policies at the New Orleans Convention. On the contrary, the delegates remember few A. F. of L. conventions at which things ran so smoothly and apparently so harmoniously. With minor exceptions the convention made all its decisions by unanimous vote and practically without any discussion. This total unanimity is even more surprising when the questions under consideration are so extremely perplexing.



J. M. BUDISH

To mention only the most important trade union problems affecting the progress and the very life of every labor organization. With insignificant exceptions every International Union has been marking time or losing ground. Mechanization of industry has made unprecedented strides. Men are continuously displaced by machinery. The human scrap heap of workers, deprived of their last drop of vitality by the acceleration of the rapidly rotating machine, is growing to be a serious menace to all Union standards of living and working conditions. The injunction reduces the workers to second-rate citizenship and in many cases imposes upon them, literally, industrial serfdom. Company unionism and welfare capitalism have been developed by open shop Big Business and Big Finance as powerful weapons to corrupt the workers' mentality, control their minds and robotize them unto the level of the Mechanical Man. The Bar Association is promoting a plan which threatens to put the unions under the continuous tutelage, supervision and control of the courts by making the courts the ultimate arbiters in the interpretation and enforcement of every trade agreement, for there is practically no collective agreement without some provisions for conciliation and arbitration. The same plan would make all strike action by any trade union wait upon the preliminary investigation and report of some semi-judicial tribunal.

Two committees had these problems before them: the Committee on the Executive Council's Report and the Committee on Resolutions. But the report of the first committee lasted only a little over an hour. And the report of the Committee on Resolutions would not have taken much more time if it were not for the flare up on the Brookwood and Dewey questions in which the ever-watchful eye of that vigilant guardian of 100 per cent Civic-Federation-Americanism detected something suspiciously akin to new social order theories.

How then is the ready, almost mechanical unanimity that prevailed at the New Orleans convention to be explained? Is it really possible that the report submitted by the Executive Council was of such flawless perfection that there was no place left for any further consideration? Or may it be that A. F. of L. trade unionism has become so fixed, so much a mere question of "economic statemanship" and "intelligent strategy" that it has become bad form to take up controversial questions, thus leaving to the Convention the part of a mere formal function, perhaps necessary but not very helpful and, in any case, entirely uninspiring? An insight into the present A. F. of L. trade union philosophy may supply the answer.

History is a continuous process. And still as the process of slow accumulation of change reaches a stage which affects the very character of the times there will always be some outstanding event, which conveniently enables us to fix historical dates. It seems to me that in the lengthening melancholy shadow of the dusk of the times the future historian will be able to fix the last A. F. of L. Convention as definitely marking the passing of a period in the history of organized labor as represented by the A. F. of L.

Two Opposing Policies

An editorial in the Weekly News of the A. F. of L. summarizes in "fifteen words" the "aggregate viewpoint" of the last Convention: "The workers must abandon old standards and ideals and must be awakened to changed conditions." Now, what are these old standards and ideals which the last Convention definitely wishes labor to abandon? And what should take their place under the changed conditions; Says the report of the Executive Council:

"There are two opposing policies of making progress—one which makes force alone its agency for progress and the other endeavors through intelligent strategy to make progress without strife. The advocates of force believe that men's decisions yield only to force and that labor must rely solely upon militant tactics. Those who believe that progress is made through increasingly better agreements and relations between employers and employes hold that problems must be settled by conference and discussion even after the fight is over, believe that it is therefore better to develop a strategy that will make the fight unnecessary and then concentrate on gathering facts and following policies that will enable the Union to sustain its proposals at the conference."

HOLD IT HIGH!

With apologies to Rollin Kirby

Only by forceful and aggressive militancy can the masses of the workers be rallied around the banner of Organized Labor—assuring its continued progress and ultimate triumph.

So it is *Intelligent Strategy* as against *Organized Strength*. The adjectives of "alone" and "solely" are prefixed by the Executive Council upon the old standards of forceful, militant trade union struggle out of sheer generosity. There is not the slightest justification for these "alone" and "solely" in the history of trade unionism of "old standards and ideals." The method of discussion and conference has never been neglected. The overemphasis is apparently meant not so much for the "old standards" as for the suggested new and opposing policy. Under this new policy all struggle based upon organized strength is to be abandoned for the gathering of facts to sustain the Union proposals at the conference table. Of late there were many danger signs indicating that the A. F. of L. was drifting into these shallow waters. The Mitten-Mahon agreement and the acclaim with which it was greeted was the most serious recent warning of the imminent peril. But what was a mere drifting tendency is now getting to be the official philosophy of the A. F. of L.

"For twenty years,"—said Daniel J. Tobin, former treasurer of the A. F. of L., President of the Teamsters' Union,—"I have been a faithful believer in the militant, forceful and aggressive policies of the American Federation of Labor. By this statement I do not wish to depreciate the importance of conciliation and arbitration. But as the labor movement prospered in the beginning through that spirit of self-sacrifice and determination which permeated the minds of the men who led in the great vanguard . . . it is my judgment, unless we continue to revive through some means or other, that spirit of individual interest; that determination to fight for what is right; use every argument and education which will compel our enemies and our government to recognize us as an important part of the life our nation; unless we do something along these lines, I am somewhat fearful of our continued success."

Changed Conditions

Changed conditions are advanced as the reason for abandoning the policy based on organized strength, in favor of strifeless "intelligent strategy". Conditions *have* changed. Mass production and mechanization have reduced the bargaining power of the skilled craftsmen. Under the sweep of industrial centralization and mergers the trade unions have had all they could do to keep up their positions. The old standards and ideals *have become* inadequate. Trade and geographical divisions are a less and less controlling factors in the labor market. In an emergency any trade or industry may draw for its supply of help upon the *entire* labor market of the country. Job control within boundaries of a single trade has become less and less effective. The same holds good even to a greater extent with regard to wage control. The steam roller of mechanized industry has an irresistible tendency to level out wages in all trades and industries. In any case the low wage standard of the unskilled and unorganized have the effect of a dead ballast preventing the wages of even the best organized trades from rising anywhere near the level of the social wage standard of the A. F. of L. The productivity of labor has increased by leaps and bounds and has left the slow reduction of the hours of labor so much behind that we are confronted with the menace of a permanent reserve army of millions of unemployed, even during periods of so-called business prosperity. Trade unionism based on job and wage consciousness alone has proved to be a poor match to merger-capitalism of the giant-power age.

Under these changed conditions much greater organized strength is necessary if it is to be effective at all; much greater organized strength than could possibly be built upon that all too narrow foundation. Mass production calls for mass organization. Capitalist mergers cannot be met without labor consolidation, without the development of trade unionism into industrial unionism. Efforts towards job and wage control

must be made coextensive with labor market of mechanized industry, demanding concerted action of organized labor as a whole. How can the subservient mentality of company unionism be defeated without the development among the workers of a deeper sense of human dignity, or without the development of that greater working class loyalty which alone makes for the realization that the good of the individual worker depends upon the progress of all the workers and that an injury to one worker is an injury to all the workers. The alignment of the courts and government on the side of the employers—of which the injunction is only the most undisguised expression—calls for an aggressive united labor struggle for political control.

Reaching the Employers.

In order to secure the indispensable increase in a much deeper and wider foundation is wanted, job and wage consciousness must be developed into class consciousness. But that means that organized labor must become frankly partisan. It is impossible for labor to stay divided against itself. However much some veteran labor fighters prefer it, labor cannot remain non-partisan in politics and retain unimpaired its militancy, forcefulness and self-sacrificing aggressiveness in the economic struggle. There is no alternative. Changed conditions permit of no such division of methods and policies. It is either organized strength throughout or lobbying throughout. To continue sailing under its own colors, labor must equip its own boat with the most modern powerful machinery, even if it has to be done amid stormy seas, unless it is prepared to lower its own colors and be taken in tow by the Mechanical Men of the Pirate Ship of Capitalism. In the latter case, all dependence upon organized strength must naturally be given up and recourse must be sought in the hope of *reaching the captains* of the pirate ship.

"Our purpose then" says the Executive Council "is exactly the same as that of all other intelligent progressive persons. We have sought to interpret the value and purposes of the functional services of trade unions so that both employers and employes might understand the value and the functions of trade unions." So the purpose of the labor movement is the same as that of all other progressive and intelligent persons including employers. There is, then, really no good reason for a separate forceful and militant labor movement at all. For according to the Executive Council mere "intelligence assures a square deal to both groups (employers and employes) and abandons efforts on the part of one to profit by taking advantage of the other."

How does it work out in practice?

The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor met at New Orleans a few days before the Convention of the A. F. of L., President James O'Connell reported that the Executive Council of the Department had a general discussion "on the question whether organized labor was making progress in the matter of contractual relations with employers; whether we were losing ground or making progress or holding our own with combinations of employers and Big Business." The report does not say what

A COMMON PROBLEM

Locomotive Engineers' Journal

Greater labor solidarity embracing skilled and unskilled alike is needed to meet the menace of technological unemployment.

conclusion the Executive Council arrived at. But as a result the "officers were finally advised to make an effort to get in touch with some leaders of Big Business," with a view to securing better relations between "what is commonly called capital and labor." In view of the declared sameness of purpose of intelligent progressive capitalists and laborers the Trades Department was rather doubtful whether there really is any such thing as what is commonly called capital and labor. But to proceed with the report: In compliance with these instructions the officers "have made a real effort" and "have succeeded in having two conferences with a few representative leaders in large business. These meetings for the time being are of a confidential nature and character and while we are not in a position to report any real progress plans are being worked out with a view of enlarging upon the start that has already been made, with the hope that some real results may be secured later on." And here is another case, even more significant, taken from the same report.

The 1926 Convention of the A. F. of L. decided to inaugurate an extensive organizing campaign in the automobile industry.

"The officers of the A. F. of L. held several conferences with officers of various organizations recognized as having jurisdiction over workmen employed in the industry. A plan was worked out and an organizer of the A. F. of L. placed in charge of the work. He made an intensive survey of the industry but the difficulties encountered were so tremendous that the question of attempting to organize the employes was temporarily laid aside for the purpose of trying to reach the desired result through a different angle and direction.

"The President of the American Federation of Labor, after advising with the officers of our Department, and the officers of the Organizations interested, decided to reach the officials of some of the automobile manufacturing companies with a view of inducing them to enter into a conference with us for the purpose of trying to negotiate an understanding that might result in lessening the opposition of the officials of these companies to their employes being organized."

This different direction, this method of *reaching* the lords of industry cannot be styled otherwise than lobbying. Having come face to face with changed general conditions demanding that the labor struggle be made co-extensive with the entire industrial scene and apparently shrinking from the tremendous difficulties involved, the A. F. of L. let itself drift into considering the labor struggle as unnecessary and objectionable, putting its entire reliance upon lobbying. But even lobbying depends for its effectiveness upon the ability to exert some pressure. The political lobbying of labor has been built upon the method of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" among the candidates of the two capitalist parties,—a type of pressure which is clearly inapplicable to economic lobbying.

