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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.

The Progressives Must Organize

Current Events Cast Shadows Ahead Which Must Become Realities

WITH the humming and chirping of the birds, Spring has brought a buzzing and whispering among the workers beneath the surface of things. The old lethargy is being shaken off, and there is a restiveness that is a joy to behold.

Down in the South, the hillman is astir. Elizabethton, Tenn., was the appropriate point of his first protests. It was there that Herbert Hoover made his only Southern speech. From that forum he appealed in the name of the only efficient party of Capitalism, the Republican Party, and the Southern mill and mine owners responded with the Republican conquest of many Southern States. The new line-up has begun. The South is becoming like unto the North, and those manufacturers who have gone down below the Mason and Dixon Line in the hope of obtaining permanent slave labor are in for a rude awakening.

The Carolinas caught the habit. United Textile Workers and National Textile Union are alike in the midst of strike crises, forced by the mass of the workers themselves. The situation need not deceive us. These revolts may be squelched, at least in part. But the New South is in the making, and it will be a long and (we fear) bloody battleground. There will be fought a new Civil War, for the right to organize and to be freemen.

Kenosha is another encouraging proving ground for the things about to come. Unionism has spread like wild fire through the city. It has stirred the State. The Nash workers listen to speeches at the gates, thousands hearing the message delivered by the American Federation of Labor local representative. They are getting ready for the great show-down.

Current events in the world of Big Business throw shadows of what is to come across the industrial battlefield. While Schwab congratulates his fellow-exploiters that all is at peace, thousands of railwaymen are thrown out of employment by the speed-up. There are almost 200,000 less men manning the railroads than in 1923. That process is continuing, and less and less men are in the army of railroad employed. This January the number of railroad employes fell to 1,594,744 compared with 1,614,280 in January of last year. The U. S. Department of Labor advises us that the same process is going on in the blast furnaces, machinery rapidly displacing men. In the pottery industry, a formerly strong union is menaced by the meteor-like advancement of the machine. So does the story go, everywhere throughout the country.

No profound knowledge of the Einstein theory or of any abstruse science is required to understand that these economic events are writing R-E-V-O-L-T across the sky. The workers, in the name of Unionism, will again be on the march. It is of vast importance that such revolt be conducted in the way to win most speedily and effectively the workers' freedom from machine bondage.

In such a setting, the Progressive forces of Labor have a great duty to perform. They cannot remain a mass of individuals, wishing for something to turn up. They must get together and work together for the rebuilding of the Labor Movement and for the spread of the union message.

At a time when it needs all the help it can get, the American Federation of Labor Executive Council has foolishly struck at one of its greatest possible assets. It has attempted to strangle the enthusiasm and intelligence which Brookwood imparts. It has struck a direct blow at some of the best men in the Movement, and has taken a left-handed slap at scores of others who represent the advance guard of a really militant Labor Movement. The W. E. B. has followed suit. Not only was this policy unwise on the part of the Executive Council and the W. E. B., but it was suicidal.

Now that the Progressives have been told to stay out of the W. E. B., what remains there? A number of good men, it is true; but the spirit of that movement is broken. It will go on, becoming a namby-pamby adult education course, totally unfit to reach the workers with practical workers' education. It may even become merely an annex of the colleges, which God knows are badly enough now under the influence of Big Business, and who taken as a whole have not the least comprehension of the workers' problems.

With this series of facts confronting them, the Progressives must organize. They must be prepared, not to enter into a long debate full of bickerings with the A. F. of L. or the Communists, but to go out and do things themselves. Organize is the watchword—first, yourselves, and then the vast mass of the unorganized, crying mutely for your cooperation.

$5,000,000—PLUS

GENERAL Secretary Thomas Kennedy made a point at the A. F. of L. Convention which has much merit to it. Everywhere the Progressives should cooperate in seeing that it is put through.

A large war fund is needed, to do the organizing job in the right way. Let the A. F. of L. raise such, with the aid of its affiliated unions. The great basic industries, which have slipped out of the control of the Movement, cannot be financed from their own workers, at least in the beginning. Five million dollars should be the goal for a fund that will achieve results.

New Orleans talked much of doubling the membership. Such a slogan is an idle dream without two elements: finances and intelligent enthusiasm. The two items should go hand in hand. It is useless to think of this great fund, without also thinking of the way in which it should be administered. The great Steel Strike had ample funds, but it had a number of inefficient organizers on the job. Workers cannot be organized from hotel lobbies. They must be organized by mass meetings, house-to-house canvassing, parades, defiance of illegal and tyrannical authorities, and general intelligent hell-raising. An organizer used to getting in workers on the installment plan, a member here and a member there, like a fraternal organization, has no business in the basic industries.

An organizing fund is needed. Five millions of dollars will be a fair amount. BUT—along with it is also needed the promise that new and efficient methods of organizing are to be adopted and organizers measured by results, not by political considerations. The auto drive in Kenosha seems to have started in that way. That is fine. Let us be assured that that is the line that all basic industry organization will follow. Then, let us get out and raise the money, which can be done if enthusiasm is shown at the seats of battle.

"BE GOOD CRAFT UNIONISTS"

WHILE it is on our mind, we might tell you of a suggestion made by a professor in a large university, who is a sympathetic student of the Labor Movement. Indeed, he is inclined to be friendly with the viewpoint of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

"Why don't you Progressives talk less of industrial unionism," he said, "and talk more about the A. F. of L. conservatives becoming good craft unionists. Tell them, for God's sake, to do something for the advancement of craft unionism itself and then they will find out if industrial unionism is necessary. As long as they do practically nothing at all but talk to Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce and the National Civic Federation, they will never get anywhere."

There is much to that point. We Progressives have never said that industrial unionism should be introduced over-night into every industry. There are still places where craft unionism flourishes and certainly no one wishes to interfere with it in that state. But our knowledge of the basic industries is no longer theoretical. We know, from practical experience, that craft unionism will not work in the machinized industries. And we do shout, at the top of our lungs, to the A. F. of L. to get busy. After all, what we want to see is the workers on the march forward. Any group or agency that will get them going in that direction has our support. We have found, however, and we warn the Movement of that fact for its own welfare, that certain ideals must be emblazoned on the banners of those who wish to conquer for the workers. When one gets to the battle-front, that is self-evident.

Much could be done to improve the machinery of Unionism, as it stands. Take the rather prosaic business of promoting the union label. No one can say that it is done efficiently today. We do not know who is to blame, but the entire propaganda of the Union Label Department of the A. F. of L. is a wail of grief that the workers do not do better. Instead of that, why not rely on enthusiasm as the basis for the union label program? Any psychologist can tell the A. F. of L. Department that that is the line to follow. Modern methods of other sorts do not prevail in that very primitive field of union label salesmanship. Even on their old grounds, the present dominant group in the A. F. of L. is falling down. We suggest that the situation be remedied.

"Jim" Maurer's Warning

Retiring President's Message to W. E. B. Convention

STANDING before this convention, I cannot be as optimistic about the future of the cause as I was in 1927. At that time we were a growing movement, now we are losing ground. Interest seems to be lagging on every hand. It is therefore our duty to learn what the cause of this condition is.

