Labor Age

AUTO WORKERS CAN BE ORGANIZED

A PLAN OF ACTION

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT MOVES

BY A. J. MUSTE

APRIL, 1929

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

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And others well known to our readers.

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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.

Looking at the Hoover Era

Growing Big Business Rule—and Us

"ECONOMY," in the person of Calvin Coolidge, has stepped out of the White House; "Efficiency," in the person of Herbert Hoover, has stepped in.

These two words—pet religious terms of Big Business—are the logical war cries of those put into high places by the present dominant class. On March 4th, the most perfect presidency from the viewpoint of those Interests was inaugurated. Mr. Hoover will devote his engineering talents to making the world safe for American Big Business.

Emerging victorious over the Slave Power, out of the Civil War, the big manufacturing interests and their banking allies have more and more taken over the functions of government. Mere politician tools have been gradually swept aside, and the Invisible Government has become frankly visible. Andrew Mellon and Dwight Morrow and many other names suggest this development. Even in progressive Wisconsin, a big "Open Shop" manufacturer, Walter Kohler, open candidate of the Manufacturers' Association, steps into the gubernatorial seat formerly occupied by the great La Follette. Our economic overlords are now openly our political masters.

Out of the World War, these same Interests have attained world economic power. They have written the Dawes Plan and have administered it. Even at this hour J. P. Morgan and Owen Young of the General Electric sit at the head of the table, in the Paris economic conference of the nations of Europe. With the aid of the marines when necessary, they are pushing through to the economic conquest of Latin America, and their dreams fall nothing short of the economic mastery of the world.

It is most auspicious for them, then, that the new President should have his own eyes bent on consolidation of Big Business at home, and expansion abroad. Of course, had he not been in that frame of mind another man than Herbert Hoover would now be in the White House. But he is a more than admirable representative of their thoughts and aspirations. The loosening up of the Sherman Act, so that Big Business can become bigger on a more ambitious scale, voluntary consolidation of railroads and the speeding up of foreign trade will likely stand out as "achievements" of his administration. As the first step, the Congress called for "farm relief" will in reality give us the most colossal tariff that any modern imperialist nation has ever established.

Summing up, the well-advised MAGAZINE OF WALL STREET (March 9, 1929), accurately describes the economic forces that will be given additional impetus in the Hooverian Era:

"Greater economies to be derived from large units of production finance and transportation have given rise to larger and numerous mergers and consolidations during the past two years than for any similar period of history. The public attitude has become more friendly to big business and the Federal Government has foregone 'trust busting' proclivities, seemingly content with consolidations, provided only that competition is not stifled and the ultimate consumer safeguarded.

"With all that has been accomplished, however, many even greater mergers appear in the making. The great railway consolidations will no doubt be expedited by the passage at this or a subsequent session, of the Fess Bill, and the new position adopted by some of the leading carriers of placing the short line problem distinctly up to the Commerce Commission. In the field of industry the vertical merger idea is growing. That is to say, in place of merging companies in identical lines of busi-

ness the newer type of consolidation frequently involves organization in apparently dissimilar but supplementary lines. The product of one company becomes the raw material for another which in turn provides the merchandise for the marketing unit.

"Behind it all lies the pressure of present day competition and the urge for greater economy and efficiency. The heyday of still bigger business is still to come."

In "this heyday of still bigger business," Labor is given a seat farther and farther back. The continual selection of Mr. Davis as Secretary of Labor indicates quite ironically that the fraternal organizations are regarded by the Powers-that-Be as more truly representing the working classes at this hour than the labor unions. Not a word of regard for the problems of the working population—injunctions, speed-up and old age dependency—was given in Mr. Hoover's interesting inaugural address. Any one, on the other hand, who interferes with the smooth working of the Big Business machine is marked down as "Bolshevist minded" by the President in his public statements.

And yet, economic history tells us in clarion notes that this Paradise of Big Business cannot continue. Labor will assert itself. It will do so, not with imported battle-cries—whether that be good or ill—but in the phrases of past American struggles for freedom. The shadows of Jefferson and Garrison and Lincoln will be thrown across the battlefield.

Hence, the importance of the Progressive program. It is the seed that will grow into bigger things. It is the beginning of the reawakening of machine-ruled Labor. It is the first answer to the Hooverian Era.

PROGRESSIVES ON THE MARCH

FROM Butte, Mont., to Boston, Mass., come indications this month of the continued stirring of the workers at the Progressive Challenge. Its good work has begun.

It is clearly evident that there is a desire for Action. The majority of responses express agreement with the program, but ask concerning the next steps. The great query is: "How shall we commence to make these principles effective?"

The time has about come for an answer to that question, and we intend to suggest very shortly what it should be. That also can be open to discussion. For, we do not mean to proceed without getting the views of all those who are disposed toward doing something concrete for the Movement's advance.

The first matter that must be looked into is the Organization of the Unorganized. Linked up with that is that "education with the union label," which is not an appendage of universities but a training ground for the workers in the advancement of unionism. Intellectual bric-a-brac may be nice to look at, but it is not as effective for hurling in the labor fight as intellectual bricks. The coming frank debate at the Workers Education Bureau conference will give much light on what is is to be done by Progressives in that field.

We are not interested one bit, incidentally, as to who is in this or that office in the various unions. What we are interested in very deeply is the advancement of those ideals which will snap the Movement out of singing "the blues" and get it to shouting that present popular air: "Do, Do, Do, Do—Something."

We shall particularly welcome more comment and suggestions from workers in unorganized industries—to add to those already received. We want these, not for purposes of TALK but for timely ACTION.

CENTERS OF CONTAGION

TO put it clearly and briefly, factionalism does not attract us one iota. The formation of "cells," "nuclei," etc., etc., in the labor unions which the Communists were so busy at, is merely a method of creating dissafection and disruption.

What is called for by the needs of the hour is less energy devoted to inter-union quarreling, mud-slinging and heresy hunting and more honest-to-God organizing. Alibis have been the story told to the Movement too long.

Where "centers of contagion" for unionism should be, is out among the unorganized. In every city social and study classes should spring up, intent on one thing—the gathering of the unorganized from particular industries for the great show-down that lies ahead in their community. The work can be done quietly, patiently and persistently. It will not take so long for it to come to a head, if properly carried on. That is the real workers education that cries for recruits. It is from it that that results will come, as much as from any other method of procedure.

But he or she who takes up this task must have the fire of apostles and missioners. It is the job, above all, for young people— who have enthusiasm and the spirit of discretion that can discipline such enthusiasm. The day is at hand when the energy of such youthful missioners will be needed for the white fields awaiting the harvest.

We look forward to volunteers, from out in the real America—beyond the Hudson River.

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The Auto Industry and Its Workers

Desperate Need For Unionization

THE automobile industry has grown from infancy to maturity in the last 30 years. At the beginning of the century, inventors were playing around with "horseless buggies." Today more than 30,000,000 cars roll over the dirt and macadam roads of the world; 9 out of every 10 of them were "made in America." In volume and turnover of business the automobile industry outranks every other in this country.

In some 1,400 plants manufacturing motor cars, trucks, bodies, parts, and accessories about 425,000 workers are employed. About 1,200 of the 1,400 are bodies, parts and accessories plants; the other establishments make or assemble completed cars. The few large plants making finished motor vehicles—Ford, General Motors, Hudson, Packard, Chrysler, Hupp and the rest—are all located within a radius of about 250 miles from Detroit, the center of this world industry. (See map on page 14).

Mountains of Profits

The profits of the motor companies have been almost unbelievable. Previously the U. S. Steel Corp. set world records in the amount of profits extracted from the toil of the workers. Now it is General Motors which, in the first nine months of 1928, showed net profits of over 240 millions, more than the company had made in a full year before. As a result of this the company issued another stock dividend which was the largest bonus ever handed out to the stockholders of any corporation in history. Net profits of General Motors for 1928 were $276,500,000, an increase of 18 per cent over 1927. Both in 1926, 1927 and 1928 the automobile companies were the leading profit-making stocks in America with the exception of railroads. In fact, in 1927 these companies made five times the average profits of iron and steel companies. Even on the pyramids of capitalization, built up by one stock dividend after another, a group of these companies were able to pay over 28 per cent on total capital in 1927. Actually, however, their *profits on their original investments* ran at an annual rate of anywhere from 50 to several thousand per cent!

In the early days these amazing profits poured into the pockets of the original owners, but gradually the bankers have taken control of the industry, encouraging mergers and consolidations that will divert more of this golden stream into their coffers. The Dillon, Read deal with Dodge Brothers and its final consolidation into Chrysler Motors is an example. The control of General Motors is in the hands of J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Dupont chemical interests. Only Ford has thus far been able to avoid control by the bankers, and even he is now beginning to sell the stock of his foreign companies to foreign and native bankers.

The auto plants are the most highly mechanized in this country. Largely because of this the productivity of the workers has risen faster than that of workers in any other industry. Their tasks are minutely subdivided and highly specialized.

Few Skilled

In a typical plant the force may be divided into (1) the tenders and assemblers who watch machines and perform a given operation as material flows by them on the "belt"; (2) the technical men who design, plan and cost the work; and (3) the clerks, inspectors and foremen who record what is done, and check and watch the others. About 40 per cent of the workers in the typical plant are tenders and 15 per cent assemblers. Not more than from 5 to 10 per cent are the traditionally skilled workers. The rest are inspectors, bosses and "common" laborers not at the machines. The tendency has been for the assemblers and tenders to increase in number while skilled workers and common laborers disappear. So that today probably 80 to 90 per cent of the force are the unskilled who can learn their jobs in a few hours, or days.

Because of the lack of skill required the motor companies make a practice of hiring younger men. They need workers in their prime. Those reaching the age of 40 or 45 are considered "old." They are rejected by most companies, and are frequently discharged and their shoes filled by younger feet that can keep up with the pace. Young women have also been employed in increasing numbers, particularly in the Hudson plants, in the Briggs (body) plants, and in all plants making accessories and parts such as A. C. Spark Plug and Continental Motors. In 1925 over 5 per cent of the automobile workers in Michigan were women and girls.

Speed 'em Up!

One of the primary complaints of all these workers is the speed-up system. It grows out of the demand for lower labor costs, the increasingly keen competition between the companies, the introduction of new models, seasonal rushes, the installment of new machinery, and other factors that accompany the rationalization of the industry. Speed-up shows itself in a variety of ways—by moving the line faster, compelling workers to "step along" with it; by reducing the number of workers while compelling the remainder to turn out the same amount of work; by various schemes of wage payment calculated to make workers put their last ounce of energy into their tasks; by various group "incentive" systems such as the gang bonus; by high-threats of discharge and the overwhelming fear of the worker that if he does not "get a move on" he will find himself on the street with one of the job-hungry unemployed in his place.

The average hours of labor in the plants are between 50 and 51 hours a week; but overtime, which makes a workday or 11, 12 or 13 hours, is the rule in most plants in the season when the production lines must be rushed. There is a marked seasonal trend production usually being high during the late winter and spring months and lower in the summer and again toward the close of the year. But with companies now bringing out their cars at more irregular intervals the demand for labor power is even more fluctuating than before. When plants change from one model to another they may close down for from three weeks to several months and frequently a different set of workers will be taken on for a new job.

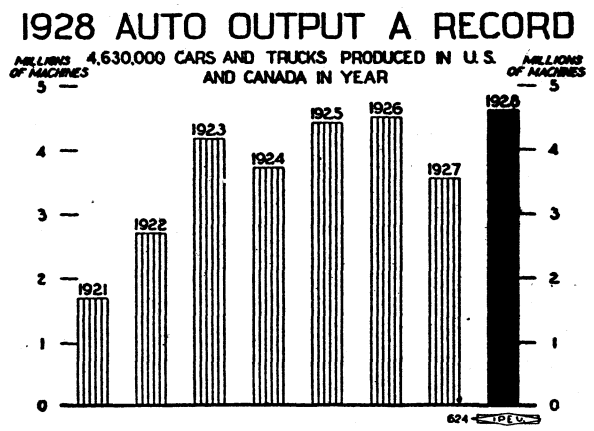
The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics finds that "the automobile industry shows the greatest instability of employment of any of the industries so far analyzed by the bureau. . . . Not only does the industry as a whole make a very bad showing, but irregularity and uncertainty of employment conditions are the rule among practically all the establishments covered."

"High Wages"

This irregularity of employment is, of course, reflected in the earnings of auto workers. It is true that their wages, in the main, are higher than those in other *unorganized* industries such as cotton, textiles or meat packing. Taking annual earnings for full-time employment we find that they were not more than $1,600 in 1927, as compared with about $1,300 for manufacturing as a whole. But in view of the unemployment during that year this figure overstates the actual earnings of the average worker who certainly did not put in full-time.

Real wages of auto workers have, in fact, shown very slight gains during the life of the industry. From an index base of 100 in 1899 they went up to 112.1 in 1925 and then back to 108.6 in 1927. And, if we take into account part-time employment, real wages for all the workers attached to the industry were 17 per cent higher in 1926 than they were in 1919. However, in 1927, partly because of the great Ford lay-off, they were actually 6 per cent lower than they were in 1919, according to computations made by William E. Chalmers of the University of Wisconsin who has worked in auto plants for three successive years and who has made a close study of auto wages.

But even if we take the money wage in full time employment as it stood in 1925, we find that it was at least $350 below the amount required to maintain what the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has termed the "minimum health and decency budget" as priced for the City of Detroit. In other words, automobile workers are not "well paid." They do not receive "high wages." And they are receiving far below workers in organized trades. It is only in comparison to the low wage standards of other *non-union* industries, with much lower rates of productivity, that the auto workers standards seem to be little better than the others.



Even though 1928 automobile production established a new record, chart shows that it has been stabilized over last six years at about four million cars a year.

Health and safety conditions among auto workers are also contrary to the flights of fancy indulged in by press agents for the corporations and business magazine interviewers who talk of "wonderful conditions" of work. Ask the man who does his 50 hours or more a week in one of these plants, or his 40 in Ford's. The accident rate is high for the workers and the accident *severity* is even higher, and had been going up steadily in recent years, faster even than the phenomenal increase in the rate of production. The massing of huge machines, the crowding of moving conveyors and chains, the tremendous speed of operation, the mad driving of the bosses to achieve production records, combined with the long hours and overtime work in certain plants, has shot up the accident severity rate.

Poison Fumes

The dangers to health are even more outstanding, especially in departments finishing auto bodies. Lead, wood alcohol and benzol are the most poisonous substances injuring the painter who uses the spray gun. Anemia, respiratory diseases, hemorrhages and nose and throat infections are common diseases among the painters. The new chromium compounds, used in making non-tarnishing headlights and parts, are very dangerous and have caused poisoning and skin ulcers. There are also many fumes, vapors, and dusts, injurious to the health. Added to this go the absense of decent washing facilities in many of the plants, the fatigue and strain of the speed-up, and the fact that only 15 minutes, as at Ford's, is allowed in which to bolt a hurried lunch. All these factors contribute to a high sickness rate among the workers and a gradual undermining of their health.