The report of the Executive Council would indicate that two methods are to be depended upon for reaching the employer. These methods are, first, to prove that "the Union is an agency which the employers may turn to for cooperation for mutual benefit." Secondy, that "in times of crises industrial leaders are quick to realize that the constructive ideals of labor are a tremendous asset," and it is merely necessary to convince them that these constructive ideals "are an equal industrial asset" even "when conditions are normal." "We", says the report of the Executive Council" have no revolutionary purpose to overthrow the present social system." But "wherever there is discontent among the workers arising from unsatisfactory conditions of employment, lower wages, long hours of work, unemployment, that is the point where the Communists concentrate their work."

So the labor lobbyist is to have two major arguments. The employer must recognize the regular trade unions because they are constructive and good, because they are "studying problems of cooperation and increasing union services", because they actually can do for the employer as much as any company union and more. Then, again, the employer must recognize the regular trade union because otherwise the Bolsheviks will get him.

We agree with Daniel J. Tobin that this is a time to be open, plain, fearless and above board. Trade unionism by lobbying spells disintegration. It spells the loss of interest on the part of the membership resulting in a great falling off of members in international unions. Neither can it accomplish any results in reaching the employers. As President O'Connell reports "correspondence has taken place and attempts have been made to secure appointments for conferences but without any effective results. . . . While they have not given up hope that sooner or later we may be able to reach some of those employers, who would be willing to sit down and confer with us, up to the present we are not in a position to even report progress." Spiritually trade unionism by lobbying spells starvation, starvation unto very death. It explains why one of the oldest delegates known for his loyalty to the A. F. of L., advised a friend to "pay a visit for a day to any cemetery and you will find more life and interest there than at the New Orleans A. F. of L. Convention Cemetery." It explains the mechanical ready unanimity on all questions, because it is impossible to get really excited or enter into heated discussion of the methods of lobbying, whether it be intelligent strategy or otherwise.

To Overcome Disintegrating Processes

Trade unionism by lobbying finally explains the excessive zeal of the Convention to disassociate itself from anything that might look to new social order theories, however distantly related. Brookwood must be ostracized without as much as a hearing because it does not believe that capitalism is an efficient, just or humane system and wants it replaced by cooperative commonwealth under the control of producers. All reference to that eminent educator, Prof. John Dewey, must be eliminated from the records because he had the temerity to visit Soviet Russia and to find merit in the new social system established there. For the same reason the suggestion of Fraternal Delegate Marchbank of the British Trades Union Congress to the effect that all wars are capitalist wars must be rebuked with asperity by a 100 per cent patriotic declaration that "while anxious for the development of peace" . . . the working men of America stand ready at all times to "rally to the support of our institutions and of our government." How else can trade unionism by lobbying show itself to be an industrial asset to the employers in normal times as well as in times of crises?

As far as the A. F. of L. is concerned the last Convention marks the passing of trade unionism by organized strength and the substitution of trade unionism by lobbying. We have, however, unbounded faith in the invincible inherent power of organized labor. We doubt not that the labor movement will overcome these processes of disintegration and will find a way to check the dangerous drifting or to hew out a different channel for its creative functions. The dusk of yesterday may throw its shadow upon the early dawn of the morrow, but it merely foreshadows the advancing day of the labor movement, triumphant in its class conscious militancy, unity and solidarity. In spite of its own passing weaknesses, *Labor omnia vincit.*

Children Who Work

Hired Because They Are Cheaper

By GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND

THE era of prosperity through which some believe we are passing has received much attention of late. Real prosperity is a good thing. Its benefits should be felt by all and, of course, should reach to the children of the land. In times of prosperity, it should be unnecessary for parents to take their immature sons and daughters out of school in order that they may eke out a living for the family. In prosperity there should be no child labor.

Has "prosperity" removed children from industry?

Non-believers in prosperity point to the mounting unemployment. Unemployment is a bad thing. It means that there are not enough jobs to go round with resultant poverty and sickness. But surely in times of unemployment, mere children will not be found at work, for even adults cannot find jobs.

Has "unemployment" removed children from industry?

Child labor does not seem to conform to economic theories. Whether we are prosperity idealists or unemployment realists, we cannot escape the fact that child labor still flourishes in 1928. Though the glaring abuses of tiny tots in mills and mines are now, fortunately, largely a thing of the past, thousands of older children are still sacrificed to the machine. During the impressionable years of fourteen and fifteen, when both mentally and physically, children are still undeveloped, they are sent out into the industrial world. And, as Dr. Alice Hamilton has pointed out, not only are these children immature but they come from impoverished homes; they are children whose whole life has been such as to make them unfitted for the strain of industrial life at an early age.

But these children furnish a supply of cheap labor and whether times are good or times are hard, they are always in demand. They enter a labor market which, even at best, is overcrowded; they compete with adult workers; they accept as wages whatever they can get. Herein lies the secret of the continuance of child labor. Children are not more *efficient,* but they are *cheaper,* than adults. In a study made last year in Mississippi the National Child Labor Committee, it was found that among the children studied the average weekly wage was $9.38 for white children and $5.78 for Negro children.

During the recent controversy over the proposed federal child labor amendment, Will Rogers made an excellent suggestion: "If Congress or the states would just pass one law, as follows, they wouldn't need any 20th Amendment: 'Every child, regardless of age shall receive the same wages as a grown person.' That will stop your child labor. They only hire them because they pay them less for the same work than they would have to pay a man. If children don't do more for less money, why is it that they want to use them? No factory or farmer or anybody else hires a child because he is so big-hearted he wants to do something for the child. He hires him because he wants to save a man's salary."

So there are always jobs for children just as there are always parents who want their children to work, and, it must be added, just as there are always some children who, because of the cut-and-dried curriculum of our schools, think they will prefer work to school.

Bunk for the Young

Courtesy "The New York World"

"We start Our Boys at a Very Low Salary, but the BIG Job's Waiting for You If It's In You"

Blind Alley Jobs

Children not only work for little wages, thus handicapping adult labor, but they also work at little jobs thus seriously handicapping themselves. Jobs little, not in the number of hours worked, not in the demands the job makes on their strength—but little in the opportunities offered for development. Little blind alley jobs leading nowhere.

When the jobs are not "little" they are frequently dangerous, as the statistics on the number of industrial accidents to minors bear witness. Each year thousands of children are maimed or killed in industry, because they are doing work suitable only for adults. The awkwardness of children of adolescent age, the natural irresponsibility, carelessness, and curiosity of youth, the unaccustomed strain accompanying the transition from an easy five-hour school day to the confining work for eight hours a day or longer in a factory—all increase the accident hazard for these young workers.

Children are not needed to carry on our industry; they are harmed by participation in it. Yet we find that in thirteen states children of fourteen may leave school for work regardless of their grade; in fourteen states children of fourteen may go to work without presenting evidence of physical fitness; in ten states children of fourteen may work in factories from nine to eleven hours a day; in thirty states children of fourteen are permitted to work on scaffolding, in twenty-four states around explosives, in twenty states they may run elevators, and in fourteen states they may oil and clean machinery in motion.

Such are a few of the facts of child labor as it flourishes in our "prosperous" United States! Such are the conditions which underly the various attempts which have been made to secure national legislation. In 1916 and again in 1919 federal child labor laws were passed by Congress, but in both cases they were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. In 1914 an amendment to the Constitution which would make possible federal action on this subject was passed by large majorities in both Houses of Congress.

The amendment read: "Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

It was expected that this amendment would soon be ratified by the necessary thirty-six states, and that, long before 1928, Congress would have enacted a federal child labor law.

Foes Defeat Amendment.

But when the amendment passed Congress so readily, the opposition got busy; those who do not like government "interfering" in industry; those who want to establish their own conditions of work; those who are interested in keeping a cheap labor supply. A tremendous campaign of opposition was launched—a campaign so monstrous and so absurd that it should have defeated its own purpose. The old bogeys of bolshevism and nationalization of children were paraded. The farmers were told that, should the amendment be ratified, their sons could no longer do the chores, nor could their daughters help wash the dishes, that no child under eighteen could work in any form, shape or manner. To the shame of the people of the United States, this campaign apparently bore fruit. For in the years following only five states—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Montana, and Wisconsin—have ratified the amendment. Two other have ratified it in one House. But the vast majority have rejected it either directly, or have postponed it, or refused to take action.

IN A COTTON MILL

A Ten Hour Day for a Fourteen Year Old

The American Federation of Labor was naturally among the strongest supporters and in the report of the Executive Council of 1928, it again calls attention to its importance.

"The children of today will be the citizens of tomorrow. Therefore, it is the duty of the organized labor movement to persist in demanding that child exploitation in industry shall cease. To this end we urge all state federations of labor to begin a campaign as soon as the legislatures meet to secure protection for the nation's children."

Besides working for ratification efforts are being made to improve child labor conditions through state laws. In 1929, forty-three state legislatures will be in session. It is an opportunity for those who opposed the amendment on the ground of "states' rights" to show their sincerity—to make it clear that states' *rights* are not incompatible with states' *duties*.

Members of labor organizations should actively interest themselves in such legislative efforts and should lend their support individually and as organizations to further any legislation proposed which will raise the standards for children entering industry.

The National Child Labor Committee with headquarters at 215 Fourth Avenue, New York City, will send free of charge to anyone interested, information as to the child labor law and child labor conditions in his state, and will inform him of legislation contemplated in that state.

Flashes from the Labor World

Open Shop Forces Attack Typos

Easily the most important strike since the epochal railroad and coal struggles of the post-war period is the attack launched on the International Typographical Union by the "open shop" division of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, coupled as it is with a double threat of job eliminaton through the revolutionary teletypsetter. Although less than 250 union printers are involved in the first engagement on what promises to be a wide-flung battle line, this lockout parallels that of 300 Allen-A hosiery workers in Kenosha, Wis., in demonstrating that mighty issues can be rooted in apparently local fights.