In the first place, the basic purpose of workers' education, that it is an intelligent guide to a new social order, is now being entirely denied. By official pronouncement, both from the A. F. of L. and the W. E. B., workers' education is now limited to study of trade union routine only, although I do not deny the necessity of that. The essentials of workers' education as expressed by Fannia Cohn —that it should stimulate the workers' desire for power and help them function on the economic, political, social and intellectual fields as an organized group with a definite program and purpose—have gotten little opportunity for development.

This change has had an immediate detrimental result. Individuals who have hitherto given of their time and energy in organizing educational activities could not find sufficient interest in such a program and have discontinued their efforts. Students who would be stimulated by education that promised contact with the real problems of life, could not find sufficient interest in such a program and have discontinued their efforts. Students who would be stimulated by education that promised contact with the real problems of life, could not be inveigled into class rooms where only traditional trade union routine was to be discussed. The result was inevitable. From both ends there was bound to be a let-down in interest and enthusiasm. Voluntary organizer and student drifted out of the workers' educational movement, and since workers' education always will depend in 90 per cent of the cases on voluntary effort and interest, the activities of the workers' education movement were immediately affected.

Academic Freedom Killed

Once having started on a conscious policy of exclusion and denial, all other causes that make for a retrogression in the worker's education movement naturally follow. The second point, that of freedom of academic discussion, soon received its death blow. I don't know how we can keep out Brookwood Labor College during a convention of this kind, even if we should want to. But we dare not want to, because this case involves a fundamental in workers' education—that of academic freedom. And I feel that it is our duty, convening as a body interested in the spread of educational activity in the American Labor Movement, to protest most vigorously against the action of the American Federation of Labor towards Brookwood. We must do so, not primarily for Brookwood's sake, but for the sake of the cause which we here represent. If the Workers' Education Movement, in convention assembled, will condone the suppression of one of its most successful and influential enterprises, and not make effective protest to the labor movement, it may just as well fold up its tents and go home. There wouldn't be enough spirit left in this movement to keep it going for another year.

ADVICE UNHEEDED

JAMES H. MAURER

Declined to continue as President of the Workers Education Bureau when reactionary policies he opposed prevailed at W. E. B. convention.

But this is utterly contrary to the constitution of the W. E. B. and to the understanding we had with President Gompers when the A. F. of L. entered into official relations with the Bureau, viz.: that the Bureau was an autonomous organization, with its own constitution, officers, duties and rights, not a rubber stamp for any other organization. There is no defiance to the A. F. of L. involved, but rather loyalty to our original understanding with President Gompers and the A. F. of L., in insisting that the Bureau must act according to its own judgment in so vital an educational problem as this Brookwood case presents and cannot "pass the buck" to anybody else. And this leads directly to another point.

Several changes in the constitution and procedure of this organization are now suggested, which, in my estimation, will further demoralize the movement. I pointed out that a procedure of functional democracy is necessary if we are to keep alive interest in workers' education. At the 1928 convention of the American Federation of Labor, a proposal was adopted which would take away the right of representation on the Executive Board of the Workers' Education Bureau from all the groups except the American Federation of Labor and international unions.

I warn the delegates to this body that this suggestion can be made part of our constitution only at the expense of the whole workers' education movement. It will disrupt whatever activities are now carried on and further discourage most of those genuinely interested in education. Of all the groups represented at this body, the students, teachers, directors, local unions

THE CASE AGAINST BROOKWOOD COLLAPSES

IN August of last year news releases issuing from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. announced to a startled world that Brookwood College was Communistic and red; that its instruction in psychology and sociology was "almost entirely devoted to sex matters;" that the school was anti-religious and anti-A. F. of L. One by one these charges are now being quietly dropped or directly withdrawn.

The chief A. F. of L. spokesman on the floor of the recent W. E. B. convention in Washington stated that he was "not accusing Brookwood of being a Communist institution." Perhaps the charge was getting a bit absurd in view of the relentless attack waged on Brookwood by Communist organs for several months past. The charges about sex teaching in the sociology course and about anti-religion are heard no more. The only thing that remains is more or less repetition of the vague charge that Brookwood is anti-A. F. of L. But even of that not much seems to remain unless it means that most Brookwooders are definitely and unalterably opposed to some of the policies that have been pursued by the A. F. of L. in recent years. Brookwood from the beginning of the controversy suggested that the record of its graduates in the labor movement be used as a test of whether or not it was anti-A. F. of L. President Green himself has now stated in black and white that "There is no doubt that many students left Brookwood after completing the prescribed education course and took their places in the Labor movement entirely loyal and devoted to the principles and work of the American Federation of Labor."

At this rate we may eventually get down to a discussion of the real issues in the Brookwood-A. F. of L. controversy, namely, whether minority groups that differ in matters of labor policy with the official view of the moment are nevertheless to have a chance to function democratically in a democratic labor movement, and whether labor education should be free and fearless, should discuss frankly all issues affecting the movement, should seek to open the minds of students and take the risks which that involves, not keep them closed and take the risks which that involves.

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and central bodies and state federations are the more directly concerned with workers' education projects because they are the very meat of such activities. The problems that confront an organization like the Workers' Education Bureau are best known by these groups because they meet them and must tackle them daily.

Pleads for Students and Teachers

The representatives of students, educational directors, teachers, local unions, central bodies and state federations bring with them to the meetings of the executive committee the knowledge of situations that comes from continuous contact. There is no denying that the American Federation of Labor and international unions should have representation on that board. But they are there to advise on and to share in the making of general needs of the labor movement. They cannot intelligently legislate for specific and detailed procedures which the other representatives possess knowledge of.

The further effect of such change would be to remove the Workers' Education Bureau away from the rank and file and thereby make it less effective. It will become an organization without any tie whatsoever to the local study classes and labor colleges. The need today is to bring the Bureau closer to the rank and file of students, not push it further away. I cannot but urge in the most serious manner that this body continue the constitution as it now stands in so far as representation of the Executive Board is concerned.

One more proposal that is of first importance to this body, and which again was first adopted at an American Federation of Labor convention, this time last year at New Orleans, will be presented to you for consideration, which I think will do immense harm to our movement if made part of our procedure. This proposal urges the establishment, wherever possible, of cooperative relationships with existing universities and their departments to do workers' education for us. Here again one of the essentials that made for the development of the workers' education movement, that of complete control by organized labor, is being menaced. It is not necessary indiscriminately to vilify or attack the existing universities in order to bring out the dangers such a move places workers' education in. With the best of intention, our existing universities cannot do the job required of workers' education. They are built to develop the individual to personal advancement, to "getting ahead in the world." Workers' education, however, is a social process, organized to develop the individual for the sake of his group. The universities unconsciously reflect the dominant views of big business, of the militarists and imperialists. Workers' education functions to rip free the dogmas and illusions which clutter up the social sciences and present to the workers an understanding of social life that will make possible an analytical survey of existing institutions.