These conditions are not going to be improved in the future. The curve of workers' conditions is definitely downward. For the outlook in the industry is about as follows:

Competition, especially in the field of lower priced cars, is becoming more strenuous between a few giants. Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler promise to turn out about 80 per cent of all the cars during the next

few years. Their advertising campaigns in the current press indicate the intensity of the competition to get the lion's share of these sales. To meet the pace set by these powerful groups more mergers and consolidations are bound to precipitate.

Production is pegged at a little over 4 million cars a year. Replacements call for possibly 2 million. "New buyers" are steadily decreasing in number. "Two-car families" are decidedly limited. New layers of demand are not in sight in this country. Contrary to the general belief *domestic* sales of cars did not establish a new high record in 1928; they merely approximated the high 1926 total.

Expansion Abroad

So export markets are being feverishly pushed. Export of cars from U. S. and Canadian plants (All Canadian auto establishments are branches of U. S. firms) absorbed more than 14 per cent of production in 1928; and there are more than 30 American assembly and manufacturing plants abroad. But the European capitalists have their own plants, and are vigorously resisting American encroachments. And even should American companies buy up foreign plants, as General Motors has just absorbed the great Opel Works, it would not mean more cars made in America for export. It would only mean that German workers, now exploited by the same corporation, will have firmer grounds for solidarity with Michigan motor workers.

Irrespective of the moderate gains that may be expected in the export market, instability of employment and unemployment are likely to increase in the plants. At present the "practical capacity" of these plants is nearly 8 million cars a year, and production predictions by the various companies at the beginning of 1929 actually approached this fantastic figure. But, as we have indicated, the home and foreign markets together call for something over 4 million a year, and no more. This leaves a practical capacity for at least 3 million cars unused. The ups and downs of employment will continue to be a characteristic of the industry.

The boom days are clearly passing. "Stabilization" and "maturity" are the two words most frequently applied to the industry, even though the producers shout that the saturation point has not been reached. Regardless of which group of capitalists wins in the fierce trade war now in progress, the auto workers will face more frequent and more severe wage cuts, long hours and more speeding up. Organization will be desperately needed to fight the employers' associations, to defend such working "standards" as the workers have at present, and to struggle for better ones.

The above material on the condition of the industry and its workers was prepared by the Labor Research Association whose Executive Secretary, Robert W. Dunn, has just completed a special study published under the title, "Labor and Automobiles."

RALPH DOES HIT BIT

WHILE we Progressives are seeking ways and means to resurrect the Labor Movement in every field, Ralph Easley issues a manifesto of vituperation against almost every one genuinely interested in going forward. It is in the form of a letter to Dr. John Dewey.

Ralph takes a great many things upon himself. He terms the A. F. of L. "our Movement," as though he were the head boss and prophet of the organized workers of this country. He is set upon protecting "our Movement" from those who are out on the firing line, opposed by labor spies, attacked by injunctions and making headway with determination, nevertheless, for the triumph of that Movement. From one who aided Gary in the Steel Strike and who consorts with the vilest of labor spies, such might well be expected. He has done his little bit for "Open Shoppery" and for the Manufacturers Associations who join with him in killing old age pension legislation.

For one thing, this would-be adopter of the Labor Movement has no sense of humor. He would realize how ridiculous is his confessed admiration for the Communists in comparison with Progressives. Of course, he thinks more of the Communists; he knows that they are completely ineffective in the American scene. He knows that they will sink back in this country to a little religious group like the Socialist Labor Party. But the Progressives form a real menace, in the embryo, to the Open Shop Gang. Ralph has real reason for alarm from that quarter.

Likewise is he set, with a Jove-like determination, upon preventing the growth of any Labor Party "intellectuals" within our Labor Movement. He states that quite decisively. The possibility of a Labor Party in this country with half the strength of the British party might well cause nightmares to the anti-union crowd. Ralph and they are in unison once more upon that important subject.

To our great regret, we will have to ignore the Civic Federation manifesto. We are not taking orders from Jove-like Ralph nor from any of his labor spy friends or associates. Let him show one worker that he has organized or one injunction that he has fought, before he dare open his mouth about "our Movement," and the rest of the twaddle he indulges in. Let him get down on his knees, in sackcloth and ashes, before the workers of this country, and retract all the vicious propaganda that he has gotten out against old age pensions, before venturing to indulge in attacks on men who have risked many things for the organization of the unorganized.

The National Civic Federation stinks to high heaven. Only on the grounds of mental debility can we find any cause to excuse Ralph.

The Gang System Comes to Nash's

"Galley Slave Plan" Meets Some Obstacles

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

UP until a year ago the City of Kenosha, Wisconsin, could readily have been called Ke-Nash-a. The great Nash Automobile Company dominated the community, economically and politically. The uncertain tenure of employment which has apparently become a fixture in the automobile industry made thousands of workers hang by a thread for their living upon the will of the corporation's officials. At the same time, the voters obediently placed in public office, as a rule, those favored by the Nash interests. W. H. Alford, the financial genius of the Company and a man of somewhat broader viewpoint than the ordinary capitalist, sat for a number of years as the Chairman of the City Council. For state senator, the electorate has chosen the secretary of the Kenosha Manufacturers' Association, Conrad Shearer.

One of the small but amusing products of this manufacturers' rule, is seen in the city ordinance which prohibits the distribution of handbills around factory gates. Certainly, aesthetic considerations played no part in this interesting regulation. It was designed clearly to prevent labor organizers from ever contaminating the factory workers with the message of unionism.

Nevertheless, the picturesque hosiery dispute which has put Kenosha on the national map has begun to affect seriously the viewpoint of all the local workers. The Kenosha Trades & Labor Council is today four times as large in delegates and affiliations as it was a little over a year ago. The miscellaneous trades—milk drivers, dyers and cleaners, auto mechanics, and others— have readily responded to the organization message. Nor has the Nash plant itself escaped from the process.

Walk-Outs

Last year, the desire for organization expressed itself in half a dozen spontaneous and unorganized walk-outs. Every one of these resulted in victory for the men on the immediate demand that they made for improved conditions. A request for a Federal labor union, to include all workers in all departments, was made by 60 workmen. A bit later, in August of last year, over 150 workers from the Nash plant attended a public meeting, called by the representatives of the A. F. of L. to discuss organization. At that time, unfortunately, the American Federation was toying with the idea that unionism could be sold to the automobile manufacturers, without any real organization among the men themselves. This totally impractical idea led the local representatives of the Federation to go slow with the campaign in Kenosha. As a result, nothing real was done, and unionism still remained a wish only within the plant.

Now comes the Nash Company, in this year of our Lord, and proposes the installation of the Gang System of labor. Quick to give ideas names, the workers have dubbed this "The Galley Slave Plan." Under it the speedy worker is penalized for the slowness of the inept, and the latter is made to strain himself beyond his physical powers to keep up with the production of the former. In the Racine plant, the System apparently went into effect without much controversy; but in Kenosha, where the workers had learned something of the value of united action, there was much grumbling and some open revolt.

More Revolts

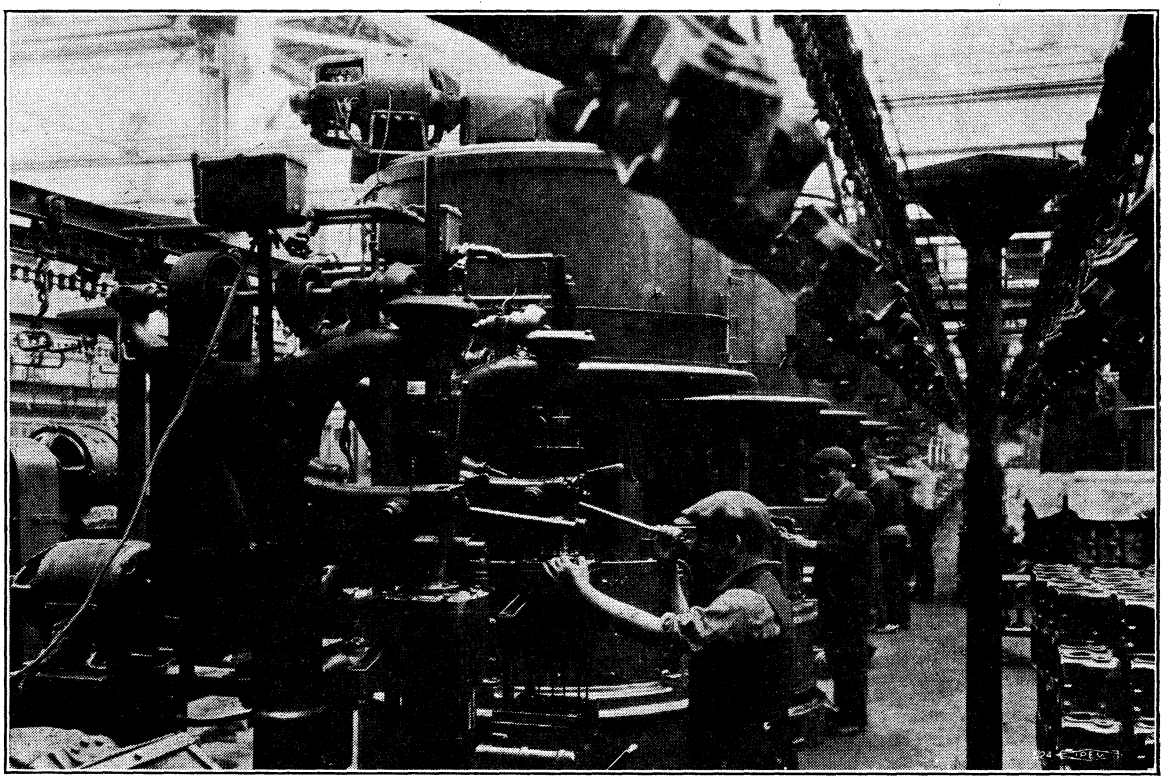
The wide-spread discontent in the crankshaft department — which had already received a wage cut, despite the large Nash dividends—was so great that the plan was abandoned for a time. The men walked out for a few days, and were granted their demand by the company that the Gang System should not be immediately installed. Nevertheless, the labor policy at Nash's has been of late to grant redress of grievances in case of departmental strikes, waiting for the opportune moment later to discipline the strikers by quietly letting out their most vocal and belligerent fellow-workers.

Here it might be said that the Nash group of plants —at Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee (Seaman Body Corporation)—employ a total of 15,000 men in the rush season. Of these, about 4,000 to 5,000 are employed in Kenosha. The policy of the Company has been to encourage the coming in of floaters, wide-spread advertisements in newspapers throughout the country stimulating outsiders to come in to the city during the rush period. Many of these remain later, a drug on the local labor market. They are a great asset for the company, as can readily be seen, in preventing stable labor organization.

$25 Per Week!

With the complicated piece price rates, it is difficult to give an accurate picture, in brief space, of the earnings of the Nash workers. However, inquiry made by myself of a group of approximately 1,000 of these men shows that the average wage over the year runs from $25 to $28 per week. This is scarcely a healthy recompense for married men, but it is the actual average arising from the uncertain periods of employments. During the rush season the men can work almost any hours that they can stand. Some of the shifts run as long as 14 hours per day. For several months, hectic, high-speed production prevails. Then comes the slump and with it no work. Some few men straggle into other industries, thus helping to keep down the wages in those places. But the great majority are

CROWDING MEN AND MACHINES



Workers milling transmission cases

always among the temporarily unemployed.

What will come of the undoubted unrest in the Kenosha plant, growing out of the hosiery fight and the introduction of the Gang System, is still a matter of conjecture. To the other difficulties are added the large number of labor spies in the plant. Several of these were unearthed last year by the Machinists Union, but every effort to get the local or state authorities to look into the matter thoroughly has met with rebuff.

The $40,000 Fund

The alarm of the manufacturing interests, headed by the Nash group, was seen in the rash effort to secure illegally a fund of $40,000 for a grand jury investigation of the hosiery strike. It was well known that there was never any intention to go into the activities of private detectives—who have been legion in number in the Kenosha situation—or into the violence employed by professional strike breakers. The purpose of the fund was to hound the union strikers and thus furnish an effective strike-breaking weapon to the Allen A Company. When an injunction was threatened against this county appropriation, the Manufacturers' Association went into the State Senate and introduced a bill, known as 47, S, which would have legalized this appropriation and would have granted unlimited funds to the Circuit Judge for the employment of private detectives

To the amazement of the state, Senator Herman J. Severson produced records which showed that in a previous Grand Jury investigation in Kenosha County, under the auspices of the same judge, thousands of dollars had been spent illegally by the Russel Detective Agency for the purchase of illicit liquor and for the bringing in of professional prostitutes into the community. This scandal led to impeachment proceedings against the judge, Ellsworth B. Belden, which are still pending in the legislature. The indignation of the people at these revelations caused the temporary tabling of the bill by its own backers—and it can be confidently predicted that it will never pass a Wisconsin legislature. There is too much of the spirit of LaFollette left there.

The workers at Nash's realize the necessity for industrial unionism, if they are to succeed in opposing the gang system or in making any headway for better conditions. Every one of several hundred to whom I have talked, all agree that organization must be based on the plant and not on any "craft" divisions. Beyond that, final organization cannot probably be established without a pitched battle. This means funds—and the way to secure funds, of course, is through national publicity. Nothing would do more to get the Nash workers into a solid group than the publication of a weekly or semi-monthly paper, devoted to their specific interests and problems. Much can also be done in a dramatic way in calling the attention of the country to the unhealthy social conditions that these workers are facing, and thus prepare the liberal and labor elements for coming to their aid financially when the final show-down arrives.

What the Workers Think

Shop Papers Win Their Confidence

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

THE triad of the auto industry—wage cuts, speed up, and periodic mass unemployment—are too well known now for me to go into them here. It has never been pointed out, however, that these conditions have resulted in a worker who is so cowed by economic forces that he questions his own ability to do anything about it.

If you were in the same position you would be likewise. Fear rules the plants. The men fear one another, for stool pigeons are frequent in this "American plan" city of Detroit; the native-born fear the foreign-born, because of his strange version of English and his subservience to the boss; they all fear the boss, who has their destiny in his hands—that is, he can hire and fire, and that is the whole life of the workers. Of my work at the Packard plant I wrote: "We all feared and hated the big boss. Our own foreman was a likeable chap who was himself under fire for not speeding-up the men under him. The men realized that they make their bread and that of their dependents in the factory. If they give that up (the job) they might as well give up life. . . . When the boss comes around they speed up, speak to no one and try not to draw his attention. If he curses one of them they stand for it; they will stand for anything short of firing. . . ." This fear of the boss is present to an extent which effectually nullifies anything that organizers are doing at present.

Dread of Blacklist

This fear runs riot all over town, far outside the factories. This last winter I got track of a fellow who had been a victim of the spy and blacklist system maintained by the Employers' Association of Detroit, and I went to see him. It is devilishly hard to get actual specific information on this situation, for while everyone knows it is present, few have been in so intimate contact with the system as to be able to give concrete facts in support of their suppositions. I went after this fellow with all the ardor of a capitalist after profits. Yet after a three hours' conversation I was able to get but one instance, and even here he asked me to so dress up the story that no one would suspect that he had given me the material. And all the time I talked with him he was so nervous that he disturbed me also. Such a state of mind prevails among the workers all over the city—especially so with the Ford workers, who have their "efficiency" watched over by nearly 3,000 "service men!"