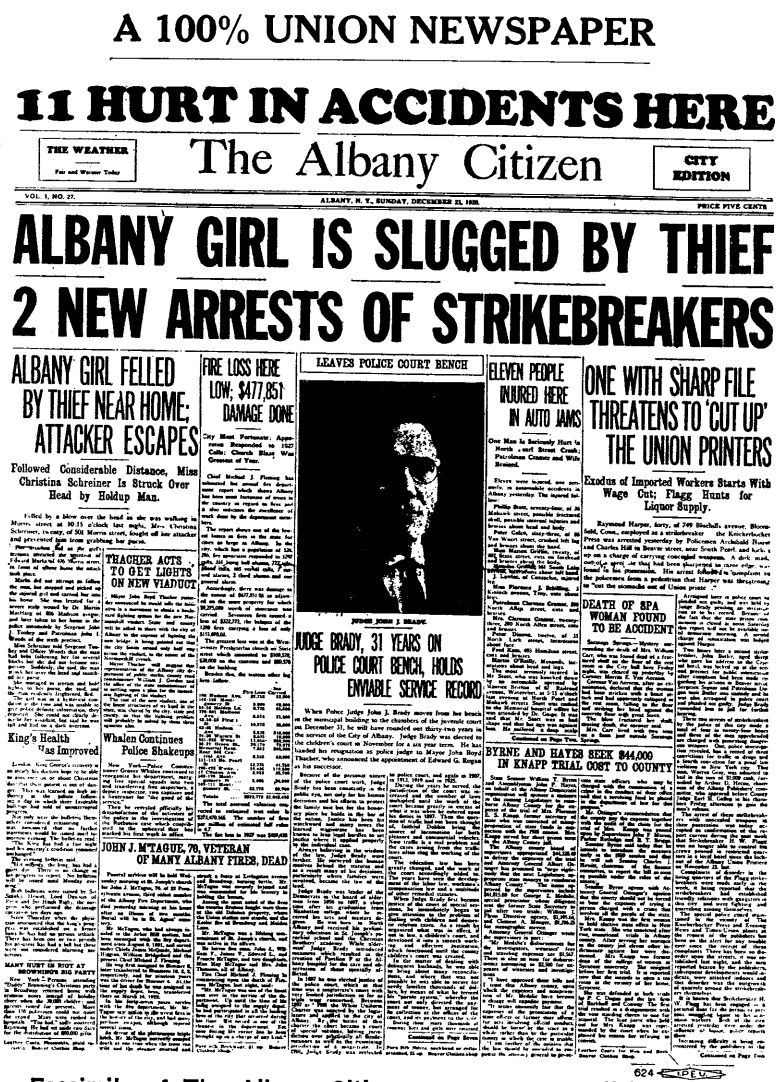
Coming but a few weeks after the A. N. P. A. convention, at which the "open shop" division was unusually active, the lockout of printers on the Hearst and Gannett newspapers in Albany is ominous. H. W. Flagg, chief of anti-union publishers forces, is in direct charge of the Albany situation for Hearst and Gannett. These two publishers rank first and third among the big newspaper chains of the country. Will a lockout be localized to just their Albany papers, or may it be part of a concerted plan to break typographical locals—one after another—in the Hearst national chain and the Gannett New York state group?

Neither President Matthew Woll of the Photo Engravers or Major George L. Berry of the Printing Pressmen has raised his voice publicly against the Albany publishers. Indeed, international representatives of the pressmen are calmly negotiating a renewal of the Albany contract, against bitter opposition of Albany pressmen, who are eager to walk out of half-scab offices. The Albany lockout is thus typical not only of a wide united front by publishers, with non-union plants in Philadelpha and New Orleans dumping excess printers into Albany, but of labor's own craft division and 19th century outlook on industrial problems.

Back of hte immediate threat, is the teletypesetter, developed by Publisher Gannett himself, and soon to be installed in his non-union Albany papers. This machine operates a linotype automatically through telegraphic impulses, which may come from a central sending station in New York. Gannett hopes to have a central telegraphic station of his own — through the probable purchase of the Brooklyn Eagle perhaps—so that a $20 a week typist in New York can operate both telegraph and linotype machines in each of his 10 newspapers through the operation of an ordinary typewriter.

* * *

KWH and KMH. Not new radio stations, but the terms in which hard-boiled, narrowly efficient American industry talks about the two forces needed for bigger profits. The first is the well known kilowatt hour, and the second kiloman hour. And why, think depersonalized, ruthless, heavy-jowled bankers and industrialists, should human labor power not be measured as coolly and scientifically as elec-



A 100% UNION NEWSPAPER

11 HURT IN ACCIDENTS HERE

The Albany Citizen

CITY EDITION

ALBANY GIRL IS SLUGGED BY THIEF

2 NEW ARRESTS OF STRIKEBREAKERS

ALBANY GIRL FELLED BY THIEF NEAR HOME; ATTACKER ESCAPES

FIRE LOSS HERE LOW; $477,851 DAMAGE DONE

LEAVES POLICE COURT BENCH

JUDGE BRADY, 31 YEARS ON POLICE COURT BENCH, HOLDS ENVIABLE SERVICE RECORD

ELEVEN PEOPLE INJURED HERE IN AUTO JAMS

ONE WITH SHARP FILE THREATENS TO 'CUT UP' THE UNION PRINTERS

Exodus of Imported Workers Starts With Wage Cut; Flagg Hunts for Liquor Supply.

THACHER ACTS TO GET LIGHTS ON NEW VIADUCT

Whalen Continues Police Shakeups

JOHN J. M'TAGUE, 70, VETERAN OF MANY ALBANY FIRES, DEAD

DEATH OF SPA WOMAN FOUND TO BE ACCIDENT

BYRNE AND HAYES SEEK $44,000 IN KNAPP TRIAL COST TO COUNTY

Facsimile of The Albany Citizen, owned and published by Typographical Local 4, whose members were locked out by Hearst and Gannett, chain paper owners. The Citizen, 12 pages a day, has 20,000 circulation, the largest of any Albany paper. It is owned, managed, written, composed, and circulated by union printers, who also are in charge of the advertising department.

trical or steam power. You feed the machine coal, gas, oil, falling water and get power. You feed the worker a minimum of calories, permit him a shelter in which to store up energy and future workers, and thus get human labor power. The development is one to be hailed. For the financial-industrial gentry it cuts the sentiment out of business—for workers it shows the anti-social, anti-human nature of an industry run for private profit instead of social use.

* * *

Useful signposts to the future, the Canadian National Railways, the New South Wales state dockyards, brickworks, metal quarries, and a host of other publicly owned enterprises show that industry can be owned and managed without turning in profits to private individuals. These enterprises—in a measure the development of a new society within the shell of the old—prosper and give the lie to Hoover's "rugged individualism" as the only hope of the world. While labor must insist on the control of publicly-owned enterprises by the workers involved and the workers and farmers who are direct consumers of the enterprises' products, everywhere it hails the progress of these institutions enthusiastically—even during a period when their management shows more attributes of private than public motivation.

* * *

How old William Morris—English mid-century utopian socialist, agrarian and handicraftsman—would toss in his grave could he see Ethelbert Stewart's report as commissioner of labor statistics on trends in industry. His worst fears of the machine age are confirmed by Stewart, who admits that routinized mass production encourages the growth of moronism. Worker DZ144 can hardly take creative joy in Operation N3C225 which he performs monotonously, endlessly, almost mechanically. If the way we work determines in the ultimate our character and intelligence, what can the result be for Worker DZ144 except a mind which in a few generations will tend to resemble Operation N3C225? Stewart's report considered the industrialization of the feeble-minded and he observes that more and more of all industrial processes can be tended by the feeble-minded. Workers had better hurry the job of organization industrially and politically if we are not to enter Dr. John A. Ryan's threatened era of industrial feudalism and moronism!

* * *

Morris L. Cooke, president of the American Taylor Society, knocked 'em off their seats with his presidential address in New York a few weeks ago. Said Cooke, calmly and deliberately: We industrial efficiency engineers have looked too much at individual workers and not enough at the possibilities involved in organization. Because our paychecks are written by Mr. John Boss, Esq., we have been either hostile or indifferent to organized labor, to labor acting collectively. But industrial engineers, if they are to be social engineers and not mere employes, must put their techniques and knowledge at the service of labor, as well as employers. They must admit that company unions are a failure, and that only real independent unions are worth anything to rational industry. If inquiry is to pass on to higher forms, to be truly creative and functional, to serve all, instead of just the stock and bond-owners, then workers must organize and industrial engineers should help and not hinder that work. Fine words, Mr. Cooke! But we are pretty sure that your fellow-members of the Taylor Society would find themselves jobless, alongside of millions of workers they have efficiency-ized out of jobs, if they raise a finger to help labor.

* * *

Of all the bitter jests which make a mockery of the Christmas season, the one put over on 11,000 Amoskeag cotton and woolen mill workers seems the sorriest. With coffers bulging with bullion, bumper dividends being declared and mills working overtime, these workers decided that the time had come to get back part of Amoskeag's 1927 Christmas present to them —a 10 per cent wage cut. Accordingly they asked, please, for a 5 per cent increase. They did it through "their' company union, a "workers' congress." But when Agent Straw got through with the workers congress petition, many delegates felt that they owed money to the firm for the privilege of having jobs. Armed with figures—whole books of them—Straw overwhelmed the "congressmen" with dire pictures of imminent ruin and desolation. Because the company union, like all company unions, is a dummy union, the workers had no way of fighting back at Straw. They could not hire Labor Bureau, Inc. to check on Amoskeag's statistics and to prepare a case for the workers. They have no independent treasury. Nor have they national union connections so that they would have support in case they decided on a showdown. Hog-tied, the "congressmen"—the majority of whom are company men—backed down.

* * *

There will be no federal anti-injunction law, reports Laurence Todd, Federated Press Washington correspondent. After the reactionaries got through emasculating the Shipstead bill, there wasn't enough left for labor to fight for. And so the bill will die, and no efforts will be made to bring it back to life for several years. Inasmuch as prominent A. F. of L. leaders assert the injunctions are killing efforts to organize workers, Todd's judgment sounds like a death knell. Isn't it time for progressive workers to get together, to consider the danger signs on every hand, to study the defenses which capitalism has reared in factories, in congress, in the supreme court and in reactionary so-called labor leaders, and to sound a clarion call for Fight and Progress?

* * *

Southern unions have an opportunity to grow, asserts Art Shields, Federated Press southern correspondent, after six months spent in a survey of Dixieland. A Brookwood-trained organizer in North Carolina has revived the union movement and generated enough steam so that it progresses, and shoves unions in neighboring states into organization campaigns. Can it be that from the reactionary south unionism will get its inspiration for forward movements in the coming decade? Keep your eye on the south, for bigger things are happening down there than the breakup of the Democratic party's monopoly on votes.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Federated Press eastern bureau manager.

Uncovering Mr. Undercover Man

Wherein Wisconsin's Detective Law Is Found Wanting

By Louis Francis Budenz

NOVEMBER 3rd was the Saturday before election. For Kenosha more was at issue than the choice of a big business candidate for President or of Kohler for Governor. The fate of the city manager form of government also hung in the balance.

On Saturday night the last great rally of the city manager forces was held. The previous one had netted an audience of 200 people. The second one fared no better. In our room at the Hotel Dayton, several blocks away, we could hear, however, the loud speakers on the outside of the High School, where the rally was being held.

After the loud speaking had ceased and after the last lockedout worker had drifted in, for the usual evening's greeting, my wife and I retired at 12.30.

A little after 1:30, I heard a fumbling at the handle of our door. "Some belated and perhaps besotted hotel guest, lost from his room," thought I.

The thought was wrong. When we arose on Sunday there was a large pool of acid, thrown under our door upon the carpet of the room. It continued to boil on the floor. Examination showed it to be a compound intended to create spontaneous combustion.

One of the chief curses of Industrial America is the secret spy system. This exists in this country to a wider extent than in any other. Wisconsin was the first state to attempt to restrict and regulate the private detective agencies in industrial affairs. Because of the facts brought out in this article, and other developments showing defects in the Wisconsin law, the State Federation of Labor has begun a new drive to put teeth in the private detective statute at the coming session of the legislature.

The attack was not entirely unexpected. Some weeks before a committee of eminent manufacturers had called upon the hotel management and asked them to usher me forth from the hotel. Being just old-fashioned enough to believe in American Freedom, as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson, I had refused to consider such a step. Indeed, the hotel manager and I had discussed the law on the subject—and he understood that fine or imprisonment was the fate that would be his in case he treated an unoffending guest too cavalierly.