Once the universities have partial control over our movement, it will be but natural for them to gain more and more power in the future, with a lessening of labor supervision to that degree. We all know that the body which is best organized to do a certain piece of work, if placed in charge with another group less efficiently equipped, will eventually gain complete control of the project. It would be but natural for labor to defer on most questions to the university until it will gradually lose any desire to participate in the management of this cooperative project. In the end, the entire educational venture will be turned over to the universities for their control. That is a possibility which every trade unionist, as well as socially intelligent educators themselves, dread to contemplate in view of the revelations made by the Federal Trade Commission of the subsidizing of many teachers by the power trust in recent years.

Rubber Stamp Education

Democracy Departs from W. E. B.

By **A. J. Muste**

THE convention of the Workers' Education Bureau of America held in Washington at the beginning of April did nothing for workers' education. By action taken at that convention, the W. E. B. ceases to be democratic, ceases to be a rank and file organization, ceases to be a young workers' movement, and is severely handicapped in carrying on any genuine educational work.

A. J. MUSTE

The W. E. B. was founded in 1921 by progressive laborites and educators as an autonomous, democratic organization. It was a cooperative movement in which local unions, central labor councils, state federations and international unions interested in workers' education, and the teachers and students of labor classes and colleges themselves worked together. When, under the presidency of Samuel Gompers, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. became interested in the W. E. B., it entered into this cooperative arrangement, agreeing to appoint three out of eleven members of the Executive Committee of the Bureau. This arrangement was given its death blow, and the W. E. B. as an autonomous, democratic organization went out of existence at the recent convention.

Henceforth, the W. E. B. is under the control of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and international unions, regardless of whether these internationals carry on educational work or not, and the labor colleges and classes have hardly any real power in the councils of the Bureau. For all practical purposes the A. F. of L. Executive Council will control.

An Unhealthy Arrangement

Some hold that this is an excellent thing—the labor movement ought to control its own educational work. That is perfectly true in a sense. Nevertheless, the new arrangement would not be a healthy one even if the competence and sincerity of the Executive Council in educational matters were beyond criticism. The labor movement should control its educational institutions, but it should control them democratically, as it insists industry should be controlled. The students and teachers in labor classes, local unions, city central bodies, state federations, etc., actually doing the bulk of educational work, ought to be trusted. They ought to have a considerable share in the control of the movement. They ought to elect their own representatives to the Bureau's Executive Committee. If the A. F. of L. did trust these trade union bodies and these trade union students and teachers, why insist upon a radical change in the constitution of the Bureau? On the other hand, if the Executive Council does not trust these elements, why should it expect them to have implicit confidence in it? To have delegates of international unions and the Executive Council elect someone engaged in workers' education to the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. is not democratic, is not giving a real voice to teachers and students, any more than you have democracy, have a real union, when the boss elects the representatives of the workers to a shop committee.

The W. E. B., which might be expected to give the lead in educational practice, as the labor movement has done on many notable occasions, is thus made more autocratic just when there is a powerful movement for more democracy, more teacher and student participation in control, in the schools and colleges of the nation, when indeed we have an international union of teachers affiliated with the A. F. of L., which has for its chief aim the achievement of democracy in education.

Where Are the Students?

One sure result of such a tendency which the Bureau has been showing in recent years was seen at this very convention. In contrast to earlier conventions of the Bureau, there were hardly any students or teachers present! What kind of an educational movement will it be that has no teachers and no students?

The autocratic policy put into effect means that the W. E. B. ceases to be a rank and file movement. It belongs to the officials now, not to the membership of the unions. In these days, when the complaint is frequently heard that members do not take the old interest in their unions, do not attend meetings, etc., was it wise to deprive them of this auxiliary agency which might have satisfied some of their needs for self-expression, and so have tied them more closely to their unions? The present policy means that the W. E. B. ceases to be a young workers' movement. In these days, when young workers are crowding into industry, when the unions are not too successful in organizing them, was it wise to destroy this agency to which they might have been attracted, were indeed attracted in large numbers in its early days, and which they might have felt belonged to them?

The tragedy is made worse by the fact that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has not demonstrated its genuine interest in workers' education nor its fitness to deal with this matter. It has refused, for example, to condemn the Ely Institute in Land Economics and Public Utilities, which is charged by the American Fed-

A. J. MUSTE

eration of Teachers with putting out propaganda against public ownership under the guise of research, and which according to the investigation of the Federal Trade Commission, has accepted $75,000 from public utilities' interests in recent years. The Executive Council has permitted the A. F. of L. to insist that the umost care to protect freedom of speech, freedom of press and academic freedom must be taken in dealing with the problem presented by this Ely Institute, even if it should be found guilty of the charge made against it, which amounts to an accusation of an attempt to poison the entire public school system of the country! It permitted a ridiculous attack on Prof. John Dewey and has not taken any steps toward righting that mistake. It acted high-handedly in the Brookwood case. It took at face value the testimony of a handful of disgruntled students, a mistake that no one with any experience or knowledge of school life would make. If the action was not a mistake, the motives for accepting such evidence without further investigation could hardly be honorable.

The founders of the Workers' Education Bureau wanted workers' education to equip the workers for their day-to-day struggle for better wages, shorter hours, improved conditions of work, against injunctions and labor spies, but also to help them at last to achieve a social order based on cooperation, in which justice, freedom and brotherhood for all should prevail, and the waste and iniquities of capitalism should be done away with. The W. E. B. has now ceased to have any active interest in a new social order. One of its foremost spokesmen has said that its purpose is "mass education which will maintain the existing social order until we know we can produce a better one—which I think we never will."

Universities More Progressive!

Unless a tremendous change takes place, no genuine education which involves freedom of discussion, open-mindedness, the clash of varying points of view, will be allowed under W. E. B. auspices. The fear that if the workers discussed, if all sorts of ideas were aired before them, in writing or in speech, they would go red or mad or something, was a note sounded over and over again at this convention. All the text books of the W. E. B. are to be examined with a view to revision—there may be dangerous ideas in these books, written by Sheffield of Wellesley, McBain of Columbia, Charles A. Beard, and other such wild men. One of the speakers at the convention said: "The fact is that there is more progressive thought in the colleges than there is in the labor movement. There are some things we teach in the University of California that we would not dare teach in a labor class. We have classes in the study of social reform. That would not be tolerated in the A. F. of L. Why, in the university we have a class in the history and theory of revolutions. Imagine my teaching that in the trade union colleges! If we tried to, we would get into trouble with the American Federation of Labor—the A. F. of L. accepts the present order of society. We are living in bad air but we have to breathe it. We are not trying to change the air."

This speaker was not rebuked. His statements were not denied. Unless perchance the ghost of Samuel Gompers whispered from his grave, but too feebly to be heard by his successors. For Samuel Gompers wrote in his autobiography, speaking of his early days in New York City: "As the days went by, my mind was groping for something fundamental, something upon which one could base a constructive program. I spoke to Laurrell of my need. He replied, 'If you wish to know, I will give you something tangible, something that will give you a background philosophy.' He placed in my hands a copy of the Communist Manifesto. As it was in German and my knowledge of the language was still inadequate, he translated and interpreted it for me paragraph by paragraph. That document brought me an interpretation of much that before had been only inarticulate feeling."