Ford workers have been fired on mere suspicion of union activities. Donald Marshall, official of the Ford Motor Company, told gleefully how he discovered that "Reds" were in the plant, and had them all fired! Another Ford worker told me of his joining the Machinists' Union and being fired the next day! Under such conditions it is obvious that the men will not talk on "dangerous subjects" nor attempt to join the union individually. When organization does come it will have to be conducted in such a way that mass unionization can be carried through.

National Prejudices

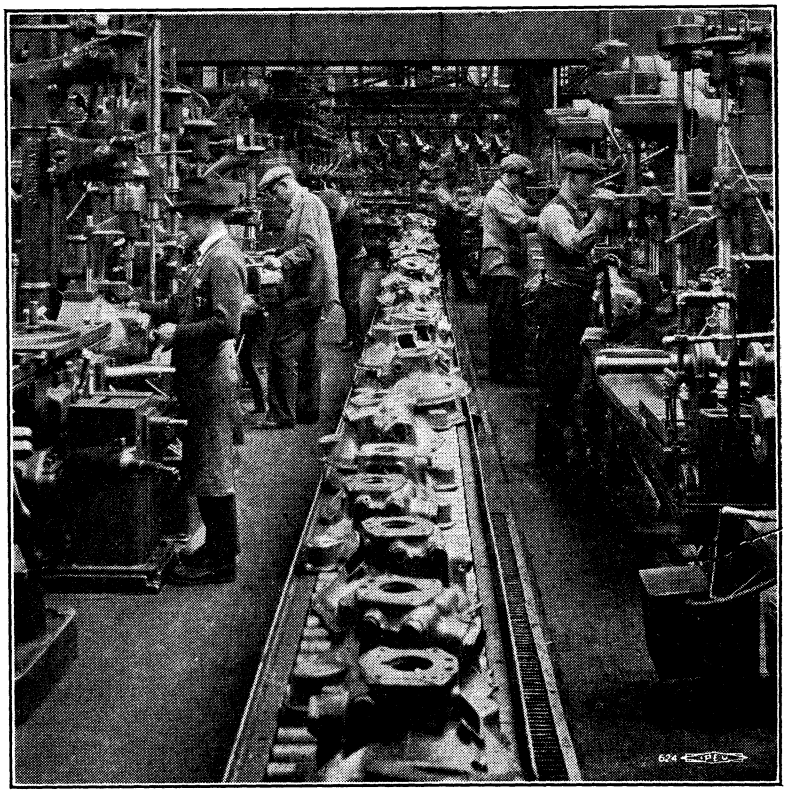
Of the total population of Detroit the native-born whites composed only 48.15% of the population; the native-born colored comprise 6.59%; the foreign-born take up the remaining 45.26%. Many of the foreign born carry over with them from the old country suspicions and prejudices of other nationalities. The bosses exploit these differences today, but not so much as they will in time of crisis. We all remember how it was done in the steel strike in 1919. At present the end is accomplished by the bosses showing preference for this or that group. Thus Hupp Motor Co. shows a preference for native-born Protestants while all the foreign-born Catholics resent it. A certain department in the Chrysler plant is ruled by a Polish foreman, the result being that the other nationalities blame the Poles for all their troubles! Or it may be that reports are spread of a "bunch o' Polacks" or "damn Wops" cutting the wage rates. Most prejudices originate, or are strengthened, in this manner. You can see how it happens: the foreigner already senses a feeling against him; this produces a dual psychology of fear and hate. Then, let us say, a timer comes around to see just how much each man is taking to do the job. As the timer stands over him he becomes afraid of losing his job and speeds up. As a result of his speeding the rate is cut; the boss explains the cut as being due to the foreigner who is at once abused and ostracized by the other workers. Such divisions, of course, delight the corporations who profit by the divisions among the workers and obstacles placed in the path of unionism.

The past also has a vise-like grip on the mind of the worker, incapacitating him for present struggle. He thinks over the past few years and compares them to the comparatively "Golden Age" of 1923-24 when he was making his $40 weekly and wasn't worrying much where next month's rent was coming from. He remembers the handsome bonuses he used to get every half-year and of the presents he got at Christmas. Take Dodge, for instance, before it fell into Wall Street's clutches. The workers got a bonus after they had worked there for a year. It was based on their earnings and on time spent with the company. Thus a trimmer—one of the more skilled men—who had been with the company three years was making about $200 a year in bonus, in addition to a weekly salary of about $45 a week. In addition, the workers got free insurance and a box of chocolates at Christ-

mas, at a nominal cost. Joe Brown, in his article in this magazine last fall, showed how well off the Fisher Body workers were back in those days. At that time I talked to good trade-union Scotchmen and they told me how much they liked to live in this country. Yeah, the old country was all right, they'd say, but this country—! Well, there just wasn't any expression good enough to fit it. But those days have gone forever. Nevertheless, many workers still look on them longingly with a faint gleam of hope that they may perhaps return, that this demoniacal rush is but temporary. And so they hesitate to take any steps to defend themselves.

Many auto workers have been brought up on the farm, stronghold of individualism. When the farm-bred fellow comes to town it never occurs to him that his interests would be best served by group action, for the very simple reason that in all his life such an idea has never been dreamt of, far less acted upon. His outlook on life is a subdued "my hand against every man's and every man's against mine." In the city crowds he feels no sense of solidarity; he is a speck tossed into a gigantic kaleidoscope. In the employment lines there is little talk. After much waiting he gets a job, on his own appearance and at the employment official's pleasure. He is put to work on a machine or on the line, where he has to work so hard and fast that he cannot talk to others. He goes home on a crowded street car, filled with tired and sullen men, and talks to no one. Amid the roar and clang of machinery he can feel his own insignificance. He is in a dirty scramble for the crumbs from the rich owner's table. Every man for himself!

ON ONE OF THE BELTS



Men drilling clutch cases.

Vain Hopes

This individualistic outlook is further strengthened by the notion that this servitude to the Motor Kings is but a temporary rest, in preparation for further heats in the race toward success. This man is going to work until he saves $3,000; then he is going back to the home-town and open up a small store, before which he can sit on summer days and smile lazily at passers-by. This young worker is staying until he gets enough saved to buy back the farm down South, that he lost in the floods. That Scotchman tells you vehemently that the old country is a "damn sight better off" than this land of the free, and is working for Mr. Chrysler just long enough to get his fare home. This young fellow is only waiting for a chance to become a plumber's apprentice; "Hell, d'yuh think I'm goin' to stand for this all me life?"

But the employers are ruthlessly smashing every stone in this edifice of hope. Thus, the man who has been going back to the home town has been doing it for six years! Wages have been slashed to the bone, making it impossible to save. The worker will very soon be face to face with reality. He cannot get out of his class. He cannot give his children the questionable benefits of "higher" education, because they have to get to work to fill out the family exchequer. He will realize that he and his children and his children's children are, under the present economic system, doomed to be wage-serfs. When that moment arrives, when at last the enlightened and enraged worker becomes conscious of this grim industrial autocracy, then will organization triumph. But at present, there is only the dull hope for better things, and better times.

Finally, the auto worker has no faith in labor leadership. Those who have been bitten are twice shy, and those who have not been stung can get all they want, plentifully colored, from the press. When I was talking to what I thought was a naive farmer boy from the South, I got this: "Hey buddy, yuh cain't tell me anythin' 'bout unions. I know 'em all. I u'st ta be a member of a union. We got together, a bunch of us, after an organizer came in. We paid our dues for a couple o' months or so. One mornin' our secretary had gone—and so had the dues. Then I joined another outfit. They pult a strike and left us in the mud. Yuh couldn't git me back in a union ef yuh used a truck to drag me in."

When I asked another worker to join the union I

SOUTHERN SCHOOL FOR WOMEN

Teaching industrial women "to think for themselves" is the plan of the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, which announces its third session to be held at Burnsville, N. C., this summer, July 11 to August 23.

The eyes of all wide-awake labor people are on the South these days. Elizabethton, Tenn., is but an augury of further revolts. It is good to know, therefore, that this school is on the job and that it has the hearty support of organized labor in the Southland.

Louise Leonard, whose office is at 209 W. Madison Street, Baltimore, Md., is the school's director.

was sweetly asked how Farrington was getting along since he went in with the Peabody Coal Company; and they never failed to inquire after the health of Mr. John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, at that time roaming around the country and putting up at high class hotels. (This was during the big strike in 1928). Or if it were some one who had been in Detroit a long time they'd ask me about Flynn. This gentleman is now a personnel man for the Fisher Body Corp. Once he was active in the Auto Workers' Union. Militant labor leadership will have to live down the past. It will have to show the workers that it is honest, dependable, straight—not to be purchased by the corporations.

I have pointed out some obstacles to organization, not because I feel the time is not yet here for unionization, but because they are often overlooked in organization. I feel that the time is indeed ripe for an assault on this Open Shop citadel. In spite of all obstacles, which I have pointed out, discontent is seething—just this week I hear of strikes in Fisher Body and Hudson Motor.

Effective Papers

In the process of focussing the mind of the worker on united action one of the most important weapons is the shop paper. The Communists have published as high as nine of these papers for the workers of the large plants. Six of them are regularly published at present. For the most part they are made up of letters sent in by workers, expressing grievances, and in just as simple, direct language as the worker employs. They are very effective. The very fact that their grievances are worth publishing gives the workers an immense amount of confidence in themselves. The papers go like wildfire. Although but a handful of the workers are Bolsheviks, they all agreed as to the truth of the statements made in these papers. Of course, many times the criticisms have been somewhat overdrawn. Nevertheless, the workers have read them, and by the tens of thousands.

Not only should shop papers win the confidence of the workers by giving expression to their daily grievances, but they should make some attempt to familiarize the workers with the economic situation in which they find themselves. They must be made to see the larger implications of the wage cuts, speed up and rationalization.

The Auto Workers' Union also gets out a paper, The Auto Workers' News, which is eagerly sought after and read by the workers. When I worked in Packard, two or three of us would buy copies and then pass them around to every one in the department. We used to have some hot discussions on the whole question of united action. When we got going I found the workers not so "dumb" as the bosses want them to be. More workers' papers, expressing grievances and aiding their social and political development would be of the greatest value in connection with organization campaigns.

New Methods

Finally, a word as to technique of organization. The fact that the units of the industry are so huge and complicated makes the old method of organization useless. The real organizers will have to be workers inside the plant. The workers are too tired and aching to talk organization after hours. The "inside" organizers must be actual workers, gathered together by "outside" organizers, who will coordinate the activities of the "inside" men. There should be at least one in each department, so that within a short time a skeleton departmental committee can be formed. When that is done the departmental committee should get together and organize a factory committee, to take care of the whole plant. After that all factories should be united into the industrial union with its branches in every auto center.

It will not be necessary for all workers to be members before decisive action can be taken. But at least a big militant minority will be needed to move the majority and lead them when the moment comes for all the workers to walk out. All this preliminary work will have to be done in secrecy, for otherwise it would be strangled with money and spies. When the committees call out the workers in Detroit, the union should sign them up, en masse, so that no individual discrimination can be made. That, I think, will be the process of unionizing the workers.

I have barely sketched the outline of organization, but at any rate it should acquaint you with the salient facts of the psychological state of the auto worker, and with the weapons to be used in the final struggle. It now remains to be seen how long it will be before we stop talking and writing about this and get down to work. How long is it going to be, progressives of the labor movement?

A Plan of Action for Auto Workers

To Meet Wage Cuts, Long Hours and Speed-Up

By ROBERT W. DUNN

IN the automobile industry the workers are treated like mere cogs in a machine. They are handed arbitrary wage-cuts and lay-offs. Their hours of labor are excessive, and the speed-up is beyond endurance. A variety of "welfare" schemes deceive and intimidate them. Workers who dare to question the arbitrary decisions of foremen are fired. Under such conditions the need for unionization is self-evident.

ROBERT W. DUNN

Sufficient grievances exist for interesting, educating and arousing the men along the belt. Experiences gained in unions that have already functioned in the industry, and from the sporadic as well as organized strikes that have occurred, indicate the form, structure and procedure for the kind of union able to unite the various elements working in the plants.

The type of organization must be based on the structure of the automobile industry. It must be an industrial union, uniting the great mass of skilled and the minority of unskilled, regardless of age, color, sex or nationality. It must recognize the shop as the unit and carry on its propaganda by an appeal to the special grievances of workers in a particular department or plant, at the same time building a broad, effective defense against the Open Shop manoeuvers of the employers.

A brief review of the outstanding causes of discontent among the workers will indicate the more important demands which an auto workers union must put forward.

Demands

Wages of auto workers are below those required by minimum government budgets and also below those received by workers in unionized trades. The "high wages" in the industry are a myth. Although some workers fresh from farms and small towns may, at first, consider their wages comparatively high, they soon come to realize the higher cost of living in the auto centers and the drains upon health that the work entails. Higher wages will thus be among the first demands of auto workers. At present agitation for more pay should take the form of active resistance to the many wage cuts which are effected piecemeal and by a variety of methods.

This leads naturally to a consideration of speed-up, which the union would have to fight. The time-study device, the confusing bonus schemes, the driving of the workers, the group systems of payment—all have contributed to this harmful process. Without a collective voice in the plant the workers are bound to be driven harder and harder.

Hours are too long, averaging over 50 a week, and at certain seasons much longer. Overtime should be cut out completely and the available work spread over the year during normal working hours. And those normal hours should be—as an immediate goal—40 a week. The 5-day week and the 8-hour day, with a still shorter week in the more unhealthful departments, should be demanded.