Of course, another attack was to be expected. At the request of the hotel management, publicity on the first incident was withheld—even though it was known that on that Saturday night a certain "Charles Pettinger" had had himself called at 1.30. "To meet a lady" was his excuse—but he had disappeared thereafter.

The new attack came, this time in the form of a stink bomb on the sixth floor, two floors below our own. Just why it was placed there, before the door of a Mr. Hicks, Pinkerton detective, still remains a mystery.

A Telephone Call

The next day there came the inevitable telephone call to the hotel desk. "How did you like the perfume last night?" it asked. "That will keep up till Budenz pays me for the job I did for him on October 27th." Private detective stuff, sure, now! For on October 27th the old mill of the Allen-A mill had been blown up in part, most mysteriously. The purpose of the bombing there was becoming clear, through this call. It was the old stuff of placing the blame on the union—and driving him who was stirring up the people out of the hotel.

Another stinking soon followed. The hotel was again saturated with offensive odors. Guests had to be moved from several floors. Strange as it may seem, on both evenings the same "Mr. Pettinger" had registered at the hotel, under different names — had gone through his job, and had left the hotel.

The gentleman involved apparently thought it too easy. He became much bolder. About 11.30 on the night of November 14, Mrs. Budenz was bidding farewell to Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Twells, who had been visiting us that evening. (Mr. Twells is the efficient office manager of the strikers' office staff.) As Mrs. Budenz stepped into the hall, she saw something that made her step back again into the room. There on the hall floor was 20 feet of dust-like sulphuric chemical. piled in a little mountain range—and a man was still pouring it out of a bag in his hand.

Upon hearing her exclamation, he ran to the elevator, for which he evidently had rung before beginning the operation, and hurried into the lobby and out into the street.

The police were called upon this time. They looked the business over, but the bird had flown. Subsequent revelations disclosed that he had calmly gone over to the Hotel Kenosha—recently re-opened. He had registered there as "Harry Miller", but at 3.30 in the morning had taken the north-bound train for Green Bay. No effort, apparently, had been made to watch the sta-

KENOSHA STRIKERS' OFFICE

Clerical force, all strikers, at union headquarters, sending out 5,000 to 10,000 pieces of literature a week.

tions for the outgoing passengers, although his description was now well known.

Back to Kenosha, then, came the gentleman—no doubt flushed with success, even though he had had a narrow escape this last time. On Sunday, November 18th, he was noticed on the streets by the bell-hop of the hotel. He was traced to the post-office, where he was arrested as he mailed post cards to the strikers, attacking myself and wife. A number of the post cards were found in his possession, but a number had been sent out—as they were received by our lockedout workers during the next few days.

This post card—the first of a series of nation-wide anonymous attacks upon me by private "dicks"—read as follows:

"Louis Francis Budenz and wife invites you to think of the easy racket, coining big money, three square daily meals and soft feather bed at the Dayton hotel; also invites you to a fine turkey dinner on Thanksgiving—supplied by you suckers."

A similar post-card, it was found, had been sent to Chicago, Kenosha and Milwaukee papers, with the added note in pencil:

"Budenz is our strike leader. He lives at the Dayton Hotel, Kenosha, Wis. I received the enclosed card and know it is true.

"A Disgruntled Member of Branch 6."

Despite the slightly twisted English, the object of these cards had clearly been to create dissension in our workers' unbroken ranks.

The young man arrested turned out to be one, Leslie Zales (born Zaleskie) of Chicago. He confessed to the police that he was working for the Railway Audit and Inspection Company of that city. He had been sent down to breed dissension among the locked-out workers, particularly against myself, his alibi being the old one that I "was an agent of Soviet Russia."

The Allen-A Company rushed into print to deny any connecion with Zales or Zaleskie. Which was perfectly natural, except that the statement seemed to protest too much. The detective was held on two criminal charges—that of practising as a private detective without a license and of malicious destruction of property. I filed suit against him for $10,000 and the hotel filed suit for $100,000. Altogether his bonds amounted to $6,000.

These he was unable to raise. His powerful employers evidently feared to come forward in his defense in that way. However, a noted local corporation lawyer, Alfred Drury, appeared as his counsel. Mr. Drury is the attorney for the Wisconsin Gas and Electric Company, and appeared for a time as special prosecutor against the strikers at the request of the Allen-A Company.

We quickly learned from investigations in Chicago, that a Kenosha industrial concern had hired the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, through its chief, Major Crockett.

One of the legal measures that were at our disposal, in order to learn more of Zales and his backers, was the examination under the state discovery statute. That would have been an important aid in getting to the bottom of the business. Particularly was this so, since Zales is not a detached and single instance of private detective activity in Kenosha. While Zales was in Kenosha, four other agents of the Railway Audit and Inspection Company were there under cover—including one woman.

The astute Mr. Drury prevented the examination that we wished so much to have. He did this by the simple device of not entering himself as the attorney of record, although he appeared in every instance for Zales.

"Dicks" Write Letters

Meanwhile, the Zales methods had been extended over the country. The Bell Detective Agency, in addition to the Railway Audit and Inspection Company,

has its agents planted in many locals of the hosiery workers' federation. Anonymous letter-writing on the part of these slimy citizens of the industrial demimonde, became the order of the day. The following is a sample of a letter which received widespread distribution among the full fashioned knitters of the East. It was postmarked Newark, was unsigned of course, and was sent to the knitters at their shop addresses. It is so full of evident falsehoods as to be almost humorous; its intent, however, was to belittle myself and to force me out of the Kenosha situation—the great desire of the Allen-A Company since the beginning of the fight. This private detective letter reads:

"In the early part of July, Louis Francis Budenz came to Kenosha to make a protracted stay. He had made several trips prior to this time holding meetings and endeavoring to solidify the organization of the strikers of the Allen-A Works. Budenz came from New York where he was editor of a labor paper.

"Among his first acts upon arriving in Kenosha was to get in touch with the Wisconsin News of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he established a relationship enabling him to have a paper known as the Kenosha Leader published by the News and delivered to Kenosha where it is distributed. The Advertising Manager of the newspaper is Harold Steele who acts as Budenz' man. Upon reliable information, the writer is informed that Budenz did not care to or did not want to and has not the particular ability to write certain articles which were printed in the Leader and Harold Steele wrote some of the articles. Later Harold Steele became alarmed at his own daring and refused Budenz' request for more stories of the same nature and stated that Budenz was a dangerous character and that he, Steele, was afraid to carry out Budenz' suggestions.

"In all of the calls that are made to the Budenz headquarters in Kenosha by the editors or parties concerned in the Wisconsin News office, answer is made by Steele. Budenz never takes any responsibility of record and has no communications directly, openly, with any newspapers but through the medium of a reporter, Budenz receives his pay in New York drafts which are said to come from the American Civil Liberties League. One draft for $500.00 was seen lying on the desk in the Wisconsin News Offices payable to Louis Francis Budenz.

"Budenz' wife and Steele have great arguments in their rooms at the hotel becoming very heated. Budenz' nature, temperament and personal ability, are not here discussed as there is complete record of that data on file. Budenz' nature is described as being of a philosophical trend and he has had no trouble in influencing the strikers of the Allen-A, his success probably being due to the age of the strikers which average would be somewhere in the early twenties, all of whom are sufficiently young and imaginative to be swayed by one of Budenz' type.

"The last bombing which was Friday, October 20th, in which the power plant of the Allen-A Company was damaged, is laid directly to Budenz personally by a man who is very close to Budenz and very close to the writer. The former bombings had been done by Chicago men with seeming slow results and in order to hasten matters and create more of a terroristic atmosphere, Budenz conceived the idea of blowing up a portion of the Allen-A plant in which the employes were to have a dance and just prior to the beginning of the dance. The truth, however, of this story is not vouched for in this report as it has not been verified.

"Budenz is a pupil of William Z. Foster and associates, believes himself to be a leader and has been taught to create terrorism at any and all times. He is described as essentially a coward and the memberships in the different anarchistic organizations which he holds and is reported to be a member of, would tend to describe his character and methods.

"Wherever he operates, his rise is quick but not quicker than the decline once it starts. A method of backfire is generally successful and with the added connection with

RE-UNITED

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Gloss (at left) were parted from each other and their two children and Mr. and Mrs. James Bennett had their honeymoon interrupted when they were taken to jail because they refused to pay fines for alleged violation of Federal Judge Geiger's injunction against picketing of the Allen-A plant at Kenosha. Later their fines were paid with money raised mainly by a collection at a Chicago protest meeting.

his bombings soon create a complete collapse of his organization which lasts about a year to eighteen months.

"In Kenosha, he has caused quite a turmoil, no little worry for the authorities in general, and, of course, anxiety as to where his next bomb will explode. He has bombed the homes of workers who are called scabs by the men who are not working, and his one attempt in blowing up a portion of the Allen-A factory was partially successful causing a few thousand dollars damage to the plant.

"The man is a shrewd man with a great power of imagination and some ability. He believes himself to be an excellent organizer and at the head of a great movemnt. He was a representative to the Third Internationale and is at heart a communist of the reddest red type, in religious belief an atheist holding allegiance to no man and no God.

"It is reported to me that he has been assured of funds not only for one year but for five years from the organized knitting mills union and he has stated in open meeting within the last three weeks that every local in the United States has already made and is now in the process of making assessments for the assistance of the unemployed of the Allen-A Company in Kenosha and Budenz makes the statement that he is prepared to carry the fight on for five years at least.

"This man, Budenz, is a money-spender, and will wreck the hosiery union if he is permitted to continue on. He has been in similar jobs before and only cares for the money he can get out of them.

"Hosiery workers union officials and members must be saps to let this guy pull the wool over their eyes. He really should be deported for his radicalism, and the Department of Justice is watching him closely."

The low level of mentality of these agents which corporations employ for their Russian secret police work is seen in the above. "Harold E. Steele" is Western representative of the full fashioned hosiery workers. He is not advertising agent for any newspaper; that statement is one of Life's Little Jokes. It was not the WISCONSIN NEWS which established the KENOSHA LEADER, but the MILWAUKEE LEADER—Socialist and Labor paper. If any one can find $500 laying around a MILWAUKEE LEADER desk,—just like that!—he will be some sleuth indeed. The other statements are of the same caliber, as superficial examination shows.

Wisconsin, in accord with her progressive traditions, has been moved to attempt to check these spies. On Badger statute books was put the first anti-private detective laws. It provides for registration of all operatives and the bonding of both detective company and operatives. Zales and his company complied with none of these provisions. Neither did A. R. MacDonald, although he fled the state when we began to make it too hot for him. The Corporations Auxiliary Company and its agents—who were exposed in Kenosha—were equally indifferent to the law and are today. John Bugna, ex-secretary of the local Communist Party, whom I exposed, was never prosecuted or molested by the authorities. William Neer, the machinist, also exposed, escaped—but his fate would have been about the same. District Attorney Powell was asked from the beginning of the labor dispute to make a real investigation of the labor spy agencies in Kenosha. He did not do so, and refused a search warrant for the Corporations Auxiliary office — although they were clearly breaking the law, even going under a fake name. The Governor likewise failed to act on the appeal of the State Federation of Labor on this matter, as he is empowered by law to do. Everywhere there was a heavy paralysis when it came to get to the bottom of the labor spy and private detective evil.