Courageous Truth Seekers

And again, speaking of the radical friends with whom he associated in those days, Gompers writes in his autobiography: "From these men who were genuine revolutionaries in thought and in deed, men to whom principles meant something, I learned the fundamentals of the labor movement. They were men who did not hesitate to risk something to accomplish a purpose. They were alive in minds and bodies and they did not find life dull or uninteresting. They were eagerly seeking new thought and new opportunity to bring about the betterment of their fellows. It is difficult for me to describe adequately what the New York labor movement during the 'seventies meant to me. There was a strikingly unusual group of brainy men of strong individuality—men not afraid to think and do even at a risk. They were eager seeking for truth. No idea, no suggestion was denied consideration. We were groping for principles with which to lay a foundation. Our minds were open, unhampered by dogmatism. In our hearts was courage for any effort. We were groping and crusading like the knights of old."

Step into our best labor classes today and you will find exactly the same atmosphere, exactly the same kind of discussions, exactly the same kind of young people as these of the 1870's.

The very fact that Gompers afterward turned upon the Socialists and many of their policies and theories makes all the more impressive his testimony as he looks back upon his own career in the labor movement, that it was the contact with radical ideas, with a social philosophy, with a group of young, eager men whose minds fearlessly explored the world in which they lived, that gave him his equipment for a career of labor statesmanship. Labor politicians will not understand that, however, and will gladly lend themselves to killing the kind of education which produced the leader whom they profess to reverence, the only kind of education which could possibly produce effective leaders or rank and filers.

There are those, however, who will toil and fight for freedom in education, and for the triumph of progressive ideas and policies in our American labor movement.

Progressive Prospects In the West

What's Happening In Colorado

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

A TRIP across the northern tier of states reaching from Western New York through to Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, then down the Pacific Coast to Long Beach, Cal., and returning east via Salt Lake City, Denver, Omaha, Kansas City and St. Louis affords one who is interested in a progressive, modern and militant Labor movement the opportunity of making many interesting observations. To undertake a description of the situation existing in some of the most important industrial centers visited in such a trip would require far more space than is available in one issue of LABOR AGE for the discussion of a single subject.

At a time when nation-wide interest and discussion has been aroused over a series of events in the Labor movement that seems to indicate the reaching of the peak of reaction in the movement, the situation in the State of Colorado in general and in Denver and adjacent territory in particular provides a real ray of hope.

For the sake of "background" as the professors say, suppose we go back to 1920 for a brief moment and rather hastily sketch over a series of events that transpired in the intervening years.

In 1920, largely through the efforts of a dynamic clergyman, Dr. Geo. Lackland, pastor of Grace Community Church of Denver, an institution, by the way, with high social ideals, the Denver Labor College was organized. Please note at this point that the inspiration was provided by a clergyman and not by a trade union leader. Largely as a result of his untiring efforts, several classes for the study of various problems of the Labor movement were organized. Unions were invited to participate in the administration of the College affairs and a number of them accepted. In 1923 the Denver Labor College listed among its Board of Directors representatives of the Denver Central Labor Union, which had at that time 130 affiliated local unions. Ten classes were functioning regularly with an enrollment of 165 students.

The Summer School

Getting inspiration from Denver, other local labor colleges came into existence in various parts of the state, notably in Colorado Springs and Pueblo. A Farmer-Labor Summer School was organized which brought together for a week or two in the summer, representatives from these various localities, who were active both in the farmer and labor movements, and in the workers' educational field as well. An enrollment of approximately 100 was recorded for several consecutive summers.

The burden of promotion work, financing the summer schools, etc., was assumed largely by Dr. Lackland. No great desire to take over this responsibility was shown by the leaders of the movement.

In 1926 the American Fund for Public Service, impressed by the record of consistent activity of the workers' education movement in Denver particularly, made available funds to assist in the employment of a full time director. An arrangement was entered into by the Colorado and Wyoming State Federations of Labor whereby they were to elect a Joint Education Committee, and to assume full responsibility for employment of a full time director, who was to share his time between the movement in the two states. Likewise, they were to undertake to find means of continuing this work when the subsidy from the Fund expired, through special assessments or per capita tax to be paid by affiliated local unions in the two states.

Labor Takes Charge

The employment of a full time director for the educational work resulted in Grace Community Church willingly turning over the work which it had so long assumed responsibility for, to the official labor movement, at the same time offering to cooperate whenever possible.

The first apparent result of having a full time educational director in the field was the formation of several new classes in Wyoming, where a great deal of the director's time was spent, and where there is a State Federation of Labor excellently officered with genuinely progressive trade unionists.

The 1927 convention of the Colorado Federation recorded itself as being favorably impressed with the necessity for a continuance of educational activities and went on record favoring an increase in per capita tax from affiliated unions for the purpose of supporting it. Likewise, it elected representatives to the Joint Educational Committee of the two State Federations of Labor.

From this point on, the work and activity began to lag. The Federations for some reason were not able to keep up their financial support as had been planned. Before the end of the 1927-28 school year, the American Fund felt it unwise, in view of the situation, to continue further its financial support and this was withdrawn. Even before its withdrawal, the full time educational director was working on a part-time basis.

In the meantime, Dr. Lackland had left Denver and Dr. A. A. Heist had succeeded him as pastor of Grace Community Church. Feeble attempts on the part of the Colorado State Federation of Labor officers to plan for and organize the annual Farmer-Labor Summer School in 1928 brought no results. Dr. Heist had offered to help but promotion work was delayed. He had jumped into the now famous Colorado coal miners' strike with all his energy and as a result of overwork

was forced to take a vacation. Without his cooperation, the State Federation officials were unable to get the summer school under way. Later in the year an attempt was made by the Federation officials to hold a conference on unemployment as a sort of substitute for the summer school, but this did not go over on a very large scale. It apparently was a dying gesture of waning interest on the part of trade union leaders in workers' education in Colorado.

Dr. Heist, returning from his much needed vacation in improved health and strength and with characteristic vigor, once more took up the reins dropped by the State Federation leaders. He enlisted the support of Frank Palmer, a member of the Typographical Union, who some years previously had founded the Colorado Labor Advocate, and who had performed a notable service to the labor movement in exposing the steel trust spies in upper Minnesota along the Messaba range mining country. Both Dr. Heist and Palmer had also been closely associated with the strike of the Colorado coal miners and the latter had spent several weeks in jail because of his activities. Here was a struggle of workers, and regardless of the name of their organization or of its affiliations, both Palmer and Heist were ready to help. Coal miners from the camps of Northern Colorado trekked down to Denver and met in the Grace Community Church when free assemblage was denied them by state rangers in their own communities. Such, then, are the type of men who are giving the best that is in them to revive the progressive spirit and interest in workers' education in the movement in Colorado.

What has happened in the few months since these two sturdy crusaders for labor went into action?