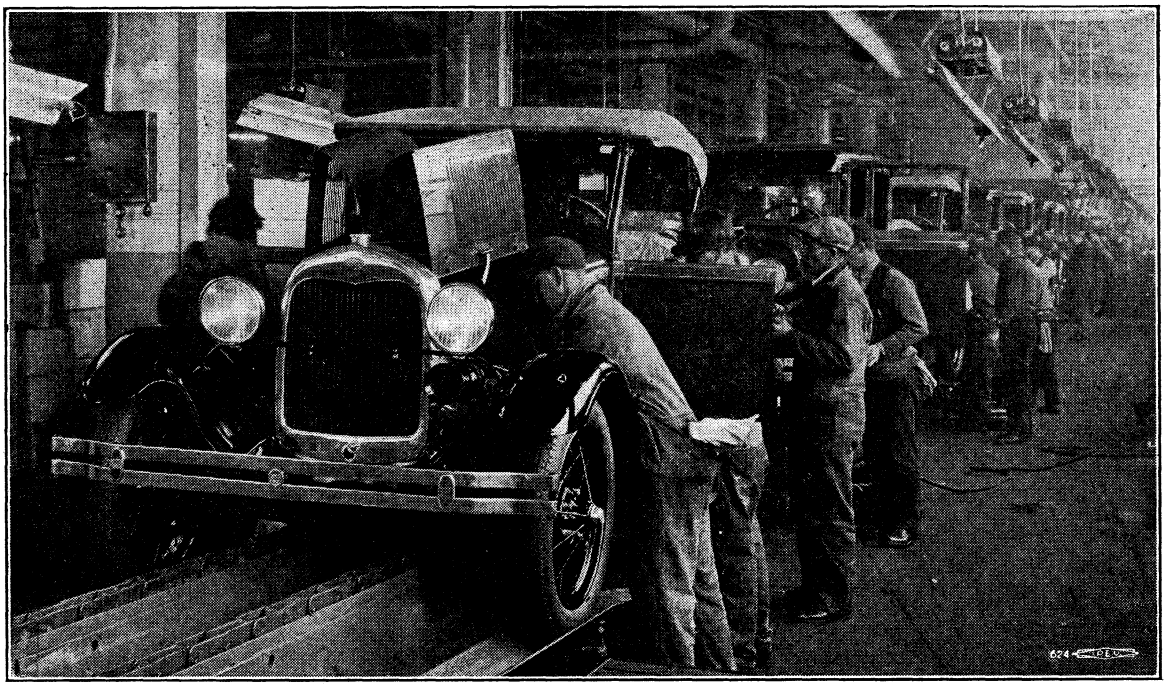
Chronic Unemployment

Closely related to hours goes the whole question of unemployment. With auto production seasons determined more and more by style, and with the increasingly frequent introduction of new models, irregularities in employment multiply and unemployment becomes a chronic condition of the industry. Short-time work and lay-offs constantly menace the worker and reduce substantially his annual earnings. The shorter working week and working day would have some stabilizing effect on this situation. Realizing, however, that unemployment,—seasonal, cyclical and technological—is an inevitable characteristic of the industry, as operated under the capitalist system, the auto workers must demand the enactment of legislation providing for the establishment of a system of federal employment exchanges and a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance.

Related social legislation should of course be worked for. In addition to unemployment insurance, the union would fight for state insurance convering old age, sickness, and accidents. Such measures, advocated by the union, would help to discredit the inadequate and paternalistic insurance used by several companies, such as General Motors and Studebaker, to tie the workers to their jobs and prevent organization. An effective union will also have to put up a vigorous fight against all the paralyzing stock ownership, company group insurance, and other specious welfare and personnel schemes.

But even before any such legislation is achieved the auto workers, in their first stages of organization, will be forced to fight defensively for the maintenance of certain elementary "democratic rights." Free speech and assembly have been denied, and will repeatedly be denied, these workers by local politicians working under the thumb of the motor corporations. The workers will have to fight first for the right to meet, organize, strike and picket. They will have to fight the growing menace of the injunction. These general political

FORD'S FINAL ASSEMBLY LINE



A few of Ford's 85,000 men at Fordson plant

demands will be uppermost at the outset of any union-izing campaign.

Political demands will, in turn, bring the auto workers face to face with the fact that both old-line political parties are the agents of the corporations. Out of their experience and struggles will develop a realization that only a Labor Party, representing the interests of the workers, can serve them in their struggle for industrial and political power.

Brutal Bosses

Then the workers must also demand some protection from the tyranny of the bulldozing foreman and sub-bosses. These slave-drivers are a part of the speed-up system, the human agents facilitating its smooth operation. They can only be cured by a union. The workers as individuals are powerless against these little tsars. At the same time the workers, when properly organized, will not be so inclined as at present to blame all their troubles on these foremen. They will see that it is not the lower bosses, brutal though they may be, who are their main enemies, but the companies themselves. And they will see also that the struggle against the company is but a part of the class struggle against the millionaire owners of industries coining huge profits from their labors.

Dozens of minor grievances should, of course, be considered in framing a list of demands to be made by any automobile union.

The union that organizes automobile workers will also have to emphasize the special demands of young workers, women, Negroes, and foreign groups, all of them important factors in the industry. The enthusiastic support of youth is essential to any successful organization campaign. This can be gained by paying particular attention to their conditions. In the parts and accessory branches, and in those departments of all plants where women are prominent, their interests must be united with those of the men. Equal pay for equal work will be the initial demand, along with the strict enforcement of laws relating to the employment of women. The Negro, comprising 10 per cent of the personnel in some plants, and the foreign-born have often been discriminated against. These most exploited workers will respond to the call of the union that employs special organizers from their own groups to deal with their problems.

Having seen what the grievances and the demands of the workers are, we may draw a few conclusions as to the kind of union that can organize this completely non-union industry.

Power Through Union

In the first place it is evident that this industry will not be unionized without a struggle. To organize auto workers means fight. We know what the organized power of the employers is, their unceasing propaganda, their banking connections, their belligerent associations, their anti-union war chests, their readiness to use every weapon, subtle and brutal, to prevent workers' organization—spies, blacklists, police power, injunctions, discrimination. It follows that a union seeking to appeal to the workers along the Belt will not talk "peace" and "cooperation," but will have to sharpen its weapons for a long and difficult siege. Only a spectacular, sweeping campaign will finally break the absolute autocracy of the anti-union corporations.

It will not be done by sweet words inviting a few of the employers to a conference!

The Will to Fight

It is obvious that only a group with the will and the determination to organize can carry on such a fight. Labor leaders who declare that "the day of strikes is past," will naturally accomplish nothing. Neither will those who exaggerate the obstacles apparent in the path of organization—the overwhelming financial resources of the corporations, the greenness, unskilled and transient character of automobile labor, the recurrent unemployment periods, the apparent intertia now prevailing. These are factors common to all large-scale trustified industry in America. They must be resolutely faced by an organization keenly aware of workers' needs and possessing the will to fight.

In the third place, only a union that takes in every type of worker in the plant can do the job. Craft unions, built along customary A. F. of L. lines, have no relation to the problems arising in great plants full of unskilled machine tenders and one-operation specialists. Such unions, squabbling over jurisdiction, will only breed indecision and weakness, as they have in the past. The union that organizes auto workers must be a *factory* workers union. It must be as modern and up-to-date as the industry itself.

By the same token it must be a union covering the whole industry as well as every operation in the plant. General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and their associates have assembly plants dotting the country. All the associations of employing corporations are nationwide. Only broad-scale action concentrated at first in the main plants, but extended later to all the assembly units, can avail against such vast corporations. Fisher Body alone, with its 45 plants, calls for a union that stretches from coast to coast, that embraces the industry. And Fisher Body is but one division in the mammoth General Motors Corporation.

Federal Unions Inadequate

No federal labor union, affiliated directly to the A. F. of L., can organize these workers. It has been suggested by some that the Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers Union (usually known as the Auto Workers Union) disband its 6 locals, and that they should become Federal Labor Unions. This would mean: (1) the complete separation of one local of auto workers from another, rendering impossible the solidarity needed for struggles with employers whose interests and branches cover the country; (2) the control of funds by the A. F. of L. instead of by the local workers, leaving the latter without financial power, in addition to the denial of the right to call strikes without sanction from Washington; (3) the expulsion from the locals of the most active workers—the left wingers—as has happened in other federal locals; (4) the surrender of members to any A. F. of L. craft international at any time it chose to lay jurisdictional claims on them.

The division into Federal Labor Unions would thus stultify forever any efforts to organize the workers of the industry. The experience of General Motors workers at Oshawa, Ont., with a Federal Local after their strike in 1928 shows how ineffective is such an arrangement. That local died quickly, as the A. F. of L. took no interest in it.

The fact that an industrial union, embracing all workers regardless of skill, race, sex and age should be built, does not mean that the minority of skilled workers are to be neglected. It is quite possible that, for example, the tool and die makers who are paid less than union men of similar ability in the organized trades, would constitute the backbone of any strike against Ford or General Motors. When questioned on organization and strike prospects the assembly line workers often ask: "Would the tool and die makers strike too?" These men are very important. They were the leaders in the Machinists' strikes in Detroit and Toledo in 1919-20, as the skilled painters and body builders were the leaders of the Auto Workers Union during the period of its greatest strength. And it is these more skilled groups that have resorted in recent days to scores of sporadic strikes in an effort to redress their grievances. They must be appealed to as the most strategically important elements of any mass movement.

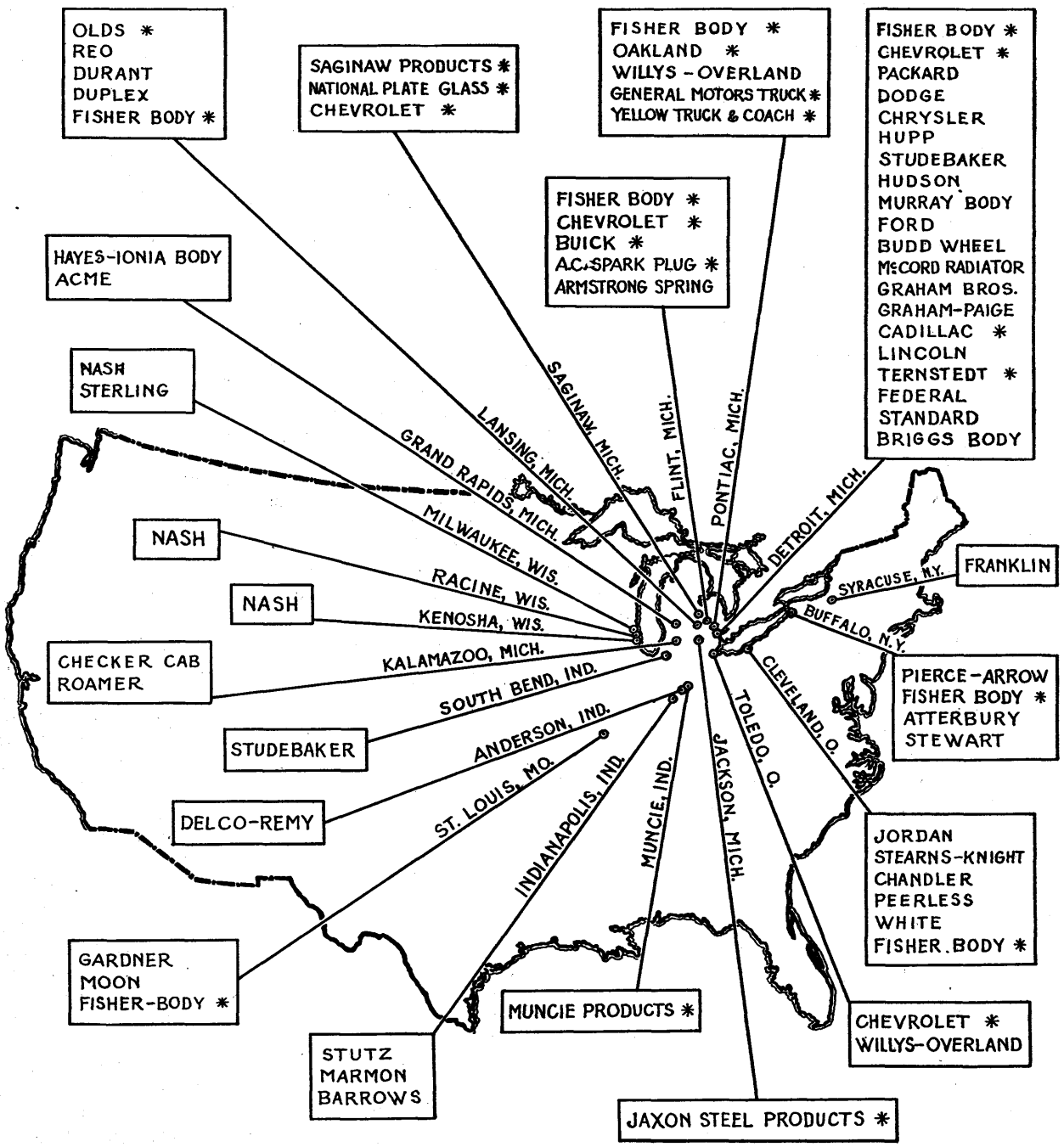
Departmental Delegates

Shop committees, as Robert Cruden suggests in his article in this issue of LABOR AGE, will certainly have to be used as a basis for agitation by the union that organizes this industry. For the shop and not the geographical local is the natural unit of representation and the place around which union activity must center. Both secret and semi-secret shop committees should be employed to prepare the way with education and propaganda for the first wide-sweeping rebellion of workers. This departmental penetration will be the first step taken by the union in making contacts with workers, and in helping them to evaluate grievances and to give expression to demands. Unless these departmental delegates are trained from the start there will always be the danger that the mass of workers, enrolled during a wide open campaign, will be swallowed faster than the union can digest them, and they will not become really conscious and disciplined union members. According to officials of the Auto Workers Union this was one of the mistakes of its 1919-20 campaigns when the national membership of that union rose to 45,000 in some 35 locals.

The union education of the workers will take various forms, but certainly they will respond only to a union that makes full use of the shop paper method of propaganda. Such a paper helps them to formulate grievances and give shape to demands. It applies to particular plants and companies and has a direct, personal appeal not contained in the general union or labor newspaper. These papers are needed, furthermore, to offset the "employee magazines" issued by Studebaker, Budd, Buick, White Motor, Cadillac and other companies. They must be made vivid, colorful, and accurate organs of labor, dramatizing the day-to-day struggles and demands, and countering the incessant propaganda of the employers who have such manifold outlets for duping and misleading the workers.

MAP OF THE AUTO BATTLE FRONT

Map shows where the chief automobile, bodies, parts, and accessories plants are located within a radius of 250 miles of Detroit, Mich. Many of the companies have dozens of assembly plants scattered over the country as well as in foreign countries.



*Signifies a General Motors Division.

Progressive Movement Moves

Defeatism Disappears—and The Next Step

By **A. J. Muste**

IT is two months since Labor Age published as an editorial "The Challenge" to Progressives in the American labor movement. It may be well to pause a moment and observe what has taken place and where those who are most deeply interested in "The Challenge" now find themselves.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that the whole series of events including the condemnation of Brookwood and Prof. John Dewey, the publication of the articles on Matthew Woll in the New Leader, the publication of "The Challenge," etc., have made real impression in the labor movement, including the A. F. of L. itself. Chester Wright in the official A. F. of L. services has let it be known that in the opinion of the A. F. of L. leadership itself, there has "not since the 1890's" been so weighty an onslaught on the leadership of the movement and on its dominant policies. Be it so.

If nothing else came out of the present so-called progressive movement, this is something not to be sneezed at. In fact, it is a priceless gain, and at the same time a serious responsibility, that Labor has been made to listen.

Label Pinning

A challenge has been issued that is not based primarily on a theoretical philosophy or a dogma, but on an analysis of the facts presented by the American scene. A challenge that could not be dismissed as "dual unionist" because it was too well known that the individuals associated with Labor Age and similar groups had given years of service to the building of, and not the destruction of, the labor movement. A challenge that could not be tossed aside as another "Communist" move, though some feeble effort is made by the serious-minded, Bolshevik-chasing Ralph Easley to link together Barnard College at Columbia University, Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Hapgood, Labor Age, Socialists, Communists and most of the rest of the world as foes of the constitution, the National Civic Federation and Mr. Woll.

Another important point that has come out in recent developments is that there seems to be practically no danger whatever that the progressive movement will be confused with the Communist movement. The Communists themselves have pretty well taken care of that by openly taking the position that the progressives are even more dangerous than the "A. F. of L. reactionaries," and are, they insist, only a cloak and tool for the latter. All of this, of course, suggests many questions which we cannot go into here. But since, as a matter of fact, the progressive movement is not a "Communist move" in disguise, it is a real help at the start that this should be clear.