"Reprehensible" But Not "Illegal"

So it was with the private detective charge against Zales. His acts were "reprehensible", the local judge found, but not "illegal." At least, not "illegal" in the way presented by the District Attorney. The whole series of incidents in Kenosha, in connection with this law, shows that it is not worth the paper it is written on. Of course, a principle has been established in having such anti-spy legislation. But it is a principle that must yet be put into practise. The secret police of the corporations are their favorite agencies of anti-worker attack. In Kenosha these creatures have run wild—in frame-up, violence and poison pen activities. They have been left free to proceed, and it is sacrilege to go too strongly against them!

Happily, District Attorney Powell's attitude defeated him on that election day to which reference has been made. He was the only Republican defeated in Kenosha County, and his reputation as a great vote getter was destroyed. It is to be hoped that his opponent, Morris Barnett, elected by the knitters' support, will take up the labor spy stuff in real earnest.

While Powell was defeated because of his lack of vigor in the private detective matter, the city manager plan was victorious—though by a very small margin of votes. Enormous sums of money had been spent by the manufacturing groups to put it back in. Intimidation, as usual, was used in the factories, and threats of loss of jobs if the aldermanic system won were freely resorted to. Even at that, 8,000 people voted against the present regime in Kenosha.

The locked out workers, encouraged by this result, are now pressing for proportional representation. It is clear to every one that the city manager form would have been defeated in any year but a presidential election year. Proportional representation would at least balance it up, so that other elements in the community besides the manufacturers' slate, could be elected.

Meanwhile, the private detectives continue their dirty work. Zales remains in jail, despite his release on the private detective charge, for lack of ability to raise other bonds. But his comrades in knavery go ahead with their attempts at violence and character assassination. Corporations pay them good money to resort to these things. In all of which there is this consolation: That such tactics would not be resorted to, in this tenth month of the lockout, if the battle were not effective against the Allen-A Company.

A company sitting on the top of the world would call off its secret agents. That they are revelling in a pasture land of rich rewards is evidenced by their continued activity. Hard pressed indeed must a corporation be that will pay funds for anonymous stuff of this sort.

Machinery Invades the Office

White Collar Job Revolutionized

By GRACE L. COYLE

IF you are one of the three million clerical workers in the offices of the United States today you find yourself living through in your own experience one of those great social changes which make economic history. Like other widespread transformations it appears now here and now there, showing itself fully developed in one spot while it is scarcely visible in others. But throughout the field of clerical work it is gradually and persistently forcing its way as it has in the past in the larger areas of industry and agriculture. For within the last fifty years the industrial revolution has reached the sacred confines of the office and is pursuing its course, taking in one operation after another.

If the modern clerical worker is interested in tracing back these changes to their source he will find their first significant beginnings in the blending of two streams of technical development which occurred about fifty years ago. Ingenious inventors had been at work for a hundred and fifty years on devices for mechanical writing and figuring. But it was not until 1873 that the Remington Company could be persuaded by Mr. Scholes to produce his typewriter. Miss Scholes, as she picked out her first productions on her father's new invention had no doubt little realization of its importance to the millions of women who would spend their days at it within the next half century. For the typewriter had an epoch making effect. It not only greatly stimulated correspondence, but it became the inspiration for the further developments of mechanical devices for computing, calculating, duplicating, and addressing, which quickly followed its appearance.

From another direction the other fundamental technique of the office was making its way slowly into popularity. Stenography has a long and interesting history reaching back to the private secretary of Cicero in ancient Rome. Its modern developments, however, in America can be traced to the importation of Mr. Pitman's system about 1850. In the twenty-five years that followed some few thousand women began to learn the new art of phonography and to practice it in public and private business. With the joining of these two streams the modern system of business correspondence and record keeping became possible. Since that time the mechanization of the office employments has progressed with great speed and thoroughness.

A PIONEER TYPIST

Courtesy, Remington Rand Business Service

Miss Scholes at the first typewriter, 1866.

We have only to observe the working of any modern office to realize the extent of this development. Where in the past skilled bookkeepers did their computing, balancing, posting, with much patient and laborious mental effort, today the bookkeeping machine with the help of a semi-skilled operator does all these operations with a speed and accuracy that leaves mere human brains far behind. In the same department the billing machine turns out its multiple forms by an elaborate device that combines into one the various operations of "inserting carbon, jogging the forms into alignment, inserting the forms into the typewriter, finding the first writing position and finally removing the carbon paper" for the next bill. Tabulating machines compute the indispensable statistics upon which business has come to depend. Coin handling devices fill the pay envelopes; check protecting machines, cash and credit registers protect the accounts from dishonesty or inaccuracy.

In the other departments a similar development has come about. In the mailing room where long tables of girls used to open letters, seal and stamp them by

hand, the new devices are being installed to keep pace with the enormous increase in mail which has followed with modern methods of correspondence, of advertising and of transportation. A mechanical letter opener slits 500 letters a minute, mechanical sealers paste 300 a minute, combined sealing and stamping machines seal, stamp and count 250 envelopes a minute. And all these machines, it is proudly claimed by their producers, can be operated by the office boy or some other unskilled "junior," in his idle moments.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the mechanizing process, however, is the introduction of the dictaphone. The position of stenographer or private secretary has held a favored place among office occupations because it gave scope for skill, initiative and intelligence. When we find, therefore, that here too, a mechanical device is beginning to replace human labor, we realize more vividly the extent of the change which machines are bringing to office workers. There seems little doubt that the use of the dictaphone is increasing and that it will in the next twenty-five years come to supplant much of the present human labor used in dictation.

Throughout all these developments the familiar advantages of mechanical devices have acted in their favor. Greater speed, lower labor costs, larger production are all cogent arguments to the business man. In office work, however, the machines have an added claim. Their accuracy and honesty are beyond question. Moreover, their speed makes possible that day-by-day knowledge of the state of the business which is so essential in modern business management. With all these valid claims for acceptance, there seems little doubt that they will prove increasingly essential to office work.

Stop-Watch Efficiency

The use of machines leads inevitably to those accompaniments of the industrial revolution—specialization and standardization. With the larger offices which have grown up in many enterprises, a high degree of division of labor becomes possible. Whenever a large number of people are doing the same kind of work of a routine or mechanical sort, standardization can be accomplished.

The time and motion study expert, stop watch in hand, has found fertile fields for his efforts in the office. In one mailing room it was discovered, for instance, that it took thirteen operations to open the mail. By a study of the process this was reduced to six and the output raised from 100 to 200 pieces per hour. Another firm after the application of this study to its office personnel was able to reduce its force from 386 to 247 and still carry the same amount of work.

In the Dennison Manufacturing Company, where standards have been established, reports show clearly what results can be attained. On the bookkeeping machines for example, when standards were set only two out of eleven operators were up to 80 per cent of what was considered standard. Now no operator averages less than 125 per cent and one girl has reached 167 per cent for a full week's work. The staff of eleven has consequently been reduced to seven.

Such standardization easily provides the means for systems of payment. Sometimes these are based on certain required minima of work for certain grades of wage. In many cases a regular piece rate is established. Payment by the piece is at present common chiefly in the large offices with scientific management, but as the rates become better established and more widely known there seems every evidence that it will spread rapidly to others.

To any worker, in industry, these illustrations of what is going on in the office are all too familiar. To many clerical workers their practical meaning is not always fully realized. What are the results for the office worker who lives in the midst of this transformation?

Fewer Opportunities

One of the most important is the effect on the opportunity for advancement. Clerical work used to be assumed to offer the entrance to the business and financial world to the aspiring young man. Within the clerical field itself certain positions, like that of private secretary or skilled bookkeeper have been the goal of the ambitious. With the more highly specialized work, the simplifying of the process, the larger office forces and the loss of personal contact, these hopes are in a fair way to be disappointed. A study of women in secretarial positions shows that for only about one-fifth does it provide an entrance to other than secretarial work. Within clerical work itself there seems to be no worked-out plan for promotion in most concerns. It is possible to rise from a mail clerk to a typist, or a typist to a dictaphone operator in some establishments, but in very few can the worker have any assurance that if she is a sufficiently good typist, she may not remain always a typist. The number of skilled and highly paid positions tends to decrease with the introduction of machinery and its accompaniments and as the space at the top gets smaller the great majority have to be satisfied to remain permanently in the lower levels.

To some clerical workers, there appears an even more serious problem—the problem of getting a position of any kind. Unemployment has become a real menace here as elsewhere. The large number of high school graduates and the popularity of clerical work added to the cutting down of office forces by the use of machinery have together produced an over supply which threatens to become permanent.

The clerical worker may draw some psychological satisfaction from drawing a "salary" instead of a wage, but if he examines his pay check closely, he will find little real cause for congratulation. A recent report of the National Industrial Conference board based on initial salaries in New York City shows that while average weekly earnings of industrial workers during 1927 are 117 per cent above those of 1914, clerical salaries were only 74 per cent above the pre-war level. The cost of living during the same period has risen 64 per cent. Many clerical workers in the less skilled jobs at present are drawing less than what could be considered by any impartial observer as a living wage. Even the most highly paid workers in the office, the head bookkeepers, cashiers, and chief clerks, who have

A MODERN MECHANIZED OFFICE

View of auditing department of Marshall Field & Co.'s Department Store at Chicago with 145 Comptometers regularly employed in this department alone.

medium salaries according to the National Industrial Conference Board of from $32.00 to $49.00 a week, often have cause to look with envy on the pay envelopes they make out for men in the shop.

The causes that lie back of this situation are numerous. The over supply of workers always keeps salaries down. The growing predominance of women in clerical work no doubt tends to the same result. The transferring of the old skill from the worker to the machine is also an important factor.

Individual is Helpless

To the clerical worker who understands these emerging problems, it becomes clear that the old ideas about a white collar job no longer seem to fit the situation. He needs to see himself and the job in a new light. Most clerical workers are used to thinking of their individual situation but not to realizing that these are the common difficulties of a whole group. Certainly none of the problems arising out of these changes in office management can be affected by one worker alone. Until clerical workers see their common needs and will work together to meet them, the individual is helpless befroe the sweep of these great social changes.

If and when collective action does become widespread among white collar workers what can they do to meet these common difficulties?

Office Managers complain that at every step of the way as they install new machines or new methods they have to meet the opposition of the clerical force. Their efforts in "selling" the new ideas are, however, usually successful and the objection fades away with time. What should be the attitude of the stenographer or typist who sees these changes being made in her office? Certainly as history shows there is little use in opposition to machines which bring greater efficiency. The march of events makes their acceptance inevitable. Where these innovations may lead, as in the case of piece work, the speeding and pressure which is injurious to the worker, there certainly the workers might serve as they have done elsewhere, to restrain the mechanizing process in the interests of human life. Conditions of work, levels of salaries, vacation policies, all the more important aspects of the job are now settled in the office with no regard for the considered opinion of those whom they most intimately concern. With the mechanical revolution in full swing in the office operations, it seems to be time that the clerical worker, like other workers, should awake to the significance of the change and lay claim to his share in the determination of those conditions which are molding his life to new requirements.