Independent Workers' Education

First of all, they have formed an independent workers' education committee composed of both organized workers and farmers—progressive individuals in the movement who have consistently supported the workers' education movement and who are still anxious that it go forward. Classes are again functioning in Denver and, as this is being written, reports are at hand of enthusiastic meetings in several of the coal mining towns of northern Colorado called for the purpose of developing educational work among the miners. Plans for organizing a Farmer-Labor Summer School are well under way. Interest in the whole progressive movement is indicated from many sections of the relatively well organized movement in the closely adjacent states of Montana and Washington. Attempts will be made to enlist both organized and unorganized workers in the educational work. It is planned and hoped that out of the interest developed in the educational work will come enthusiasm for the spread of organization in unorganized trades and industries. It is unlikely that this movement will go out of its way to attack existing organizations or leadership. It will undoubtedly work with such elements in the existing movement as are willing to cooperate on the basis of a modern, forward-looking program for developing a real labor movement. Whether the official movement looks favorably on it and allows it to go its way without interference or frowns upon it and places obstacles in its path, there is every reason to believe that the group now determined to go forward with constructive, purposeful educational work looking toward th cearrying out of a program for building up a strong, militant labor movement will not let National Civic Federation influences hinder its work, but will rather be stimulated by such opposition.

PROGRESSIVE CONFERENCE COMING

In response to the emphatic demand for action, a conference will be held in New York some time in May, the definite date to be announced shortly, at which progressive laborites from various parts of the country will consider how the progressive program may be put into effect and how education and agitation for the various points of this program may be intelligently and enthusiastically carried on.

Anyone interested in attending the conference or in receiving a report of the conference should write at once to Leonard Bright, Acting Secretary, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Colorado is an important mining state. It has strong organizational sentiment among its farming population and the workers have progressive political ideas. Farther to the northwest lies Montana with its extensive copper mining, while to the west in Utah metal mines are working full blast, and copper is quoted at 20c or thereabouts. There is a stirring among the unorganized lumber workers of Washington who are terribly exploited. Montana has a labor movement strongly organized, with the exception of the "muckers" (the pick and shovel men) in the copper mines. Its leadership, and this is particularly true of Butte, which is the center of mining in that state, realizes that the existence of some 8,000 unorganized miners in a community of 50,000, which is otherwise organized practically 100 per cent, constitutes a menace and is anxious for assistance in overcoming this situation. One can see in this section of the country a real ray of hope.

Hopeful Outlook

For one who has been over the territory and talked with both organized and unorganized workers and with the many progressively-minded men and women scattered though they are at the present time, it is possible to visualize a progressive moment engaged for the present primarily in purposeful educational work, carrying the message of both education and organization to the coal and metal miners, the steel and oil workers, the loggers and the lumbermen in the Northwest, and again building up a movement worthy of the best traditions of the pioneers of two decades ago, who by their militant class conscious aggressiveness inspired the workers of the whole country.

The sentiment for action is there, the need for organization is greater than ever, and there are an encouraging number of people, well informed and capable of contributing much to a large section of the nation's workers who, with inspiration and a certain amount of helpful direction, will go forward and make new history in the workers' movement.

Ballot Boxing In Kenosha

Labor Makes Itself Felt Politically

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IT IS almost midnight. Among the crowd of young men at Union Headquarters, there is a happy, expectant air. For the first time in the history of Kenosha there is a straight Labor ticket in the field in the local elections. The issue is clean-cut. Opposing the Labor ticket is the slate of the Manufacturers' Association, disguised as usual under the title of "The Better Government League." Pharisees always need high-sounding names to conceal their poltroonery.

Watchers have been at every poll representing the labor group for the first time in ten years. There is need for this. The wife of one of the candidates for Municipal Judge, Mrs. Lewis W. Powell, sits as an election official. So does the wife of Jacob Van Bendegom, running for re-election to the County Board against a locked out worker in the 12th ward. The main job of the watchers at this election was to check up on the count; the business of challenging fake voters and watching for the possible mutilation of ballots will have to come later, when these young men and women have become experts in political red tape. For the challengers or watchers are all locked out hosiery workers.

It is almost midnight, and the returns are encouraging. They are brought in by our men from every ward and precinct, and totaled by the desk man. It is evident that five of twelve county supervisors have been elected by Labor. It is clear that Labor's candidate for Municipal Judge, Calvin Stewart, has beaten Lewis W. Powell, bitterly opposed by the locked out workers and whom they had defeated in November for District Attorney. For the second time in a few months Powell, formerly considered the best vote getter in Kenosha County, goes down to defeat.

Kueny Wins

There is one district still unheard from, however, and that is the district in which Maceo Kueny of the General Committee of the locked out workers is running. At exactly twelve o'clock Ivo Herber and Louis Williams, sent out especially to learn how this district had gone, come back with mock tragedy on their faces. "Lost!" they say, despondently. But in a moment they are shaking Kueny's hands, congratulating him on being the sixth labor member on the County Board. A great roar of enthusiasm rises from the crowd.

This shift in the County Board is more than significant. It was the County Board which voted the illegal appropriation of $40,000 for a grand jury last November, immediately after Powell's first defeat. It has control of the sheriff's forces, and also has in the past voted the Circuit Court Judge $2,500 a year for Kenosha County more than the State allows. It is, therefore, a very strategic place from which frame-ups of the union workers can be arranged or fair dealing for the public welfare substituted—dependent upon who has control.

Soon was the value of Kueny's victory to be demonstrated in a definite way. The Manufacturers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce were secretly pushing forward Bill 47-S, to which reference has been made in past issues. The disclosures by Senator Severson, La Follette Progressive, in the State Senate, in the debate on this bill, led to a resolution of investigation being introduced in the lower house by Assemblyman A. F. Woller, Socialist. This resolution looked to the impeachment of Circuit Judge E. B. Belden, as a result of Severson's expose. Belden had ruled this judicial district with a rod of iron for twenty years. Fear of him was universal, among lawyers and laymen. He did not hesitate to use his position to punish those who crossed him. It was he who entered actively into the scheme of the Chamber of Commerce and the KENOSHA EVENING NEWS to frame up the workers through a grand jury.

"$20,000" Belden

The Assembly Judiciary Committee was very loath to act against a judge of this long standing without overwhelming proof that investigation was necessary. When this was discovered, Maceo Kueny as County Supervisor, filed nine charges against Belden, including the very damning accusation that he had borrowed $20,000 from Z. G. Simmons, president of the big Simmons Manufacturing Company, that this loan had been cancelled by Simmons without payment, and that Belden had subsequently sat on Simmons cases. The whole state was astonished; the Judiciary Committee recommended investigation, the Assembly by the almost unanimous vote of 72 to 7 accepted the report of the Committee and ordered the investigation to proceed. The Circuit Judge, long the enemy of the workers, will now have to face both impeachment and disbarment proceedings in all probability. He has come to be known as "$20,000" Belden.

Thus did Labor, a few days after the April 2nd election, learn the value of having representatives of their own in public office. It was a realization which came gradually, out of the strike situation itself. Step by step, the animus of the various public authorities had been discovered. In a city that had been under the domination of the "Open Shop" forces for a quarter of a century, the workers began to organize with a vengeance. But they found that the chief struggle in the city, which had stirred them all—the fight of the hosiery workers—was being ham-strung and hampered by hostile public officials.