For the present the chief club with which to belabor the Labor Age and similar groups seems to be that they are "intellectuals;" therefore, they are just theorists, dreamers, meddlers who would lead our practical, balanced, cautious labor movement off in pursuit of some new social order pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Since this is evidently going to be one of the chief lines of attack, it is worth while devoting a paragraph or two to discussion of it.

"Intellectuals"

The present writer has on occasion spent breath and spilt ink in criticizing "intellectuals." They have their faults and limitations. In so far as any "intellectuals" who may be connected with the progressive movement are mere dreamers and theorists, or would-be Messiahs who see themselves nobly leading labor into the promised land, of course they will have their little heads whacked, and until they do their presence will handicap the progressive movement by just that much. But there is a good deal more than that to the story.

The redoubtable journalist who undertakes to do the progressive movement to death for the A. F. of L. by calling it a movement of "intellectuals," is himself an "intellectual," a former editor of the New York Call. In the end it comes down to this, that a person who has had a certain amount of formal training in some line such as engineering, law, journalism, education is an "expert," much sought after and admired, and often slavishly followed by trade union leaders, so long as this person accepts without question the policies of said leaders, refrains from any fundamental criticism and is willing to be in the main a passive tool. When, however, the same person insists on being a personality, ventures to analyze policies, engages in any activity that may in ever so slight a degree threaten the hold of the officialdom on the movement, immediately he has ceased to be an "expert" and has become an "intellectual," which means a meddler, a dreamer, a "red" and so on and so on. Recently Father John A. Ryan, who will certainly not be suspected of being a Bolshevik and whose services to the cause of labor have been distinguished, ventured to suggest that the A. F. of L. might become too materialistic, and immediately I began to get letters from people about how Father Ryan was also a visionary, an "intellectual," didn't know the psychology of the toiler, as do our labor leaders, many of whom at that time happened to be strenuously at work in Miami, Florida, planning for the organization of the basic industries!

In other words, we need not lose too much sleep over having the terrible curse of being "intellectuals" pronounced over us. These poor worms of "intellectuals" are also human beings and wage-earners, often not

as well-paid as bricklayers or plumbers. If they bestir themselves in the cause of economic justice and of freedom and are not satisfied to sell professional service at so much per hour to labor leaders or corporation magnates, maybe that is a welcome sign.

Brains Welcome

As a matter of fact, I think we have to go much further than this. Intellectuals have made very important contributions at various times to the labor movement both in this and other countries. We shall have to count on them very largely in the transition period through which the American labor movement is now passing. There is a very considerable amount of ferment among the young people in colleges and universities, young college graduates, the younger people on the staffs of our educational institutions, men and women in professions such as journalism, law and even the ministry. The people in the unions who feel dissatisfied with America in the Hooverian era are for the time being terrorized into silence and submission: the leadership does not tolerate any least show of opposition and criticism. What is to be done under the circumstances! Shall we use, harness, the energies and abilities of the vigorous young "intellectuals," if you please, who realize that they must somehow make contact with labor! Or shall we in humility and dread retire from the field and tell these young people also that until by some act of God labor gets organized and militant and virile, they must sit by quietly, devote themselves to making a living, refrain from any rash attempt to raise a banner of revolt in the name of labor in this the mightiest of all the capitalist lands?

The answer is, No. All forces that can in any way help to build a militant, progressive labor movement are welcome to pitch in and help.

I fancy that I hear now from many of the people who have been writing in to LABOR AGE and other places about this progressive movement: "Yes, that's all very well, but why don't you come to the point? Is the progressive movement going to move? Will the thing get organized and do something? There are plenty of us who are dissatisfied. Plenty of us who want to see some action and fight and fire in the movement. But there has got to be direction, organization, above all some action and an end of mere talk!"

The Croakers Disappear

While I have received no power of attorney from anybody, *I believe that I am speaking the mind of many who have been watching the situation, as well as my own, when I venture the opinion that the time is fast approaching when some provisional organization for carrying on the campaign for progressive measures can and should be formed.* It would have been foolhardy for any one to make such a move without first trying to discover the state of public opinion, getting some notion as to whether there were any progressives left and whether any of them felt the impulse to get together and to act. By correspondence and by personal conference in all parts of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the South to the North, a good deal of this feeling out the situation has been done. With what result?

Nobody in touch with the situation has any vision of a vast upsurging of progressivism, great industries organized over night, labor parties blossoming forth like flowers all over the lawn. Everybody believes that progressivism has a long road to travel, a very rough road, one that will permit of only slow progress, probably very slow progress. On the other hand, it is most significant that nobody in touch with the situation is in the slightest degree down-hearted or defeatist. *That terrible defeatist note that may almost be said to have dominated progressivism for some years, is suddenly not heard any more.* It would be hard to estimate what a gain that is in itself! Nobody believes that having issued "The Challenge" we should let it rest there.

Organization Demanded

Young people in the movement and many older ones with young hearts insist that now some provisional organized form for the progressive movement must be set up, something must be devised to which people can "belong," there must be a way for scattered individuals and groups whose hopes have been fired to keep in touch with each other, the immense agitational and educational task of developing a labor psychology in America, of breaking down the get-rich-quick, every-man-for-himself, speculative, keeping-up-with-the-Joneses, getting-ahead-in-the-world psychology among our workers, of making them aware of their place in modern society, of organizing their power on the economic, political and cooperative field and infusing it with intelligence—that task of economic, social, political education leading on straight and sure to organized labor power, intelligence, enthusiasm and idealism must be tackled. That is what has been said by dozens of voices in all parts of the country during the past two months. Thousands have felt it. I believe the need thus voiced will soon be met.

Meanwhile, there are many indications that events are playing into our hands. From South, East, West and North; from automobile plants, textile mills, aeroplane and radio plants, building operations, all sorts of sources, comes word that workers are revolting—not because they have been converted to Marxism, but just revolting against rationalization (scientific management), speed-up, wage-cuts; not led, often failing to develop any internal leadership; seldom going to the official labor movement because they don't know about it or distrust it; sometimes asking aid from the official movement and seldom getting it, being met with the information that "we already have men of our own on the street, etc."

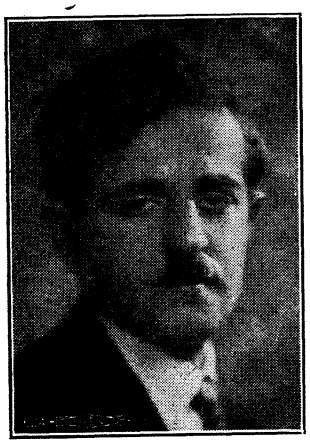
There are spots also where progressives are going ahead locally, without waiting for further organization, and forming worker's clubs, or labor classes and colleges, or inspiring their local labor movement to more vigorous action. The more of this the better. A little action will go further than much talk or any organization that looked big only on paper.

Selling Unionism—To Whom?

Organization Must Begin With the Workers

By **J. M. Budish**

THE problem of organizing the unorganized presents many different difficulties in every individual case. It would be impossible to prescribe a general receipe to fit every situation. As a practical proposition, the plans in each case can be worked out only after a careful survey of the particular industry, trade or even plant. That does not mean, however, that there are no general principles and methods which are to a considerable extent applicable to every organizing drive. No doctor will prescribe a medicine without examining the patient even if the diagnosis has already been made. Still, there are general methods and principles of medical science which determine the treatment of each patient. Equally in education. To be effective, every teacher, every school must modify its methods to suit the particular situation and the particular group of children. Nevertheless he would be a poor teacher, indeed, who would not be guided by the general principles and methods of child study and education. From the same point of view there are general methods and principles which would serve as the basis for a sound approach to any particular organizing problem.



J. M. BUDISH

Competitive Industries

It may be advisable first to call attention to the different character of the difficulties presented by various industries in an organizing campaign.

It is frequently assumed that it is easier to organize the so-called lighter competitive industries such as the needle trades. Capital is not so highly concentrated and is not so powerful. It is sometimes possible for a union to play upon the conflicting interest of the various competitive groups of employers in order to strengthen its own position. It may also happen that in some cases competition in such trades may become so keen and even destructive that some employers may consider the existence of a strong union as the only means to maintain uniform conditions in the trade, with regard to the cost of labor. They may, therefore, come to consider the existence of a strong union as the lesser evil—a situation which will apparently facilitate the organizing task of labor. On the other hand, just because of the keen competitive conditions numerous new shops continually arise in such trades. There is also a tendency towards the development of ever smaller units employing only a very small number of workers and with a very low business responsibility. This makes organizing extremely difficult.

Basic Industries

Conditions are different in the highly centralized and trustified basic industries. In such industries as automobiles, iron and steel and public utilities, capital is so strongly entrenched and exercises such great economic and political power that the organization of these industries is considered by many pessimists as an almost impossible task. On the other hand very large numbers of workers are concentrated in these industries in the same plants and under the same conditions. This condition would apparently facilitate the organizing task.

The position, economic and otherwise, of the workers in the industry to be organized is another important factor. There is an inclination to consider that it is easier to organize such workers as are subject to excessive exploitation, whose working conditions and wages are at a very low level. That, for instance, was the case with the needle workers at the time when the needle trades were in a sweatshop condition. It is the case now with practically all the Negro workers. It is thought that among such workers the union appeal is bound to call forth a greater response, because it is enough for them to compare their own conditions with the conditions of the workers in the organized trades to get a striking example of the benefits of unionism. On the other hand, much is said about the difficulty of arousing the "down and outs." It is frequently argued, and not without reason, that the groups of workers who are at the bottom rung of the ladder are so weighed down by their unhappy life, by the excessive economic and social oppression to which they are subjected that their power of resistance is reduced to the very minimum.

At a Higher Level

The situation changes in those unorganized industries in which working conditions and wages are not very much lower than in the organized trades. Those labor men who are adherents of pure and simple trade unionism, who are inclined to base the union appeal almost entirely upon business considerations, upon the degree of protection and improved conditions that the union is in a position to offer to the worker, practically despair of organizing such industries. Daniel J. Tobin, one of the most militant men of the old guard of the American Federation of Labor, does not hesitate to declare publicly that "while such conditions obtain in Ford's plant, they (the workers) can never be organized." We shall not consider here this point of view except to suggest that it alone is enough to condemn

the entire attitude of business trade unionism, as one which dooms the labor movement to stagnation if not to total disappearance.

On the other hand, it is frequently suggested that workers who are somewhat better off economically, who enjoy greater leisure, develop higher standards of living and greater demands on life in general. There are reasons to believe that such workers have a greater craving for those higher values of life, including making provisions for their families and for the education of their children, as will demand a much more substantial improvement in their economic condition. These workers will look forward to a much greater extension of the opportunity to control their own destiny and to exercise some power in the shaping and management of industry than they can possibly achieve without a collective effort. The history of the labor movement seems to indicate that organization and unionization started among those groups whose working conditions and wages were somewhat above the average, and not among those who were at the bottom.

Camouflage vs. Open Autocracy

Finally, we must also consider those differences which arise from the different methods used by the employers to make their workers stay away from the unions. In some industries, as the steel industry, the employers are brutally candid. They openly and explicitly insist on being the autocrats of the industry who arbitrarily determine working conditions and wages which the workers may take or leave, and any attempt of the workers towards self-determination is considered by them as rebellion to be suppressed without mercy. There are also unorganized industries such as automobile, railroads and meat packing in which the employers' arbitrary control is camouflaged by schemes of so-called industrial democracy and welfare capitalism. In these latter industries, however, it would also be necessary to overcome the psychological effects of the so-called "men-management" cooperation, the mental corruption, complacency and acquiescence which are developed as a result of careful systematic cultivation by the personnel management.

Now, the various phases of the problem presented by these different industries demand very careful consideration of each individual case. But assuming human nature to be what it is, the same general principles and methods must serve as a basis for such detailed and specified plans as may be needed in each particular situation. It might be best to try to discover these general principles by taking up a few concrete organizing problems.

Automobile Accessories

Here is a case on the fringe of the automobile industry. A great plant in an up-state industrial center of the State of New York producing shock absorbers for automobiles and employing 1,800 workers, all unskilled. The plant is run on the modern methods of mass production with some nine lines or "Belts." The workers on each "Belt" make up a single unit and are collectively turning out a specified amount of work. Production has been continually speeded up. A few

WHOSE JOB?

Locomotive Engineers' Journal

The millions of unorganized workers must be organized. Employers won't do the job for us. The tree of organized labor can depend for its growth upon none but the workers themselves.

months ago the workers on the "Belt" were supposed to turn out 400 units. Then the company offered a bonus to every "Belt" exceeding the specified 400 units. The bonus consisted of a box of cigars for the entire group. This method had the effect that during the middle of February the production increased five times, so that each "line" of workers produced no less than 2,200 units, working until 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening in order to turn out their day's work. Wages remained at the same level, ranging between $20 and $30 a week. Conditions became unbearable and the spirit of rebellion was ripe among the workers.

Here is an organizing problem which would appear to be quite simple and almost ideal from the point of view of organized labor. Without any outside agitation or propaganda whatever the workers went out on strike and on their own initiative sent a committee to the Central Labor Union of that city asking for guidance and assistance. Now organized labor is out to double its membership. Apparently here was a splendid opportunity. But strange as it may seem right here the difficulty arose.

The Central Labor body thought that the organizing of these workers was really not their job but the Machinists'. The local union of the Machinists to which the committee went next felt that they were not in a position to take care of these 1,800 strikers. They

wired to the International Union asking that a charter be issued to this group and that an International officer take charge of the situation. But neither the charter nor the International officer arrived on the scene. The strikers have been left practically to their own resources. Inexperienced as these workers are they can hardly handle the situation effectively. They have no speakers, they know little about picketing, about keeping up the spirit or morale and know even less about what rights they have. They are easily intimidated by the police and the guards. There is serious danger that demoralization will creep in and the entire strike will peter out.

As our correspondent informs us, "Obviously here is a situation that could be made a great deal of, if the local movement were alive, which decidedly it is not." Unfortunately the local movement is distinctly not alive to the situation. There is more to it.

Labor's Message

The attitude of the Central body in this case reflects the general approach of the A. F. of L. to the problem of organizing. There is a fundamental lack of faith as to the possibility of building up a labor organization by carrying the message of unionism to the workers and to them alone. *The Colorado Labor Advocate* quotes President Green as stating that

> *"Our program has always been that we have a message for the employer, particularly the employer of non-union labor and for the unorganized worker."*

The same idea, even if not put so concisely, is expressed in numerous pronouncements of A. F. of L. leaders. Its major point is that it contemplates the "selling" of unionism to the non-union employer at the same time as to the non-union worker, or rather selling it *first* to the non-union employer and then to the unorganized worker. Approaching the question from this point of view a group of rebellious workers who at their own initiative go out on strike is looked upon somewhat suspiciously and is hardly considered a desirable element. Then, conducting a strike is connected with considerable expense. Business unionism implies comparatively high strike benefits. In a case like the one under consideration you will frequently hear from labor men that as long as the strikers are out on their own initiative, they will have to take the consequences, that is, they will strike practically without any strike benefit and will bear patiently all the suffering and distress for themselves and their families that might be involved. The moment, however, such strikers are chartered, the union will have to pay them substantial strike benefit and supply other costly protection. The strike may thus become a serious financial burden upon the organization.