Skill and Wages

The Gulf Between Skilled and Unskilled Labor

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

FOR a long time skilled labor unions have maintained impediments against free entry into their trades. This policy was born of the belief that such restrictions are necessary to maintain wage rates. Behind this theory is the assumption that the gulf between skilled and unskilled labor is not easy to bridge.

This is a fallacious argument, for one kind of labor is the complement of the other. More than this: the rapid increase in the new opportunities for professional and factory skill following in the wake of the modern technical advance has made skilled and unskilled labor more than ever closely and variously allied. However, this fallacious belief is a source of suffering for the non-unionized workers and an obstacle on the road to industrial democracy. Hostility between skilled and unskilled labor means the perpetuation of wage-slavery. On the other hand, if the unfriendly attitude of skilled labor toward unskilled and common labor is transformed into a unity of co-operation, it will be possible to bring about far reaching social changes.

On analysis it will be found that obstruction to the translation of unskilled into skilled labor, or at least to the unionization of unskilled and common labor, so far from keeping up wage rates, is one of the strongest causes of depression.

The Value of Human Labor

In proportion as human labor is saved in quantity by the use of other, and much less costly, forms of natural energy, such as steam, oil, and hydro-electric power, the share of mind work in the productive processes is constantly on the increase. Mechanical labor-power does not always reduce the worker to a mere machine-minder. On the contrary, the more perfect, complete, and intricate machine appliances become, the greater is the intelligence needed to operate them, and the wider is the scope for skill in producing finished results.

It follows from this that the use of mechanical devices means that the intelligent element in human labor, its peculiar and unique quality, is brought more into play, and has wider and more varied opportunities for its exercise. Human labor-power, both mental and manual, becomes more valuable the more completely it is equipped mechanically.

The highest grades of human labor, embracing scientific research, organizational work, and professional skill, have through the alliance of human labor with mechanical labor-power gained most in economic value. The lower grades have gained less, while wholly unskilled human labor, considered simply as muscle work, has hardly gained in economic value at all. Nevertheless, unskilled human labor has to command wage rates assessed relatively to the higher incomes and earnings of skilled and semi-skilled labor rather than to its own strict economic worth.

But at this point the skilled operative's self-respect, his standing as a worker among his fellow-workers and self-assertiveness come to the fore, leading at times to increases in wage rates throughout the trade by leaps and bounds. So, for instance, if the common labor market is up to fifty cents per hour, while a year ago it was forty cents, it would be necessary to move the wage scale for the entire labor force in the given plant up to correspond with the new starting level. For much the same reason the minimum wage law which brought the least able workers in several states up to a certain level, also produced pressure from the others for something like a proportionate increase all up the line.

Wages and Labor Costs

Now, high manual labor wage rates are not necessarily high labor costs, and low manual labor wages are not identical with low labor costs. In any industry employing mechanical labor-power, the real labor cost is a result of a combination of the highest proportion possible of mechanical labor-power (automatic machinery) on the one hand with, on the other, the highest proportion possible of skilled manual labor. The practice of considering the manual labor pay-roll as alone making up "labor cost" has made the wage system appear a speculation in the rates of manual labor wages. This erroneous belief becomes increasingly fallacious in proportion to the mechanical labor-power operated.

Since the revolutionary saving of human labor in quantity began 150 years ago, and with it the rapid rise of human labor in quality, incomes and earnings in the mass have risen enormously. At the same time, as reflected in the prices of commodities, the costs of labor, gauged by the results of production, have fallen. If not for this circumstance, wants in the masses could not have been supplied, and production could not have progressed.

The efficiency of manual labor depends on incentive, that is, on a stimulus to sustained effort, and in part on physical fitness. Accordingly, a low rate of manual labor wages, one which weakens incentive, reacts back on the operation of the mechanical labor-power of which the worker has charge, and reduces the economic value of that operation. So much more so, a rate which impairs physical fitness for an operation of the mechanical labor-power by the operative reduces the economic value and results of that operation to a far greater extent than the lessening of the manual labor pay-roll.

Where sustained effort, joy in work, and trained intelligence, or, in a word, incentive, can be pitched

BROOKWOOD, UNDAUNTED, CONTINUES ITS WORK

Has Support of American Federation of Teachers

BROOKWOOD, we are informed, will go steadily on with its work despite the action of the A. F. of L. convention in endorsing the previous action of the Executive Council advising affiliated unions to withhold moral and financial support from the school. The Board of Directors, trade unionists, faculty members, students and graduates who have been in charge of the school will continue in charge and have no intention of inviting either the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. or the Executive Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party to come in and take over their job. Students from unions interested in education will be welcome, and qualified and properly endorsed students will be admitted as before, regardless of their political, social, economic, or religious views or affiliations. The school will continue, as in the past, to present the activities and theories of the A. F. of L. and other elements in the labor movement of this country and in other lands, to analyze and discuss such theories, to present all sides of the various controversies confronting the workers, primarily to teach the students how to think and not what to think, and believing that trade unionists able and willing to think for themselves are best qualified to carry on the struggles of a militant labor movement.

The international union most directly concerned in the Brookwood-A. F. of L. controversy, the American Federation of Teachers, has officially announced that it continues to have confidence in the school and in Brookwood Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers. The December number of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is devoted largely to a presentation of the controversy thoroughly sympathetic with the Brookwood side of the case. A considerable number of trade unions and trade unionists have expressed themselves along similar lines.

We rejoice in such indications as this that Brookwood will live and will carry on its work. However, such agencies as Brookwood and Labor Age cannot truly flourish and render their maximum service, and the whole workers' education movement indeed is doomed to extinction, unless the honest, militant, progressive elements in the movement rally themselves to the support of education that seeks not to extend to workers the same cultural advantages that other classes have had, but primarily to equip workers for the labor fight. Let the militant progressives awake, organize, make themselves felt! Loyalty to the labor movement forbids them to remain silent and disorganized any longer!

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to the maximum, the productive value of mechanical labor-power is also at its maximum. Thus the highest rate of wages which can be paid on a basis of economic incentive is lowest in point of labor cost.

The Fallacy of Restriction

It can be easily understood why the diminution of labor costs, which is conducive to a rise in wages, is unattainable without a reduction of the unskilled labor mass to a minimum. Besides, such a reduction is the only means toward avoidance of friction between different grades of labor on account of discrepancy in wage rates between skilled and unskilled labor.

Then, in what way can the unskilled labor mass be reduced? Naturally, through translation of unskilled labor into skilled labor and through effective unionization of unskilled and semi-skilled labor. This would put a stop to the separation of the unskilled from the unions while the unions of the skilled would cease to be isolated from the labor movement in its broader aspect. Yet, unfortunately, skilled labor unions maintain impediments against free entry into their trades, their belief being that that is necessary to keep up wage rates. As already shown, this is a fallacious belief, since hindrances of this kind are a stumbling-block on the road to lower labor costs and, therefore, to better wages.

This loose reasoning is of a piece with another widespread fallacy. It is frequently asserted that any increase in the supply of the labor market as a whole is bound to cause a fall in the wage level. An increase in the labor supply, it may seem, must inevitably lead to a reduction in price of that particular commodity. But labor is *not* a commodity, and—what is still more to the point—all labor is not of the same kind. In reality, the increase of the supply of workers of a certain class (for example, common laborers or semi-skilled operatives) causes in the country an increase in the demand for other classes (skilled labor). This helps to raise the wage level of these latter classes, just as generally an increase in the supply of a certain commodity tends to increase the demand for other commodities. This can be illustrated by the example of the automotive industry. Has not the automobile created an enormous market for innumerable commodities, e.g. oil, gasoline, copper, glass, textiles, and so on and so forth?

As long as the fallacy of restriction remains unexploded there is little hope for a change in the Wage System and for the liberation of labor. Let it not be assumed that this system has reached final form; it is rather in a transition. The goal of industrial civilization is industrial democracy, as the trend of history plainly shows. The feudal relationship of superior and serf, shading in the course of social evolution into that of master and man, has in our days shaded again into that of employer and employe. If labor could only rise to the realization of the inherent solidarity between its various grades, and could welcome a gradual translation of unskilled into skilled labor, the labor movement would make a long step toward its final goal—the workers' control of industry.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

IX. THE DOINGS OF CONGRESS

IT IS comparatively simple to follow closely the activities of the United States Congress, if one has the time and the inclinations to do so. Most research workers have occasion sooner or later to inquire into some phases of Congressional action. It is well to be acquainted with the official sources of information.

The doings of Congress may be traced through five main types of public documents: (1) the proceedings, (2) bills and resolutions, (3) committee reports, (4) committee hearings, and (5) Senate and House documents. The proceedings of Congress are available from its first session on March 4, 1789 to the present time. These proceedings appear under four different names:

1. "Annals of Congress," 1789-1824.
2. "Register of Debates," 1824-1837.
3. "Congressional Globe," 1833-1873.
4. "Congressional Record," 1873 to the present.

Abhorrence of government ownership went so far in the early days of this country's history that even the proceedings of Congress were published under private auspices. Hence, we have an overlapping for a time between the "Register of Debates" and the "Congressional Globe" as well as between the "Register of Debates" and a rival by the same name.

In 1873 the United States Government eliminated the private printer and itself began to publish the proceedings of Congress under the present title, "Congressional Record." This also meant complete official stenographic reporting of the proceedings instead of the partial record supplied during most of the period of private printing.

The published congressional proceedings would be very difficult to handle without indices. Fortunately these indispensable aids of research have been supplied from the beginning. One volume has been devoted to each session of Congress but there has usually been enough business to warrant the separation of each volume into several parts and the publication of each part in a separate book. Thus, even during the days of the "Congressional Globe" its nominally 46 volumes actually appeared in 109 large sized books. Each volume of the four series of the Congressional proceedings has an index, which in the early series was published with the proceedings, while in the case of the present "Congressional Record," the index for each volume, that is, for each session, is published as a separate book. The research worker must be very careful in locating his right index. He should also be acquainted with the arrangement of the index into two main sections: (1) index to names and topics, and (2) history of bills and resolutions.

The "Congressional Record" is published daily. It may be obtained free upon application to a Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, who is generally glad to give away the number assigned him for his disposal. When the free supply is exhausted, the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., will be pleased to accept subscriptions. An index to the daily proceedings is published every two weeks.

As the "Congressional Record" is arranged at present it does not contain the text of bills, resolutions, and committee reports, except incidentally. These important documents are published separately. In the Record and in the index, they simply appear under their respective numbers, as for example, S. 1482, meaning Senate bill No. 1482, the A. F. of L. bill dealing with injunctions; or H. R. 7759, meaning House bill No. 7759, covering the same subject. Reports of committees are numbered consecutively, as H. Rept. 2, S. Rept. 960 and H. Rept. 1882 on the 1928 Tax bill.

The research worker must know how to use two other kinds of publications in order to follow in detail the activities of Congress. One consists of committee hearings, the other of Senate and House documents. The stenographic record of hearings conducted by Congressional committees are generally printed. Thus, the investigation of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate into conditions in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio during the spring of 1928 has been published in five volumes.

The Senate and House documents consist of reports of official and private individuals and organizations or other matter, which either the Senate or the House of Representatives wants to have at hand or make accessible to the general public. An example is the Report of the United States Coal Commission of 1922 known as United States, 68th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 195, or simply by such brief designation as 68 Cong., 2 Ses., S. Doc. 195.