To replace those officials with men of their own kind and of their own choosing became the imperative need.

And so they proceeded to put in the field their own Labor ticket. It was answered with the manufacturers' slate, and the fight was on. The beginning was a splendid one, and has spurred the union forces to go on further and make other conquests in the future.

Unionism Spreads—and Nash's

Meanwhile, the union message spreads like wildfire in the industrial field. The milk drivers get a 100 per cent closed shop and an increase in wages, without a struggle. The carpenters and painters win the 5-day week, being the first unions of those crafts in the State to get this progressive demand. The auto mechanics and the mattress workers at Simmons organize in fine shape. Butcher workmen, bakers, dyers and cleaners and many other miscellaneous trades adopt unionization. At Nash's the A. F. of L. decides to begin a campaign, in answer to the mumblings among the workers. The gang system is haltingly introduced and only in part. The management is disturbed. Felix Olkives, president of the local central body, begins a series of speeches at the Nash gates. He is arrested, but goes right back the next day. Then he is left undisturbed. The workers boo the policemen and demand that Olkives be allowed to speak. A month of such meetings, growing larger and larger, are now on foot. Every day for those 30 days Olkives will continue his missionary work at the Nash gates, as his crowds grow larger and larger.

To top it off, on May 18th organized labor will have a huge parade and mass meeting in Kenosha. State Senators Duncan and Severson will be the chief speakers. Severson is the author of the Severson Dry Law. Duncan has been the man who led in its repeal in Wisconsin. Both of these men are the center of eyes everywhere at the present time. On one thing they are agreed: in their support of Labor and in their hatred for private detectives, who have so disgraced the Kenosha situation. A crowd of at least 5,000 people is sure to be present in the open air meeting place. The voices of the speakers will be thrown by megaphones so that all in the audience may hear without difficulty. It will be a great demonstration of the strength of the united workers.

While all these things are afoot, the hosiery workers proceed to expose the Grand Jury. Without going into the details of this expose, it is learned and published that the secretary of that body (George Stevens) is office partner and close friend of Judge George W. Taylor, attorney for the Allen-A Company engaged in the prosecution of the workers. A flaming issue of the HOSIERY WORKER is gotten out on "The Grand Jury Scandal," in which is published a photograph of the door of the Taylor-Stevens office. A relative of the hosiery sales manager of the company is also declared to be on the investigating body. It is learned further that the Chamber of Commerce declared for the "Open Shop" and, therefore, against unionism, on the same day that it declared for the Grand Jury. In the face of that, the chairman of the central division of the Chamber of Commerce appears as foreman of that body. He had appeared at Madison, as one of the few champions of the vicious Bill 47-S the week before his appointment as foreman. It is also charged that he is a well-known gambler and former receiver of stolen goods. The citizens are aroused again to an understanding that there is much that is rotten in the state of public affairs in Kenosha.

Lessons

There seems to be a lesson in the Kenosha situation for those who believe in Labor's independent political action. No one entered into this fight with the plan to establish any local Labor political apparatus. The necessities of the situation simply compelled it. Pragmatically plugging ahead on the immediate fight, it was found to be essential that Labor have some of its own representatives in public offices. Now every one realizes that this must become permanent. The chief concern of all at the present is to see that these victories are consolidated, so that when the Allen-A fight is over with something of a continuing character may be left.

It is for that reason, also, that Labor is seeking so strenuously to secure at least a weekly newspaper. There is only one daily here, the KENOSHA EVENING NEWS. It is a definite part of the "Open Shop" ring, although of course its own printers are organized out of necessity. This paper has both the A. P. and U. P. services, the latter having been secured when the coming of a new daily was threatened. The HOSIERY WORKER, coming out irregularly, has offset the NEWS to a remarkable degree. But it is not a daily, nor even always a weekly. As popular as it is, it cannot fill the permanent need of the community. A pictorial tabloid is being planned, to carry the union message over every week.

Thus we have another chapter written in Kenosha's historic struggle. To the heroism and determination of the locked out workers has been added the generosity of the organization to which they belong—the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. The combination of the two has meant the renovation of an old "Open Shop" city, the coming of labor political action and a program for the future that has much chance of success.

ELECTED!

MACEO KUENY

Kenosha strike leader elected to county board of supervisors on Labor ticket.

The spirit of revolt that has sustained the Allen-A strikers for more than a year is beginning to transmit itself to workers in other Kenosha industries. Another first-hand story of developments on the Kenosha battle-front, written by Louis Francis Budenz, will appear in Labor Age for June.

The Strange Case of the A. F. of L.

Its Social Legislation Policy X-rayed

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

THE lamentable status of the American labor movement today is of supreme concern to all those who look towards the labor movement as a medium of social progress. Its impotency and ineffectiveness as a social and political force is tragic. Its present preoccupation with the gruesome task of fractricide is inexcusable. Our outstanding labor leaders seem to have shut their eyes to the innumerable complex problems now confronting the American labor movement. They are weakening its foundation by gradually ridding the movement of its best energy and talent. Men and women whose records are without a blemish and whose lives and activities stand as shining examples of the most unselfish devotion to the workers' interests are being called names and labelled "reds" and "communists." By such bungling tactics the leadership of the American Federation of Labor is losing for that organization the respect of many important elements. Many A. F. of L. supporters contend that it has reached the lowest ebb in its history. The labor movement lies prostrated, helpless and at the mercy of the wind and wave. The idealism and inspiration it was capable of arousing formerly have given place to indifference and apathy. Why has this come to be?

The prime reason for the present distressing conditions of the American labor movement is due to the failure of the A. F. of L. to adapt itself to new conditions. Its tragic fate is largely a result of following antiquated policies which, even if they were suitable 50 years ago, are unquestionably mistaken and false today. To call me a "red" or a "Communist" because of this statement will not disprove the fact. It will not help the movement. It will only stamp the caller as a fool. When an engineering plan does not work out, the manager does not usually label the engineer as a "red" and an "enemy." Instead, they sit down together to find out the causes of the failure and endeavor to adopt different and more workable methods.

Antiquated Concepts

It is my purpose to do this very thing in this article. All I ask is that the reader keep an open mind. Since no one believes in the infallability of doctors Green and Woll it is not presumptuous to check up on their prescription, especially when the patient is constantly losing ground. I propose, therefore, to analyze at this time only one particular A. F. of L. policy, which to my mind, lies at the root of the present decline of the American labor movement. The underlying evils are the continued acceptance of the outworn doctrines of individualism and the distrust of the state as an instrument of social betterment. This creed, enunciated at the very inception of the A. F. of L. fifty years ago, has been followed consistently and persistently ever since as the very essence of the American labor movement. During these 50 years the horse and buggy have given way to the locomotive, the automobile and the aeroplane; the candle was replaced by the gas lamp and the latter by the electric bulb. Hardly an institution in existence today has not adjusted itself to the new conditions. Even the church has adjusted its dogmas from time to time in order to meet new developments. The American labor movement alone has refused to surrender a single plank of the social creed it formulated in its infancy and in the adolescence of the industrial system. Since hard and fast rules cannot be made to work even in the physical world, it was but natural that they should fail to apply in a constantly changing economic and social movement. It is now plain to everyone that the attempt to combine the socialistic principle of workers' organizations with the older doctrine of *laissez-faire* or "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost" was doomed to failure.