Finally, and above all, the original pessimistic attitude with regard to the very possibility of building up a strong union by an exclusive appeal to the workers, and not only without the cooperation or at least acquiescence of the employer but against a serious opposition, again asserts itself. There is the fear that the strike may be lost. Why then should the union shoulder the responsibility of a lost strike?

This is not the only case of a substantial group of workers arising in spontaneous rebellion against unbearable conditions. There are frequent reports of such "wild" strikes which unfortunately as frequently peter out because of the inability of the strikers to secure any effective guidance and support from organized labor. There are even more cases in which the restlessness of the workers has no opportunity to crystalize itself into action. The same correspondent informs us that in the same up-state industrial city, "there is a strong undercurrent of unrest in many different industrial plants." He mentions a great automobile concern employing some 2,000 workers in which wages were cut while the work at the same time was speeded up. "Every worker in this industrial concern is uneasy, and talk of revolt is in the air." He also describes several other big plants in which similar conditions prevail. But whether this spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction will be enabled to find expression in some concerted action is rather doubtful. For, again, as in the case of the shock absorbers plant, there is no one to take charge of the situation and guide it into the proper channels. It seems as if the opportunity to organize several thousand workers employed in a basic industry, or on the fringe of it, is almost certain to be lost, primarily for the reason that while talking about "doubling the membership," the labor movement has too little faith and too many misgivings to really undertake the job with all the difficulties, responsibilities and risks that may be involved.

A Different Approach

There is one general conclusion suggested by the organizing problems described above. Vague appeals to "double the membership" are of no avail. Neither can anything be accomplished even among the excessively exploited workers by a mere vague appeal of the kind directed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the steel workers after the Steel Trust cut wages arbitrarily in one of its plants. Perhaps such appeals are really not meant to accomplish anything. *To be effective, this appeal must be based on a real deep faith that unions depend both for their development and existence only and exclusively upon the recognition of the workers.* There must be no shifting of responsibility. On the contrary, there must be developed not merely a readiness but a real eagerness to encourage the dormant spirit of dissatisfaction and rebellion of the workers *and to develop and guide it so that it may result in the formation of solid organizations.* This implies an entirely different attitude which may perhaps be expressed, if it were to be expressed in a single formula, that

> *The labor movement has a message for the workers, unorganized and organized, and has demands on the employers, especially the non-union employers.*

The details of an actual case of organizing in which this different attitude was applied, will show how it works out in practice. The story of this case, in "Milady's hat" industry will be told in another article.

The Employers' Challenge

Let Us Study Their Tactics!

By CHARLES P. DRAKE

If the Labor movement is to attain that goal the progressives set for it and serve "not only as an instrument to get immediate gains such as higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions for the toilers but as a great social force having for its ultimate goal the achievement of a good life for all, in a world controlled by workers," it will have to concentrate its fire on the real enemy, and the way to begin is to study that enemy. If we study the diabolical cunning of the forces arrayed against us, not only will radicals and conservatives in our movement be drawn together, but the knoweldge of what we face will center our fighting forces on the actual fighting line.

NO progressive laborite in the United States doubts that employers are unalterably opposed to the labor movement. From that point we must start the study of the employers and the tactics and the methods they use in fighting us.

In 1921 American employers were worried. The World War had given labor the upper hand. Union recognition took on the new aspect of labor having a voice in the management of business. In addition, the workers were apt to demand a share of the profits and if they continued getting more profits, it would ultimately end in the workers controlling industry. The business men and the manufacturers saw that, and felt that the union officials were superior to them in dealing with labor and labor conditions.

Much water has flown under the mill since then. Employers are now contemptuous of the unions. Company unionism, an insidious cancer, is attacking trade unionism at its very foundation, and many potential unionists are under its hypnotic spell. Why the change?

In part, developments in the labor movement itself are responsible. The inflation of union membership and power during the war were essentially artificial. When the government sanction was removed, government unionism collapsed. Post-war depression made the old-time trade union leader more conservative than ever. The Left-Right fight caused a reaction in the conservative ranks that has paralyzed action and strengthened opposition to industrial unionism. This is playing directly into the employers' hands.

Labor Divided

Labor heads are divided in politics and there are few American trade unionists who even think of voting for labor candidates. Most of them are voting for one of the two major parties, both of which are capitalistic to the core.

On the other hand, when the employers saw the menace of organized labor they banded together for mutual protection. They studied labor unions and tactics, and on that ground formed negotiatory and belligerent organizations. The manufacturers are not one single unit. Far from it. They, too, have divisions within their ranks, but they did see that a strong labor movement would threaten their power, and have consequently checked us to the point where the very existence of unionism is threatened.

The efficient hand of the employers' associations can be seen when private detective agencies or even the state police do thug work for the employers. The recent killings by coal and iron police in Pennsylvania and Colorado, the brutalities inflicted on women and children by Passaic policemen on orders from the mill owners are nothing new. They date back to the Ludlow massacre of 1914.

The National Metal Trades Association may be taken as representative of all employers' associations in America. In September, 1921, it had a membership of over 1,000 concerns which employed more than 600,000 workers in the eastern half of the United States and Canada alone.

An Aggressive Association

At first the N. M. T. A. was an informal body, but with continued conflicts it developed into a compact negotiatory association and then into a strictly belligerent organization which froze out the "small fry."

It has 17 geographic districts and 23 branches scattered over the local field to take care of local matters. The national council is supreme and is composed of an administrative council, executive committee, president, two vice presidents, treasurer, commissioner, and secretary. The executive committee gives instructions to the commissioner and his assistants, and the administrative committee perform judicial functions. Detailed treasurer's reports are not given at open conventions, but a general fund is maintained for ordinary expenditures and a war chest is kept in what is ironically called a "defense fund."

Strike breaking has been reduced by the manufacturers to a science. Branch offices are established to take care of any special need for quick action and local employment agencies make it possible for scabs to be imported on the next train after a strike begins.

Spies are supplied by detective agencies for the inside as well as the outside of the shop. In fact, most of the conflicts with the union have been foreseen through these and other means, and little change is necessary for the manufacturers to have a complete organization with which to break the best organized strikes.

Wages and working conditions are kept near enough to trade union demands to forestall agitation. Then a company union is set up, with welfare work and high salaried personnel managers to "soft soap" fundamental grievances of the workers, at the same

time granting meaningless concessions. After that come the wage cuts!

While this type of action is going on, manufacturers' associations often give special aid to employers who train an over-supply of men in the highly skilled jobs, so that if the workers do walk out there will be plenty of men to take their places under the same or worse conditions.

Manufacturers also maintain exceedingly efficient information bureaus, not only to keep every member in touch with the happening of the industry, but by a mutual blacklist system to insure that no "dangerous" union sympathizer is allowed in any of their shops.

Legal Twists

On the other hand, union attempts at boycotting or sympathetic strikes have been met by the employers with legal weapons. Such acts as the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act, in both of which labor saw possibilities of aid, have been twisted into tools for the employers. Adaptibility of the injunction at the present time is very largely due to the action of the League for Industrial Rights.

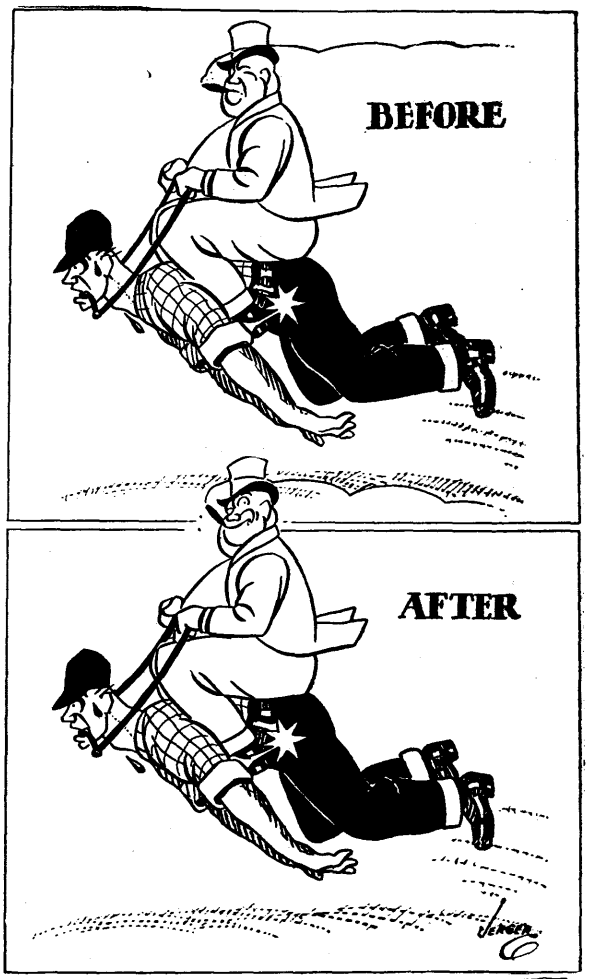
Legal action advantageous to labor is now practically cut off by the legislative activities of the employers' associations. Laws restricting the use of strikes, anti-injunction bills, pension measures and practically all proposed legislation that would benefit the workers are bitterly opposed on the field of politics. And what is worse, labor itself is often instrumental in defeating its own ends. Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, is also the head of the National Civic Federation, an open shop employers' organization which is fighting against the Old Age Pension bills labor has been fighting for.

Lastly, the most effective work of all on the part of the manufacturers' associations has been carried on in the field of education. Not only does the employer educate his own group, but he also educates the working man against himself and persuades the outsider that it is to his interest to fight for the principles of the associations.

In 1919 the Open Shop Review, a magazine filled with anti-union propaganda and "hokum" about loyalty to the boss, was sent to the homes of 17,000 employees of the National Metal Trades Association members. Employers are urged to "entertain" their employes with get-together banquets and annual picnics, with prizes "given" for advertising purposes; to promote baseball teams and other sports for the frankly avowed purpose of creating a "fraternal" feeling. Under this head we might rightly class the profit-sharing systems, for we know that even though the workers had the largest investment in the factory or industry, their shares would be so divided that their petty scattered force in the management would be negative, so that instead of really being part of the business, they are in fact the suckers that can be frozen out at will.

Pursuing the field still further, we find that manufacturers pay students tuition to colleges where they do research or experimental work with state laboratory equipment, and if the work proves succcessful, the manufacturers profit by the results. These students save large amounts of money for the companies but the public, impressed by the manufacturers' benevolence, is made to believe that it has direct interest in the business.

COMPANY UNIONISM



Mr. Employer sits pretty. The company union brings no change, as Jerger shows, except that the boss enjoys the joke—it's on the worker.

Thus the employers are sapping labor's power on every hand—in unionism, in government, in the public mind. And what is labor doing about it?

Cutting its own throat by concentrating on heresy hunting rather than focusing its energies on the enemy outside the walls. Rather than to stagnate in insignificant backwaters of industry, let us watch every move of that enemy and plan intelligent campaigns of defense and aggression.

If we study the maneuvers of the employers and their petty officers, not only will we clarify our vision but by that clarification we will be drawn together as the employers were drawn together, and from that common bond we will derive an indomitable strength to fight for our common rights.

Flashes from the Labor World

Dixie Textile Workers Revolt

Southern bosses may well see a storm signal in the big rayon strike at Elizabethton, Tenn., which ended in victory for the workers within 10 days. It started when 550 girls walked out of the plant of the American Glanzstoff Corp. at noon March 12. They were working 56 hours a week at 16c-18c an hour. The next morning the entire plant of 2,000 workers was struck. Girls were asking $15-$18 a week, men 45c an hour.

The following Monday 3,000 workers of the American Bemberg Corp. struck in sympathy. Both plants are owned by one German-controlled syndicate. Both are located near Elizabethton, a few years ago only a wide spot in the road, but now a thriving boom town where the cost of living is high, and where Hoover paused for his only campaign speech in the South.

In spite of a shower of injunctions and two companies of the Tennessee National Guard called in by the German bosses, picketing was made effective. Glanzstoff and Bemberg, arrogant key-units in the world rayon cartel, had to bow to the militancy of Southern American workers. A few days previously President Mothwurth of Glanzstoff had arbitrarily ordered a strikers' committee out of his office, swearing that he would never tolerate a union. Now he consented to negotiate.

The settlement was ratified by a mass meeting of 5,000 strikers, after being agreed upon by representatives of the United Textile Workers, the Tennessee Federation of Labor, the governor of the state, the U. S. Department of Labor, and the heads of the rayon companies. It gives the Glanzstoff strikers 12 per cent to 20 percent pay raises, boosting their wages to the level of those paid in the Bemberg plant. Workers in both plants get the right to belong to a union, with a promise of no discrimination against organized men or women. The new Elizabethton local of the U. T. W. has already signed up 2,000 of the strikers.

* * *

Gov. Allen of Massachusetts, worthy inheritor of the Fuller anti-labor tradition, has charged Gov. Roosevelt of New York with unethical and unconstitutional refusal to cooperate in the frame-up of the New Bedford strike leaders. Roosevelt refused to extradite the men wanted by Massachusetts "justice," because he found the charges against them—conspiracy to hold a parade which never came off—flimsy, to say the least.

Allen's letter telling the New York Governor where to head in at fills two columns of newspaper type with diplomatic nastiness. It boils down to the contention that no right-minded governor will refuse to extradite strike leaders, no matter how raw the frame-up against them. All New Bedford strike cases so far tried have resulted in complete breakdown of the prosecution, with resulting suspended sentences for the defendants.

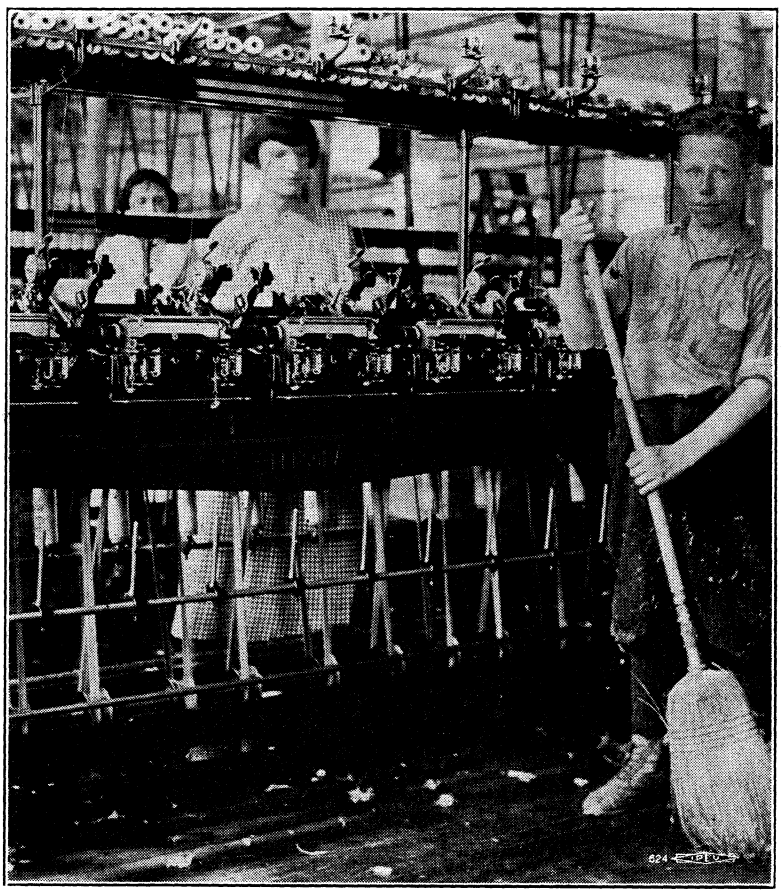
* * *

The 1929 model strikebreaker was exhibited in New Orleans when the traction bosses sent their little company union to court, and watched it come back with the bacon — a watertight injunction positively forbidding officers of the carmen's union to call a strike on the lines of the New Orleans Public Service Co.