Only the larger libraries file all the publications mentioned in this article and very few keep anything but the "Congressional Record" and the Senate and House documents. If one is alert, however, most of the material that is really wanted can be obtained free of charge from one's Senator or Representative or the Committee under whose auspices the publications are published. Otherwise, the research worker must communicate with the Superintendent of Documents and pay the regular price, if the material is available.

One very important piece of advice: always refer to Congressional material by the proper number of the Congress, and number of the session, and, where either one house or the other is responsible for the printing, by the name of the house.

For Your Own Research.

Select some topic of current interest and locate the references to it in the Congressional publications mentioned above.

In Other Lands

CENTRAL and South American countries were given a taste of Business Imperialism as exemplified and expounded by President-elect Hoover who acted as Grand Chief Drummer for Uncle Sam's exporters, traders and investors in his trip to the republics of Latin-America. Having through peaceful penetration all but annexed Canada to the north of us and made it a sort of economic vassal; having through political and financial pressure placed Cuba, San Domingo, Haiti, Panama and Nicaragua in our list of protected states, and now colossus like, we march with our wares, that is, contracts, loans and orders, southward into the Latin American continent. Before long our Business Imperialists after the fashion set by the feudal landlords of Great Britain will put signs "Keep Off the Grass" all over South America. The metamorphosis of the Monroe Doctrine into a moneybags prospectus for the magnates of Wall Street is one of the most significant developments of the age.

Jerger, the well known cartoonist, gives the reactions of the peace loving anti-imperialist citizens of this country to the spectacle of the good will visitor President-elect Hoover calling on his neighbors with a threatening club in one hand and a suit case of drummer's samples in the other.

Before Mr. Hoover had ended his tour a steamship war between the Cunard Line of Great Britain and the Ward Line backed by the U. S. Shipping Board, the head of which boldly says "this is our exclusive field", has broken out. It is recalled that the competition between the Cunard Lines and the Hamburg American shipping group was one of the factors that led to the World War.

BRITISH LABORITES PREDICTS VICTORY

As befits a nation which controls over one-seventh of the earth and one-fourth of its population Great Britain and its affairs fill a big place in the news. The illness of King George illustrated something more than mere mawkish sentimentality, for his acts, conduct and personality called for none of the hymns of praise lavished on the sick man of Buckingham Palace. The king idea in England represents the permanence of private property, the endurance of the exploiting entity called Empire and the surety and stability of British investments and conquests the world over. The passing of the man who is monarch would have jarred none of the governmental machinery and beyond a slight disturbance to the Christmas shopping trade would not have interfered with business Exploitation of the workers, manufacture, buying and selling; rent, interest and profit would go on regardless of the label on the throne. One wonders how long they will mourn for the plumage and forget the dying bird, the Starving unemployed of industrial Britain.

A ray of hope flashes through the clouds of gloom and toryism in the call to arms sounded by the Labor Party to its members for the coming general election battle. The New Leader, London says it looks like victory for the Labor forces. Its cartoon shows MacDonald and Baldwin all set for the race and so great is the confidence of the Labor Party generals and managers the cartoon leaves Lloyd George and his Liberals so far behind as to be nowhere in the contest. Labor candidates will man every constituency in both rural and urban sections, and for the first time in the history of Britain an election will be held that will be the nearest approach to a general class conflict in the political field.

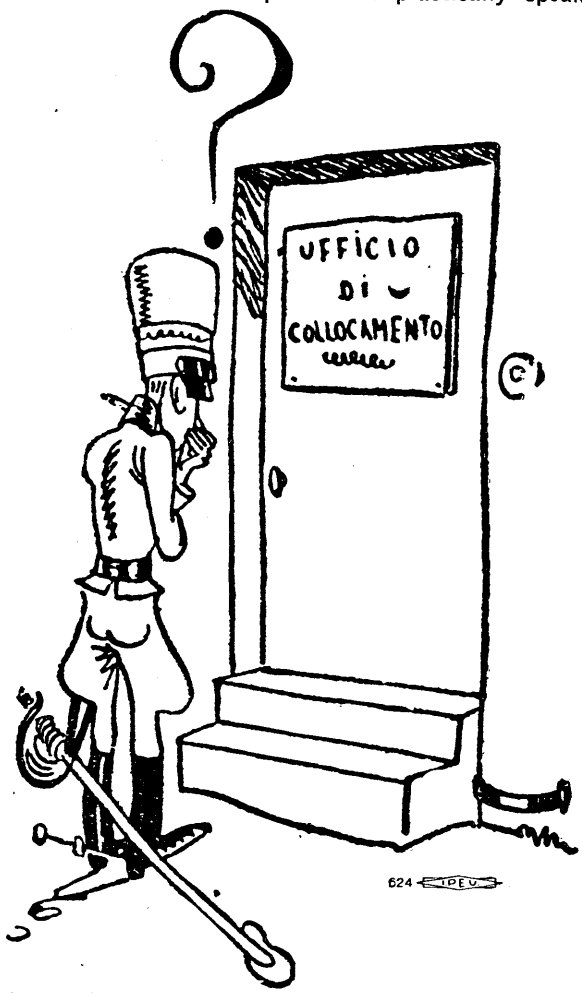
Britain's diplomats did a clever stroke of business when they recognized China, and they did it handsomely when their warships fired a salute of 21 guns at Nanking in honor of the event. With America, Britain and all other nations except Japan accepting the republic dominated by Nanking, the special trade privileges and concessions will be swept away and China running its own house, operating its own tariffs, will stand out as free as the other bourgeois nations of the world. It also means that the Koumingtang has completely severed relations with the Communists, but whether it will lead to a swing of the pendulum to the ultra-reactionary side

with a landlord capitalist dictatorship, as some fear, is another story.

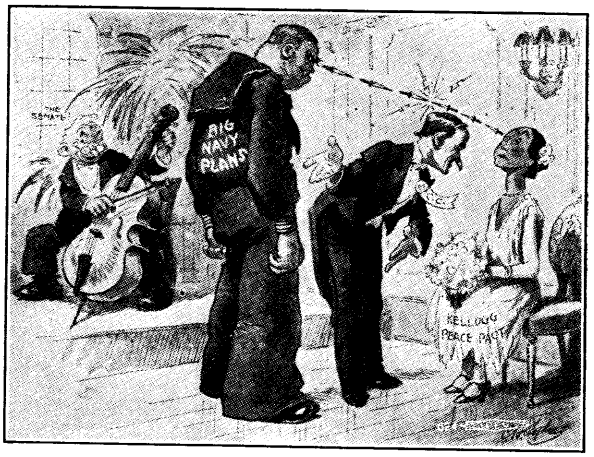
Frightened by its own Jingoes and Imperialists like General Robertson and Joynson-Hicks, and dubious as to the American demand for a parity fleet, Britain's Foreign Office is negotiating a new deal with Japan and, it is hinted, a revival of the naval alliance. A victory for the Labor Party with Ramsay MacDonald in the Foreign Office will undoubtedly prevent this form of insurance, as Commander Kenworthy calls affiliation of the fleets of London and Japan.

THE DUCE OUSTS PARLIAMENT

The last turn of the counter-revolutionary-wheel was given when the Italian parliament practically speaking



abolished itself and legalized the Fascist dictatorship. The Grand Council is now supreme in all things, even in regulating the succession to the throne. .This makes the position of the king so ludicrous that a Paris paper, the Becco Giallo, in the above cartoon, sets all Europe laughing by picturing the Crown Prince going about Italy offering his services to any one willing to hire him as a chauffeur, waiter, or dancer. Only the Pope remains, but Mussolini like Napoleon feels it is better to keep on good terms with the Vatican. Garibaldi is mocked and a miniature papal sovereignty, it is reported, will be set up with unhindered access to the sea.



All Europe is watching the tight rope walking and gymnastics of Washington which through the State Department has got itself into a fix, with Congress on one hand trying to pass the cruiser bill to give the fleet parity in accordance with the Washington treaty and the Senate trying to ratify the Kellogg Peace Pact, which if literally accepted would render all fleets and armaments unnecessary. The pickle that Uncle Sam is in caused "Life" to give us one of its most brilliant cartoons. The rivals in the Senate are by no means polite in their looks Keeping cool with Coolidge is the hardest thing possible for the President's friends these days. The Bolivian-Paraguay situation revealed the absurdity of peace pacts with the cause of all wars—commercial rivalry and international exploitation—left as they were.

SETTLING WITH THE REICH

The long sought reparations commission to settle just how much the Reich can pay in money and materials to the victor nations is agreed to by France, Britain and the leading powers. Experts are being nominated by the interested nations with this country picking unofficial but all powerful representatives who will as in the Dawes-Young Commission, control the body and ultimately decide not alone the amounts the Reich will pay and the time it must take but also the manner by which the cash end of things will be raised. An international loan to Germany with Wall Street and its subsidiaries taking more than fifty per cent of the bonds appears to be a foregone conclusion. After the Commission finishes its labors Washington will demand its quid pro quo from the French, who so far have not paid a cent of interest or principal of the loans they borrowed during the war and for reconstruction purposes after the Armistice.

IRISH CENSORSHIP

Thomas Johnson, the veteran leader of the Irish Labor party, was elected to the Senate. Ireland has the doubtful honor of being the first country in Europe since the war ended to pass a censorship bill and the Irish Labor party had the honor of upholding the best traditions of the labor movement by opposing the bill through every stage to the very last. Bernard Shaw's books are now being rejected in the land of his birth by the censors appointed by the Irish Free State.

"Say It With Books"

A SYMPOSIUM ON CIVILIZATION

Whither Mankind; edited by Charles A. Beard. Longmans, Green & Co., $3.

ONE has often dreamed of a collective masterpiece written by super-geniuses in their respective field. In "Whither Mankind," a panorama of civilization, we have the realization of this dream since the contributors are such well-known historians as James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, Hendrick Van Loon; John Dewey, America's greatest educator and philosopher; such natural and social scientists as Bertrand Russell, George Dorsey, Havelock Ellis, Beatrice and Sidney Webb; writers like Emil Ludwig, Stuart Chase, Everett Dean Martin and others equally well-known. With this brilliant galaxy of writers one finds a book that is decidedly uneven in contribution, at times stimulating but hardly what one expects from so formidable an array of talent.

While Spengler in his monumental, learned but unconvincing work "The Decline of the West" is telling us that the world is going to the dogs, Prof. Beard and his array of specialists, take a more optimistic view of modern civilization, the product of both science and technology. Yet underneath this optimistic note, an undercurrent of Spenglerism is evidenced in such facts as the development of an ignorant complacency, mass production of cheap goods with its necessary evils, the struggle for world markets and their inevitable clashes which may destroy civilization itself.

Startling as it may seem to those who look upon western civilization as essentially material, Dr. Hu Shih holds that the so-called western material civilization is more spiritual than the so-called spiritual civilization of the East and bases his position on the emancipation of women, the spread of democracy in government and industry, the universal educational opportunities for all, the greater material gains and leisure for the masses as contrasted with Oriental customs and opportunities such as suttee, binding the feet of women, the use of man as a beast of burden, the impossible economic conditions and the like.