Individualism Repudiated

Of course, individualism was the backbone of our traditional Americanism. Unquestionably this policy was responsible for much of America's earlier progress. In the modern industrial world, however, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* has no longer any place anywhere. It has been repudiated by every organized group except the American working class. Politicians remember it only during Fourth of July perorations and November elections. Business America may still pay homage to it in its temples on Sundays. But it repudiates it every day in the week. To avoid the folly of individual competition, our bankers, manufacturers, merchants, public utility interests, insurance companies, as well as our lawyers and doctors are organized along trade and class groups. They utilize their organized strength for the purpose of exerting every possible pressure upon the government for the protection of their common interest. Although still claiming allegiance to the individualism of Adam Smith they do not call each other "socialists" and "reds" as they abandon their faith and adjust their policies to meet the new conditions. Being realists they face facts and adopt policies accordingly. No one will dispute that herein lies the root of their success.

The American labor movement has refused to face the new conditions and is willing to give up its very life for an obsolete ideal, repudiated by everyone else. Despite the innumerable changes in our economic and social life during the past 50 years, our labor movement still clings tenaciously to its earlier beliefs. Even if the manufacturing and business interests find it worthwhile to look to the government for their safety and protection, workers must not do so, lest they expose themselves to that horrifying man-eating animal "State

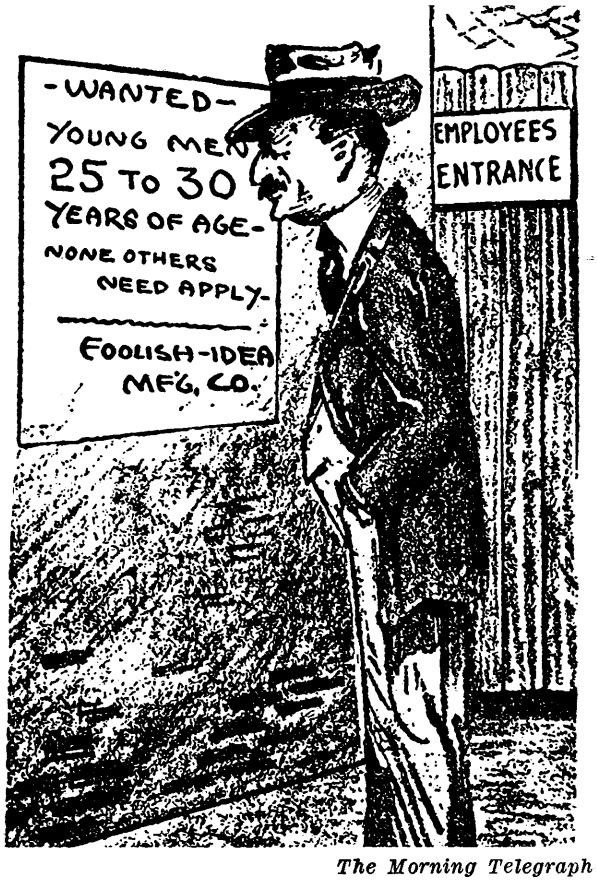
Socialism." The resulting inconsistency would be amusing were it not so pitifully tragic. American labor leadership appeals to the workers to organize on the economic field but warns them against similar organization on the political field. In practice, this merely permits the political organization to defeat whatever good is accomplished on the economic field. Workers join trade unions and call a strike, but the injunction nullifies their efforts. It calls to the workers to organize for the purpose of procuring higher wages and a better standard of life but dissuades them from consolidating these gains by social protection and governmental legislation. As a result their gains are eaten up by unemployment, sickness, the human scrap heap, etc. It is quite right for our manufacturers to demand of the government protection by means of tariff laws. But it is all wrong for the workers to ask protective governmental legislation. Our railroad and shipping interests may be wise in demanding governmental subsidies and guarantees of profits, but it is dangerous for the American workers to seek similar guarantees, against the innumerable hazards of modern economic life such as unemployment, sickness, invalidity, death, widowhood, orphanage and old age. While every other economic group has long ago recognized the monstrous folly of a policy of "dog eat dog" and are seeking governmental regulation to prevent such suicidal methods, nothing must be done by the government to prevent our workers from fighting by the hundreds for one available job and from taking the bread from each other's mouth.

Sacred Policies

When by the hundreds of thousands men are displaced from industry, when company unions are spreading from one end of the country to the other, when ages 40 and 35 have come to mean "old age" and a future of pauperism, labor leaders still argue that no change must be made in the policies adopted in 1881. Those who dare question the wisdom of these ancient doctrines are branded "enemies" and excommunicated as "untouchables." Because looking at the weakened body of American labor, Brookwood teachers inspired their students to face the facts, Brookwood must be ruthlessly crushed. The sacred cows of individualism, distrust and fear of governmental legislation and political action must remain untouched. Companies and industries may merge and consolidate, fat banks may swallow up even fatter ones, rails and the aeroplane, radio and telegraph may combine for common benefits but unions must not unite. They must be arbitrarily separated into different crafts and left to themselves because thus it was decreed by the fathers fifty years ago. Big business may concentrate in the Republican Party but the worker's political strength must not be mobilized. It must be scattered between "friends," because thus it was done in grandpa's days. They are taught that the government is to be suspected. President William Green in his speech at the recent convention reaffirmed the A. F. of L. opposition to all state "paternalism." The government must never be used by the workers for the workers.

This mistaken policy of an outgrown individualism in an increasingly collectivist society is responsible for

THE EMPLOYMENT DEADLINE



The Morning Telegraph

Employers save on the cost of premiums on their group insurance when they employ younger workers—an important reason for their new employment policy. Worrying about it is not enough, says the writer of this article.

organized labor's indifference or even opposition to the social protection of the American worker. In so doing the trade union movement has lost its chief opportunity to identify itself as an organization primarily responsible for the welfare of the masses of the workers. The non-union workers who indirectly profited by the efforts of their union brethren were told by the boss that whatever benefits gained by them in higher wages and shorter hours were the direct fruits of their loyalty to him. When in distress, either through unemployment, sickness, or old age they were merely left at the mercy of the boss or of private philanthropy. The labor leader's individualistic advice to workers to save against these emergencies from their own wages were counteracted by the employers who urged them to spend all they could in order to absorb the increased production and to hold on to their jobs. Had the trade union movement fought for governmental protection against these hazards, the American worker could not have failed to see the significance of the labor movement as a socially beneficial force. Sooner or later he was bound to look towards organized labor as his only true friend. Instead, the organized labor movement in the United States remains the only movement of workers in the world which not only refuses to fight for this

protection but frequently, along side of the bitterest enemies of labor, actually opposes these measures. There is not a labor organizer who cannot testify to the advantages and prestige gained by the American labor movement among non-union workers by its fight for compensation laws. The benefits of accident compensation have converted many a non-union man to the advantages of trade unionism. The benefits of health insurance, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions would have converted many more. But instead of fighting for these protective measures as was done by every labor movement in the world, many American labor leaders either sabotaged or openly fought these laws side by side with the bitterest open shoppers.