The carmen called the strike anyway, and neither the traction company nor their pet judges said a word. Instead the street car bosses averted an actual walkout by hastily consenting to negotiate grievances with their employes—something they had refused to do before.

One of the main grievances was

SOUTHERN STRIKERS



These are the type of strikers—women and young boys—who made rayon bosses backwater at Elizabethton, Tenn.

the street car bosses' fostering of the company union—known as the Progressive Benevolent and Social Club—within the ranks of the real union. Local officers charge a plot to capture the local and sever it from the international.

* * *

After extended conferences with an A. F. of L. committee headed by Pres. Matthew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation, the commerce committee of the American Bar Association has recommended compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. The lawyers would create a federal industrial council. Union-employer agreements and contracts would be registered with this council to be made legally binding. In case of dispute, the council would hand down awards.

The American Bar Association's report was made public by Rush C. Butler, corporation counsel and special pleader for the coal interests. He expressed disappointment that Woll, John P. Frey and Victor A. Olander, of the A. F. of L. committee named to confer with the lawyers, had not ratified the document. At the New Orleans A. F. of L. convention, the committee of three while not reporting adversely to compulsory arbitration, asked that their powers be continued to make a "critical examination" of the proposal.

The Bar Association's proposed federal industrial council would place company unions on the same status as real unions, according to Attorney Butler. "Each industry must decide for itself," he said.

Easy ways to help employers violate compulsory agreements distasteful to them were seen in Butler's proviso that the contracts must not be against public policy nor the result of fraud or duress. As many contracts are won only after strikes employers might charge unions with "duress" before the proposed industrial council, in seeking to have the agreement set aside. Or an agreement for the full union shop might be construed as opposed to public policy by industrial commissioners who believe that the open shop is the best industrial policy.

The miners union of Kansas broke down a state industrial commission with similar powers, by open defiance. The Kansas labor movement was backed in its action by the late Samuel Gompers.

* * *

Coal company greed was responsible for the death of 46 miners, and the probable killing of 12 more who are missing after a disaster at the Kninloch mine, Parnassus, Pa. Defective equipment caused a coal dust explosion, which could not have happened if there had been adequate rock dusting.

The Kinloch mine, granted a certificate of safety by the federal mine bureau shortly before the blast, has a bad record as a man-killer. A year ago another explosion killed 12 miners. Its owners, the Paisely interests of Cleveland, O., are union haters who used everything from coal and iron police to air-tight injunctions against the 1927 mine strike.

* * *

The biggest labor meeting in Seattle since the Farmer-Labor party movement of 1920 assembled to demand freedom for the Centralia prisoners. As a result a delegation of 100 will visit Gov. Hartley to urge their release.

* * *

The Albany newspaper lockout has ended with a complete back-down by both Hearst and Gannett papers. Hearst was first to break ranks and give up the losing fight against the union typos, but Gannet soon followed suit. The union-owned Albany Citizen was biting deep hunks out of his advertising and circulation.

An attempt to save their faces in defeat was made by the newspaper bosses, who stipulated that the terms of the settlement should not be made public. But the beans were spilled by their own trade weekly, Editor and Publisher, which printed the terms under a brazen headline claiming "victory" for the bosses! Actually the settlement grants the typos the $1 a week raise over which the lockout occurred, reduces hours from 48 per week to 45, and provides further raises of $1 per week in each year of the three-year contract.

* * *

The Mooney trial was "one of the dirtiest jobs ever put over in any court," now declares Judge Franklin A. Griffin, who 12 years ago sentenced Mooney to hang. "There has been absolute demonstration of the innocence of Tom Mooney, in my opinion," said the judge, demanding full and complete pardon for Mooney and Billings at a meeting of the Mooney Defense League.

* * *

Militant organized farmers near Joliet, Ill., dumped 11,000 pounds of scab milk from trucks into ditches in a campaign of direct action against attempts to break their strike. They escaped arrest.

* * *

U. S. poorhouses are really too good for workers, P. Tecumseh Sherman, lobbyist for the National Civic Federation, told the N. Y. State Legislature when he appeared against proposed old age pension laws. Pensions were championed by President John Sullivan of the N. Y. Federation of Labor, and 200 other representatives of labor, welfare, civic, and fraternal organizations, in an effort to save workers from poorhouses.

But pensions lost out. Evidently Sherman's arguments carried conviction to the solons. "Many European workers would regard maintenance in a New York almshouse as luxury," he said, adding: "In no country are the poor better off than in the U. S." His real reasons for opposing the bills came out when he warned employers that if old age pensions were permitted, workers would next be demanding protection against sickness and unemployment.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harold Z. Brown, of the Federated Press staff.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

XI.—LAWS AND THE COURTS

TO the extent that legal information is comprehensible to the person without professional traiing, any layman can become a good lawyer, provided he does not attempt on that account to give legal advice to his confiding friends. The research worker, because he deals with public questions, must qualify himself for legal investigation of a non-professional sort. This article is an introduction to this field of injury.

Laws generally appear in three different forms: (1) Slip Laws, (2) Sessions Laws, and (3) Collected Laws. When a bill becomes a law, it is printed in the form of a slip or leaflet so that it can be immediately available to interested persons. The Superintendent of Documents at Washington, D. C., supplies Federal Slip Laws at five cents a copy, unless they are of unusual length, and he takes subscriptions at one dollar a session. For state Slip Laws application should be made to the Secretary of State at the state capital.

The laws passed at each session of a legislature are compiled in one volume with index, known as Session Laws. In the case of the United States Government the laws passed at each session of Congress are published in large pamphlets which are referred to as Pamphlet Laws. Their official title is "Statutes of the United Statees of America, passed at the . . . Session of the . . . Congress, year." At the close of the final session of each Congress the Session Laws are reedited, their indices consolidated, and they are then published in sheep-bound volumes under the title "Statutes at Large." The volumes are numbered consecutively. Statutes at Large, 69th Congreses, 1925-1927, is Volume 44.

To find the Federal law in forty-odd volumes, not to speak of the statutes of the states and the District of Columbia, would be a tremendously difficult task were it not for the collections that are made at various times. After eight years of work, the first compilation of Federal statutes was published in 1875 as the Revised Statutes of the United States. The revisers had made unwarranted changes in the text, so that a corrected edition had to be put out in 1878. Because of the cessation of the government compilation lawyers have come to resort to private publications, such as the United States Compiled Statutes. Annotated, of the West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minn.; the Federal Statutes, Annotated, of the Edward Thompson Co., Northport, N. Y.; and Mason's United States Code, Annotated, of the Citer-Digest Co., of St. Paul, Minn. By "annotated" is meant the inclusion of remarks, commentaries or cross-references prepared by the editor. In 1926 the United States Government finally issued a new compilation, known as the Code of the Laws of the United States of America of a General and Permanent Character in force, December 7, 1925." It may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents for four dollars. It contains close to twenty-five hundred large pages. "Index Analyses of Federal Statutes" is published by the Government Printing Office in two volumes, one covering the period 1789-1873, the other 1873-1907.

Laws are construed by the courts. The decisions of judges are published in what are known as Law Reports. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1803 the system of official reporting has spread to practically every state in the Union and to the Federal government. This has not prevented private publishers from competing successfully by offering speedier and more compresensive service to the harrassed lawyer. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court appear in three forms: (1) the Supreme Court Reporter of the West Publishing Co. since 1882; (2) the Lawyers' Edition of the Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., Rochester, N. Y., which goes back to 1790, and (3) the Supreme Court Reports of the Government Printing Office, since 1921. All of these publish Advance Sheets, which supply current opinions of the courts. References to the first appear as Sup. Ct. Rep. or S. Ct., to the second as Law Ed. or L. ed. U. S., and to the third as simply U. S. The volume in which the case is found is placed *before* the abbreviation, the page or pages *after* the abbrevviation. This is spoken of as the *citation*. The decisions of the inferior Federal courts are only found in the Federal Reporter of the West Publishing Co. It is now in its second edition. The citation is Fed., Fed. Rep., or F. (2d).

Each of the states has its own law reports. For the convenience of lawyers two collections of important decisions of the highest state courts are now published: (1) the American Law Reports, Annotated, cited as A. L. R., published by the Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., Rochester, N. Y., Edward Thompson Co., Northport, N. Y., and Bancroft-Whitney Co., San Francisco, Calif., and (2) the National Reporter System of the West Publishing Co. The latter divides the states into seven regions with a New York Supplement for the lower courts of that state. The citations are N. E. Rep., Atl. Rep., S. E. Rep., South. Rep., N. W. Rep., Pac. Rep., S. W. Rep., and N. Y. Supp.

For Your Own Research

1. Look up the Debs Case wherein the use of the injunction by the Federal courts in labor disputes first received prominent attention. The citations are for the lower court 64 Fed. Rep. 724 (1894), and for the U. S. Supreme Court 158 U. S. 564, 39 L. ed. 1092, 15 Sup. Ct. Rep. 900 (1895).

2. Locate the Sherman Anti-trust law referred to in this case. The citation is 26 Stat. 209 (1890).

On the Firing Line

By B. M. JAMES

NOT one of the mildly progressive bills called "labor legislation" passed in the last session of the New York State Legislature. The forty-eight hour law for women and children, the minimum wage law, the bill for the general extension of one day of rest in seven, the declaration that human labor is not a commodity and finally the so-called anti-injunction bill—all went down in defeat. Worst of all, they died an inglorious death because the professed "friends" of labor did not put up a real fight for the measures in which labor was interested. The N. Y. TIMES reports that the "labor spokesmen who have been here (at Albany) watching labor measures left the Capitol deeply disgruntled." But will these labor leaders learn from their bitter experience that the workers cannot and must not depend upon any one but themselves. Frankly, judging from the past, it is rather doubtful, unless the great membership takes a much closer interest in these developments and makes them awaken to the situation.

Deeply Disgruntled

In the last issue these columns expressed the apprehension that organized labor is heading blindly into another dangerous limitation of its rights. The Bar Association now announces that it will introduce into the December session of Congress its bill which would make trade agreements containing provisions for arbitration irrevocable and enforceable by the courts and which would establish a Federal Industrial Council, with authority to investigate and report on threatened industrial disputes so that no strike may be called before his semi-judicial body completed its work. Under this bill all trade agreements whether with bonafide unions or with management-made Company Union, would be enforceable by the courts, "So long as the contract is not against public policy nor the result of fraud or duress." Under this provision, court interpretation, which has always shown itself to favor the rights of property above human rights, may easily jeopardize all union gains embodied in trade agreements as a result of strikes. The Bar Association Committee, however, went out of its way to explain that the so-called agreements with company unions are not classified as affected by fraud. And will be fully valid and enforceable by the courts under this bill. Says the Committee: "To the criticism that this (the bill) may favor the company unions, all that the Committee can say is that the industry must decide for itself whether the company union is satisfactory or not." The hypocrisy of the statement about the industry deciding for itself is too apparent. Those in control of our basic industries foster the fraud of the company unions as the best means for the unchecked arbitrary control and exploitation of labor. Clearly the purpose of the Bar Association law is to make legally impossible any organizing campaign in any of these industries. The bill will also go a great length to deprive any strike action on the part of labor of its effectiveness.

Subject To Court Interpretation

For any considerable delay when conditions are ripe for a strike will mostly kill the chances for victory. The worst of it is that as conditions stand now, this dangerous measure may become law with the blind and silent approval of labor.

The plan of the Bar Association was before the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. The report of the Executive Council submitted to the Convention the report on this subject of its special committee headed by Matthew Woll. The report did not include the draft of the bill as prepared by the Committee of the Bar Association. The report dealt with the question in extremely general terms. It concluded by stating, "It will be noted that while the American Bar Association has approved the legislative proposal of the committee, it has likewise authorized its committee to make such changes as to it may seem necessary before proceeding to add this proposal to Congress for enactment into law." The Federation Committee further stated that since it "was specifically authorized to make a critical examination and report upon this proposal . . . and *for the further reason that an opportunity presented to submit to the committee of the Bar Association such suggestions for change* (our emphasis), amendment or otherwise, as a critical examination of this proposal legislation may bring to light," it recommended that the subject be left in its hands with authority to examine and confer with the Bar Association on the proposed legislation and report to the Executive Council. This recommendation was unanimously adopted without any discussion. But now the Bar Association reports that no changes have as yet been suggested by the Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

No Discussion At Convention

While the Committee of the Bar Association is continuing its propaganda for the bill conveying the impression all the time that it has the approval of the American Federation of Labor, the Federation Committee did not authorize a word of criticism against this dangerous measure. Neither did it make public the results of its critical examination of the bill. So a law which may put the greatest restraint upon all organized activities of the trade union movement may become effective before organized labor has any opportunity to discuss it. At the last convention the question was so presented that it did not call for any discussion. At the next Convention it may be too late. An explanation therefore is due from the A. F. of L. Committee. Does it, or does it not approve of the bill? Is the Committee ready to be a silent party to this attempt to ensnare organized labor into a law which will make the legal organizing of the basic industries practically impossible. The question cannot be evaded any longer. A detailed report of the results of the critical examination is the least which Chairman Woll and the Committee owes to the labor movement.

Explanation Called For

In Other Lands

BETTING EVEN ON RACE

As ordained by law the present government goes to the country for a renewal of its mandate. Unlike the last general elections the Tories are not entering the fray with gusto and enthusiastic war cries. Confidence has given way to pessimism and apology on the part of Baldwin, Chamberlain and Co. Joynson-Hicks and Churchill, of the big Tory leaders, are the only aggressive ones in the Primrose Bund. The Labor Partyites are the aggressors all along the line and with the scalps of several special election victories on their belts they are already claiming the fight as won. Shrewd observers, discounting the enthusiasm of both sides, say the fight will be the closest since Gladstone's last Home Rule battle. In fact some are predicting a tie with the Liberals controlling the balance of power. Unless Labor gains a complete majority it will, despite increased strength, be very much in the same position it was in when MacDonald was premier a few years ago. That is to say Labor will have office but no real power.