The same optimistic note is slightly stressed by the Webbs who show that poverty is no longer looked upon as an "Act of God"; that the Wage Fund Theory which condemned the mass of workers to eternal poverty is as discredited as the laissez faire theory; and that the mental, moral and physical degredation of man which followed the introduction of machinery is now being replaced by greater humanitarianism, better living standards, more leisure, better sanitation and better protection against violence and tyranny. Bertrand Russell expresses a similar view and expects conditions to improve if mankind will remember that the machine is made FOR men and not man for the machine. Prof. Robinson follows the same polyanna trend and shows that disease is no longer blamed on the devil and that serum and anti-toxin have replaced prayer in the treatment of disease (Christian Science is evidently ignored).

The Spenglerian side of the discussion crops out in the gap between American ideals and achievement, the tendency to make skilled workers soulless robots; the growth of mental disease; the standardization of recreation; the failure of education, controlled by ignorant lay boards, to develop creative critical thinking beings capable of destroying inherited prejudices; the dominance of deferential teachers easily intimidated and who turn out citizens who enact anti-evolution and Lusk laws. In a word, education is no longer a voyage of discovery, a debunking process but a mass production of unthinking robots. Is it any wonder that urbanized America is still dominated by backward rural ideals or that tabloids, superficiality, the 100 per cent American and Ku-kluxism too often influence our life?

While this symposium shows what mankind owes to science and to the machine, while it looks hopefully to the future, when one knows the subservience of man to the machine and its owner, when one realizes how the owner of the machine controls the organs of public opinion and uses them to maintain the present capitalist system with its dominance of fear and the constant threat of unemployment and dehumanizing wars, one is inclined to discount the optimistic note which characterizes these essays. This book contains as brilliant an array of writers as any volume that has yet appeared, a fascinating editor, some stimulating essays, but it is hardly a book that will endure, though it may become a best seller.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

REALISM IN POLITICS

The American Party Battle. Charles A. Beard. The World Today Bookself. N. Y.: Macmillan Company. 150 pp. Copyright by Workers Education Bureau. 1928.

IF readers of "Labor Age" want to obtain a rapid survey of the development of party lines in the United States from the time of the Declaration of Independence to the present, with the permanent and continuous essentials, rather than the spectacular and non-essentials, emphasized, they cannot do better than buy a copy of Dr. Beard's compact book.

Dr. Beard sees the development of party lines throughout the history of America based largely on the difference of economic interests. The early Federalists, led by Hamilton, represented the trading, banking and manufacturing interests of the country, while the Jeffersonian Democrats represented the agrarian and the slave holding interests, and their respective political programs were based not on mere philosophical differences as to the character of the state, but on the varying economic interests of their respective clientele.

During their numerous metamorphoses, the Federalists, and their successors, the Whigs and Republicans, thought in terms of a prosperous capitalist and monied group, with a full dinner pail, if possible, for the workers, but the workers, nevertheless, the busy-bees devoting their lives to making honey for the owners of industry. The Jeffersonians, on the other hand, were more concerned with the farmers and the smaller capitalists, although, during the last generation or so, they aimed to give enough small favors to the recent immigrant population in some of the large industrial centers to secure their allegiance. "Only Socialists have taken the philosophy of the machine at face value and dreamed of carrying manufacturing economy over into a sort of utopia for the industrial masses," declares Professor Beard.

The author gives little credit to the major parties for initiating the social legislation of the last few years. This he attributes to the power of minority groups. Thus the following significant passage:

"As far as the great body of social legislation enacted during the last thirty years is concerned, it must be confessed that it sprang from movements of opinion quite outside the range of political orthodoxy, that is, from the agitations of minorities winning concessions from the major parties."

It is unfortunate that the author was not able to analyze the most recent developments in the Republican and Democratic parties as witnessed in the last campaign. With the Democratic party "going high tariff," seeking and securing the Raskobs, the Duponts, the Woodins and others from the ranks of big business, the two parties have become practically indistinguishable as far as their platforms and the objectives are concerned.

But all told, this lucid and brilliant interpretation of the past alignments in our American political life is one of the finest publications in the Workers' Education Bureau Series and lays a good foundation for more realistic approach to much of our unrealistic political warfare. The reader should not, however, stop with this book, but should follow it up with a study of Dr. Beard's larger volumes which have contributed so much to our political thinking.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

THE PRICE SYSTEM

The Behavior of Prices; by Frederick C. Mills. National Bureau of Economic Research. 600 pp. Price, $7.00.

THE investigation of which the book under review is the first volume has been undertaken "as part of a general attack upon the problem of charting the price system." In the modern economic system production, distribution and consumption of goods are influenced at every point by the prices of individual commodities, the changes in these prices, and by the relations of the price of one commodity to the price of another commodity. All these various prices taken together form what Wesley C. Mitchell terms the price system.

According to Mitchell the price system is " a highly complex system of many parts connected with each other in diverse ways, a system indefinitely flexible in detail yet stable in the essential balance of its inter-relations, a system like a living organism in its ability to recover from the serious disorders in which it periodically falls." The investigation of Frederick C. Mills deals with the factual material starting out from this hypothesis. The first volume merely marshalls the facts without attempting any interpretation. This volume is definitely intended not for the general reader but for the economist and the student. The general tables (pp. 443-585) contain a wealth of invaluable figures which should enable the same author to draw many valuable general deductions in its second volume.

The factual material accumulated in the first volume merely establishes two significant facts: First, that there is great diversity in the ways and prices of individual commodities rise and fall, or in the behavior of prices of various goods and services. The second is that among this great diversity of price movements there are still to be discovered some uniformities which may enable the economist to reduce the masses of accumulated facts to some general terms. Whether these uniformities are sufficient to justify the hypothesis of a price system presumably stable in its essentials is a question which the part of the investigation covered by this volume does not answer. Equally unanswered is the question whether price instability is traceable to specific money and price conditions, whether price instability is merely a reflection of general economic instability, or whether price instability and economic instability react upon each other. The second volume will presumably deal with these crucial questions of economics.

J. M. BUDISH.

A HUMAN DOCUMENT

Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti, edited by Marion Denman Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson, Viking Press, $2.50.

IN future years the people of America will acquire an unshakeable conviction in the innocence of the two martyred radicals, Sacco and Vanzetti. This will come not as the result of a study of the evidence in the case, as few will have the inclination to do so, but because of their familiarity with some of the letters which appear in this remarkable human document.

The International Committee which sponsored this book, Benedetto Croce, John Dewey, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorki, Horace M. Kallen, Sinclair Lewis, Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells and Stefan Zweig, knew well that as people would read these letters the conviction would grow stronger and stronger that Sacco and Vanzetti were absolutely innocent of the crime for which they were electrocuted. Such men are not murderers.

Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller declared these men were guilty, but history will contradict them, and as more men and women learn of the contents of these letters and get an insight into the characters of these two workingmen the sooner will that verdict be rendered. L. B.

SPEECH TECHNIQUE

HOW TO TALK, by John Mantle Clapp and Edwin A. Kane, The Ronald Press Co., 647 pp., $5.00.

THIS book apparently is intended to aid business and professional men in "meeting the situations of personal and business life and of public address." Nevertheless, it will be found extremely valuable by students and those active in the labor movement.

There are few who do not feel the need for the mastery of speech technique. The beginner often finds great difficulty in expressing his thoughts to an audience. He will obtain much sound advice in this volume. It is a mistake, however, to think that a mere reading of "How to Talk" will make anyone a good speaker. Much study and practice is necessary. But the earnest student will find many illustrations and references which will put him on the right path to becoming an effective speaker.

The authors, one a lecturer on speech at the New York University and the other an instructor in public speaking at the College of the City of New York, recognize Labor's contribution to oratory. Samuel Gompers receives high praise, and two extracts from his speeches are presented. There is also a quotation from one of John P. Frey's addresses.

Union men will find the chapters on Committee Work and Parliamentary Practice particularly helpful. In fact, the field is covered from many angles, and anyone interested in the subject will find it worth while to own this book. L. B.

TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING

We wish to state that Moody's Investors Service and Poor's Publishing Company, mentioned in the Research for Workers article in the November, 1928 issue of LABOR AGE, have no business connections with one another. Moody's publishes five volumes, entitled Government, Bank and Finance, Industrial, Public Utility, and Railroad Sections. Poor's issues three, called Public Utilities, Industrials, and Railroads, Banks and Insurance Companies Sections. The first publishes a monthly supplement; the second a daily, which is cumulated from time to time. These two services and the Standard Corporation Records should be used to supplement each other, whenever possible, in studying corporations.—L. S.

PAXTON HIBBEN

ON December 5th last, there passed from the scene of life one of the foremost champions of human liberty in this country. Paxton Hibben died of pneumonia in New York City on his forty-eighth birthday—but who can say how much the strain and struggle of the past few years spent in ardent and valorous service to the cause of the people have contributed to his death?

What were the forces which swept over Paxton Hibben's all-too-brief-existence and flung him into the social arena? How did he find his way from his entrenched position in society to the burdended, exploited and down-trodden worker? By what miracle of grace did he become one of the people?

Paxton Hibben has written greatly and profoundly on leaders of liberal thought like Henry Ward Beecher, and it was his hope to write of others—of the John Browns and the Lovejoys of his country; of the spiritual founders of this Republic, the Jeffersons and Tom Paines. For Hibben was essentially American, and his varied contacts and experiences in foreign lands as a member of the Diplomatic Service only accentuated his love for the principles and ideals which he early learned from his American pioneer ancestry and from the leaders of American thought.

In this way the descendant of one of those who mapped out the City of Indianapolis, the lawyer, diplomat, army officer, war correspondent became the man suspected of holding subversive opinions—he was brought before a military board trying to determine how far he had strayed from the paths of righteousness! Hibben, wearing the uniform of a Captain of the Reserves, laid a wreath on Jack Reed's grave in Moscow. He raised his voice on every possible occasion asking for Russian recognition, protesting against the economic blockade bringing famine to the Russian people. He was chairman of the Russian Red Cross in America and headed the expedition to feed Russian children.

This was startling coming from a son of the American Revolution, from an attache to the American Embassy in Czarist Russia, in Mexico, in the countries of South America, in the Hague, Luxembourg, and Spain, wearing decorations and enjoying honors conferred upon him by King Constantin of Greece and by the Governments of Japan and Spain.

Captain Paxton Hibben was interrogated, tried, discharged, re-instated. He had enemies,—it was inevitable, but his friends and his comrades were inspired by his indomitable courage and loved him for his gentle and intrepid spirit. Paxton Hibben had found the stream of humanity and had united himself with his kind.—What greater happiness can await any man, what greater fate?

ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING.

The Challenge

The attempt to emasculate Workers Education and adoption of the policy of "economic lobbying" by the American Federation of Labor, as writers in this issue show, challenges all militant and progressive elements in Organized Labor. In the next issue we hope to present suggestions to meet this challenge which threatens the vitality and the very existence of the Labor Movement. These discussions should mature sufficiently by the time our Anniversary Celebration number is published in March to crystallize into a definite program and plan of action.

Now more than ever will LABOR AGE be found to be indispensable to thinking workers active in the Labor Movement.

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