Economics, foreign relations, peace and war will be the main subjects of discussion between the rival political gladiators with unemployment in the first category as the biggest issue. Appreciating its importance and anticipating the charges of Labor, Baldwin has appointed Gwilyn Rowlands, a Welsh out-of-work, chairman of the Tory party. Rowlands never accepted the dole but he often got speaking engagements from the Tory clubs which no doubt helped him to keep the wolf a hundred miles from his doorstep.

DOMINIONS OPPOSE BRITAIN

New Zealand by refusing to receive unemployed emigrants from England has not alone slapped Premier Baldwin in the face but has given all other parties a jolt. Labor must now come forward with a practical program for giving work to the unemployed at home or for financing colonization on a scale that will be more than a mere transfer of labor power from one land to another. Britain still holds the unenviable record of having the largest number of unemployed in the world outside of China and India. France has the lowest in Europe. Unemployment in Ireland is a hideous sore. It is coupled with a lack of education and training among the sons of the poor who leave school almost illiterate. An Irish priest told a Dublin audience that only 428 out of 4,498 boys were placed in jobs last year. Most of those, he said, were of the fourth and fifth grade. New York's subways are filled with such unfortunates who receive a bare twenty dollars a week. Some get less, a few make more money. The Irish Free State is starving the educational establishments of the country in the name of economy with the foregoing results.

CLOUDS GATHER IN INDIA

India reports a series of raids by the government that reminds us of our own Department of Justice under Mitchell Palmer and Chief Burns. Communist clubs and Youth Organizations were raided wholesale and hundreds jailed. Foreign agitators will be expelled, while native born workers can be deported to other parts of the Empire according to a law passed by the appointed Legislature. General strikes took place in several towns and cities with textile plants and street cleaning and sanitary departments of the cities tied up. The government thinks by expelling a few Communists it will stop the agitation which is really not their work. Gandhi was arrested and that only added fuel to the fire. Tagore has left for the United States via Japan. India is facing a crisis that will test the skill and power of the rulers of India.

CHINA AND PERSIA RESTLESS

China is in the vortex of another trial of strength between the moderates and tories on one hand and the extremists and left wing groups on the other. Mme. Sun Yat Sen is leading the allied revolutionists within and without the Kuomingtang against the government. Canton and the southern cities are in sympathy with the movement against the government. So are the labor unions. The war lords did not repent; they simply changed their mode of grafting. This angered the people. Hence the unpopularity of some of the generals like Chang.

Basra, an island in the Persian Gulf, was seized by the British through the Mesopotamia mandate and converted into an airplane station. Six all metal war planes were shipped from Plymouth to Basra to be used as police ships for the air route to India from England. Persia has protested against the seizure to the League of Nations. She also refused to give Britain the right to fly over her mainland territory. Freedom of the air has taken the place of freedom of the seas.

MUSSOLINI ELECTS HIMSELF

Mussolini staged the greatest farce in all history when he called a general election one Sunday last month to ratify the candidates the Fascisti Council had picked. One could vote against the hand picked tools but as there were no alternative candidates the citizens were suing Satan with the court in Hades—the verdict was a foregone conclusion.

MEXICAN LABOR LOYAL

The trade unions of Mexico are supporting the government against the reactionary generals on the war path, and their attempts to capture the country for centificoes and the clericals.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

"Say It With Books"

SO THIS IS MIDDLETOWN

Middletown. By Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrill Lynd. Harcourt Brace & Co., $5.

THIS book ought to be in the hands of every labor organizer. It will be hard to find another work, whether in fictional or non-fictional form, giving so comprehensive and clear a picture of what life is like in a large section of the United States.

Mr. and Mrs. Lynd and their associates picked out a middle western city of about 40,000 inhabitants and made a careful study of how the inhabitants of this city get a living, make a home, train the young, use their leisure time, engage in religious practices and in community activities. In order to make the significance of present conditions clearer, they have contrasted them on each point with the situation in Middletown in 1890 when it was still the center of a farming community and less than one-third its present size.

The section of the book dealing with the way in which the inhabitants of Middletown make their living is of the greatest interest to labor people and students of labor problems. Forty-three per cent of the inhabitants of Middletown are engaged in the work of making a living for this community, and another 23 per cent are employed in keeping house. Of those employed, 71 per cent belong to what the authors call the working class, people who are engaged chiefly in making things. Twenty-nine per cent belong to what the authors call the business class, including all those who deal primarily with people in the selling or promotion of things, services, and ideas. Eighty-five out of every hundred gainfully employed in Middletown are working for others.

About these people who belong to the Middletown working class, an astonishing amount of interesting and useful information is found in the book. Male members of the group start work between 14 and 18, reach their prime in their twenties and are beginning to fail in their late forties. In the past 30 years the percentage of increase in the male population from 15 to 24 engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries is 17 times greater than the percentage of increase of the total population of that age. Evidently progressives have been right in emphasizing the importance of the young worker today.

The study has some interesting figures on a phenomenon that has much to do with the difficulty of developing a general labor psychology among American workers, namely the fact that children do not, if they can help it, follow the occupations of their fathers. For example, only 22 sons in a particular group investigated wanted to go into tool using occupations though 121 fathers in this group had such jobs.

Other difficulties in the way of organizing workers at the present time are clearly brought out. Because of the automobile (two out of every three families in Middletown have an auto), as well as the constant necessity of shifting from job to job, workers no longer live near their places of employment. This makes it harder to bring them together for organization purposes, and together with the radio, movies and other modern ways of recreation and spending leisure time, is cutting down attendance at union meetings. Under pressure of mechanization, the skill of the old craftsmen of Middletown has, as is clearly shown, been broken down. Young men wanting to make a show in the world, living under a high pressure, highly competitive system, having their future income mortgaged to installment payments on the car, radio, etc., want big money today and are impatient of the idea of improving conditions of workers as a whole by organization. Employers fight the unions directly when necessary, and have undermined them indirectly by the well-known welfare schemes. So Middletown is an open shop town today, though back in the 90's when it was one-third as large, it had thirty local unions with nearly four thousand members.

If, however, anyone thinks that the workers of Middletown are satisfied in any fundamental sense, that they do not need a vigorous labor movement and are not potential material for revolt, this book will open his eyes. Over 80 per cent of them earn less than necessary to maintain a decent standard of living. They obviously take no great pleasure in their mechanized work. They live in fear of unemployment and resent it. Except for jazz, movies, chasing around the country in flivvers, nothing has come to take the place in their lives of what the union gave them in the old days. Speeding up is taking it out of them. The children of workers are going into business and professional occupations in considerable numbers, but between those who do the manual work of the city and other groups, class distinctions are growing more sharp. It is clear from this matter of fact account of these social scientists that in Middletown, many Middletowns throughout the land indeed, the same kind of revolt of workers against industrial feudalism could happen as has been happening in Kenosha recently, if there were a vigorous labor movement to give the lead.

A. J. MUSTE.

AMERICAN EMPIRE'S SUBJECT RACE

Black America. By Scott Nearing, Vanguard Press, N. Y. 1929, 275 pp. $3.

AT the National Interracial Conference held in Washington in December, 1928, John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. discussed the problem of the Negro. He expressed the opinion that it is not a Negro problem in particular but a problem which equally affects large numbers of others, that whole group which we call "foreign", that are looked upon as "alien." "There are races in this country," he said, "or the racial groups who are not quite so thoroughly Americanized as some others—I do not know how to define this with definiteness or precision, but we say there are those groups, anyway—seem to suffer from a condition very much as the Israelites suffered from a similar condition when they apparently were confined very largely to nothing but brick making in the Valley of the Nile." But John P. Frey did not attempt to offer any explanation as to why these racial groups are subject to such plight.

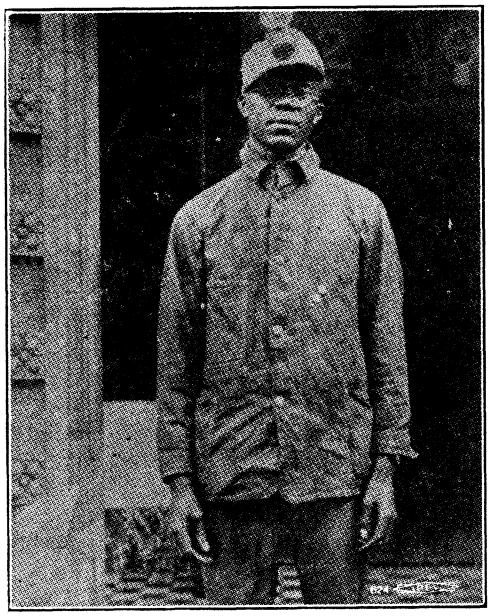
Scott Nearing's Black America supplies not merely a careful analysis substantiated by a wealth of statistical material and verified facts but also offers an economic interpretation of the problem. Nearing does not deal with the other subject racial groups. He deals exclusively with the American Negro, which is THE subject race par excellence. The problem of Black America is only one phase of American imperialism and is treated as a part of the greater fundamental conflict between capital and labor in general. "Black America," says Scott Nearing, "is the source from which the white ruling class of the United States proposes to draw an important part of its mass labor power. Upon this mass labor the white rulers make two demands: (1) it must work cheap; (2) it must do what it is told." This chimes in exactly with the experience of John P. Frey, who found that Negro workers will be offered skilled jobs only on condition of their not joining the union.

It is impossible in a short review even to summarize the numerous disabilities, legal, economic and social, to which the Negroes are subjected. The sum total of it is that they are compelled to live close to the margin of subsistence and, in the majority of cases, in unsanitary, squalid conditions; their educational opportunities are extremely curtailed and their chances for breaking these economic shackles are very remote. There are some "runaways." There are about 70,000 Negroes engaged in business enterprises and about 80,000 in the professions. But even these professionals are discriminated against in every respect, including their remuneration, which is in most cases about one half of what whites of the same qualifications receive; and the business enterprises controlled by Negroes mostly serve their own race and are concentrated in retail trade and personal service, having practically no share in big business enterprises. Socially all Negroes are discriminated against and are subject to segregation, while politically they are, notwithstanding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, deprived of the opportunity to vote, especially in the South, and there are practically no Negroes holding any elective or appointive political office. In some cases, as in Cincinnati, they are even barred from the popular parks and the Municipal Bath House. The chapter on lynching and the photographs of actual lynchings are the most gruesome part of the book, and it is impossible to peruse this section without feeling ashamed and humiliated. Black America is replete with numerous photographs taken on the spot and picturing the life of the Negro from the cradle to the grave and the pictures themselves are a splendid contribution to the subject. How can this problem be solved? How can the Negro race be emancipated? On the basis of his factual analysis Scott Nearing comes to the following conclusion:

"Experience is teaching the American Negro that an imperial ruling class such as that which now dominates public policy in the United States need subject races to work and sometimes to fight. . . If in a crisis they are compelled to grant the subject race privileges, they will take the first opportunity to withdraw them. . . . Emancipation for the American Negro as for any other subject race under the capitalist imperialist system, can come only when the Negro working masses have joined the white working masses in smashing the economic and social structure built upon individual and race exploitation, and by replacing it with a cooperative economic system under working class control."

J. M. BUDISH.

ELEVATED BY UNION



A United Mine Workers' Organizer

WHAT'S WHAT IN INDIA

Living India. By Savel Zimand. Longman's, Green & Co., $3.00

OF the 250,000 persons employed in mines in India, over 84,000 are women and of these 40 000 work underground. 4,000 are children. The average income of the people of India is about 10c per day per head. By this time there are about one and a half million factory workers, a small percentage, but the number is constantly increasing. In a city like Bombay, 75 per cent of the population live in single rooms, averaging four persons per room.

India is governed by Great Britain. Every year India spends about 200 million dollars buying British cotton goods and 100 million dollars for iron and steel products, though India has her own raw materials, and her coal and iron resources have hardly been tapped. The Indian public debt, held mostly by British financiers, amounts to three and a half billion dollars. Even before the war British private investments amounted to another 2 billion dollars or more. Between 1882 and 1907 under the British, the public expenditure for education increased only 2 million dollars, but military expenditures by more than 43 million dollars. Thousands of Indians fought during the Great War for Great Britain, but after the war for democracy, Great Britain refused to give these Indians the self-government they sought, and British officers in cold blood shot down Indians peacefully agitating for their right to govern themselves.

These and other facts are set forth in this excellent book on India and help us to understand why India is one of the sore spots in the world today, why the struggle between capitalist powers and oppressed colonials the struggle for freedom on the part of the oppressed masses, may here in the near future burst into flame. If, as is possible, the British Labor Party returns to power in the forthcoming elections, this problem of India is one of the important ones with which it will have to reckon in the next couple of years. In dealing with that same problem during its brief stay in power in 1924, the Labor Party did not distinguish itself, passing some repressive legislation very similar to that which helped to provoke unrest and bloodshed immediately following the war. Let us hope that the record this time will be clearer.

This book is clear, calm, comprehensive, and is highly recommended by numerous authorities on Indian affairs. From the labor standpoint, its defects are that too little attention is given to the development of the infant Indian labor movemnt, and practically no reference made to Communist activity, of which there is at least some. Recent hostility on the part of the English government toward Russia has certainly in some measure been due to soreness about alleged or actual Communist agitation in India and fear that there was going to be more.

A. J. M.

It's a Hummer

In sophisticated New York they say, "it clicks"; in that friendly section of Pennsylvania where "Jim" Maurer holds sway, the expression is, "it's a corker," but in that progressive North-western State of Montana they call it "a hummer."

A friend visiting the Northwest writes:

> "This afternoon a big miner in blue overalls came up to my room and rather breathlessly informed me that he had just seen a copy of the March LABOR AGE in the Butte Public Library and that it was a "hummer." I walked over and found a reading room pretty well filled up with workers (you can distinguish them easily in this 'camp') with two of them trying to read LABOR AGE, or rather, the one copy available. After quite a wait I finally got a look, for I had not seen the March number. I want you to know that I got a real thrill. So I second Brother Miner's motion that it is a *hummer.*"

Why go to the library to await your turn to read LABOR AGE? Of course, if you are out of work in this era of the Great Engineer, that's different. But if you have a dollar, send it with your name and address on the blank below. You will receive LABOR AGE for six months, with articles that will give you, too, a thrill—and you will be advancing the progressive movement at the same time.

"Labor and Automobiles," by Robert W. Dunn, tells how the workers were treated while Ford hauled in tens of millions in profit. How Ford made the workers pay for the 5-day week. How the great lay-off came when Ford workers lost $10,000,000 in wages. How the "Service Men" spy on the workers.

The history of the employers' attacks on the workers is told—the $100,000 anti-union slush fund of the Detroit Citizens Committee.

You can obtain this book free with a year's subscription. Fill in this blank:

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Labor Publication Society, Inc.
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Enclosed find $2.50. Send Labor Age for a year beginning with ..... issue, and a copy of Robert W. Dunn's Labor and Automobiles, to

.....

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WILL PROGRESSIVES SUBMIT OR CONTINUE TO FIGHT?

The fate of Workers' Education hangs in the balance. Reactionary elements in the A. F. of L. are bent upon the emasculation of genuine workers' education. They may triumph at the W. E. B. convention.

What will the Progressives do?

Read the May issue of LABOR AGE for the answer.