Swallowing Employers' Propaganda

Indeed, the A. F. of L.'s attitude toward social protection of the workers is one of its darkest pages. Our labor leaders were opposed to compensation legislation at the beginning of the compensation movement. Some of them seem to have swallowed in toto a recent statement of the Manufacturers' Association that workmen's compensation is responsible for the present arbitrary employment deadline at ages as low as 25. Even if they did not know that the actual compensation statistics do not bear this out, common sense should have told them that men and women are no greater accident hazards at age 30 and 25 than at 16 or 18. Labor leaders have fought in a solid phalanx with the bitterest enemies of labor against governmental sickness insurance. The indifference of the A. F. of L. in this case is indeed startling. As the difficulties of seeking employment are increasing, what is labor's social program against that greatest of all hazards, unemployment? Nobody knows. What has our labor leadership to say to the displacement of labor. It is worried. What has it to say to the arbitrary deadline of employment? It will study it. For over 20 years conventions of the A. F. of L. have instructed its leadership to work for the protection of the aged toilers through an old age pension system. But the heads of the A. F. of L. have sidetracked the movement. Ever since 1907, the A. F. of L. resolved to study the subject and the last convention, twenty years later, resolved to continue its study. At this time when the subject is prominently before the public eye and when as a result of development of private pension and group insurance plans the arbitrary employment deadline for older workers has been introduced, Vice-President Matthew Woll continues as the Acting President of the National Civic Federation, an organization which is leading the opposition to old age pension legislation.

At a recent legislative hearing in Albany while the President of the New York State Federation of Labor was pleading for the passage of an old age pension bill, the representative of the Civic Federation juggled fantastic figures and bitterly denounced the bill. He implied that the poorhouse was good enough for our workers and declared that European workers would consider it a privilege to exchange their old age pensions for the luxurious life in our poorhouses. While President William Green contends that the A. F. of L. is for old age pensions, Mr. Woll's connections with the Civic Federation remains unexplained. There is no record of Mr. Woll having said anything about the subject. While the United Mine Workers of America and the State Federations of Labor are putting up valiant fights for the protection of the worn-out toilers, the A. F. of L. news service recently sent out such insidious propaganda as the following:

> "Old age dependency in the United States is not as general as it is in many other countries and it probably is not as general as it formerly was in this country. . . . What to do, what to do? Reformers rush in where those shouldered with responsibility fear to tread. Maybe the reformers are right, maybe not. . . . Sentiment might crowd old age pension legislation through more than one legislature. . . . Why should civilization not aim to make old age comfortable and respectable without operating through the machinery of the state, which already threatens to become a collection of overbearing bureaus?"

Who, we ask in all fairness, is responsible for this? And who directs Mr. Woll's policies? Is it the A. F. of L., of which he is the oustanding vice-president, or the company union bosses of the Civic Federation?

That such lack of understanding of the true interests of the workers have brought about a lack of faith in American labor leadership was but the natural conseqence. How could it be otherwise? These policies could result in nothing else but the undermining of the trade union movement. For by these unfortunate tactics American labor leaders have played into the hands of labor's enemies. With such attitudes they were indeed welcome in the National Civic Federation. But in 28 years of "diplomatic relationship," the Civic Federation has not delivered a single convert to trade unionism among its non-union employers.

The Workers' Plight

American labor's individualism and opposition to social protection of the workers were the logical means of surrendering American workers to the company unions. For as the industrial development of America sapped more and more the strength and vitality of the American worker, as the hazards of his life increased, and as the American labor movement refused to listen to his pleas and continued to tell him to follow, in effect, the example of the peasant and his ox-cart of two centuries ago, he was naturally driven to look for help and better counsel from those more eager to listen to his plight.

The American employers knew the terrors facing the individual worker. They were aware of what life meant to him when confronted with unemployment, sickness, old age, or of the plight of his widow when she is left destitute with several young children. The employer knew the worker's urgent need for protection against these hazards. Since the trade unions had nothing to offer in this respect, they stepped in. They promised the worker protection on condition that he abandoned the trade union, that he did not join his fellow workers in time of strike and provided that he remained loyal to the company the greater part of his life.

OLD AGE PENSION PROGRESS

The American Association for Old Age Security has just concluded its second national conference in New York. Abraham Epstein, its secretary, was able to report an amazing growth in sentiment for old age pensions.

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt sent an encouraging message. Upon his recommendation the New York state legislature has authorized the appointment of a commission for the study of old age dependency during the summer months.

Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, too, endorsed the aims of the conference, and many prominent men and women interested in social legislation promised their support.

Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, pledged the hearty cooperation of his international union for old age pension legislation. This is in contrast to the attitude of the National Civic Federation which opposes such legislation as "communistic."

Matthew Woll, acting president of the Civic Federation and president of the Union Labor Life Insurance Co., has just sent out a letter to policy holders in which he refers to their active participation "in demonstrating that America does present an opportunity to all in working out the problems of life under the existing social order."

Does Mr. Woll mean to imply that every policy holder in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company is committed to the existing social order and that anyone who favors a new social order is not desired as a policy holder? We believe many present policy holders of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company would like to know just what he means.

All the union had taught him was the significance of gaining a few additional cents a day or dollars a week. It was but natural that he should see no difference when he got that and even more through the company union. The latter not only promised him good working conditions but frequently offered him even better ones than those the unions asked for. Furthermore, the employer promised him what he wanted and needed most: freedom from the economic terrors of life through the establishment of wide schemes of welfare benefits. Since the sole distinction given him by the trade unions during the last few years lay in the purchasing of group life insurance from the organization headed by Mr. Woll as against that of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company which also has an important representative on the Civic Federation Board, the American worker cannot be blamed for not being subtle enough to see the distinction very clearly. It is especially difficult when his choice lies between buying a policy with his own hard-earned money in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company to the acceptance of another policy given him entirely free by the boss.

Indeed, while for many years the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Gompers recognized private welfare schemes as the greatest obstacle to the growth of the labor movement and continuously fought the spread of company old age pension plans. The National Civic Federation, headed by Mr. Woll, is directing their further development.

That the spread of private welfare work in American industry is one of the prime reasons for the weakness of the American labor movement and the growth of company unionism is admitted by all. Samuel Gompers always predicted that. Significantly, welfare practices are hardly factors in the labor movements abroad. Why? Because, unlike our own labor policy, the European labor movements saw the advantage of collective strength. Through the benefits of governmental social insurance they have freed the workers' minds from industrial terrors. Instead of permitting the employers to promise the workers these benefits and thus win them away from trade unionism, they forced the various governments to provide these protections. Thus the props of the employers' benefit schemes were undermined. The worker was no longer forced to depend upon the boss in times of distress. Through the government, the trade unions assured him self-respecting support during unemployment, sickness, invalidity, old age and provided for his wife and children after his death. The worker's fear of destitution was removed. His mind was freed from anxiety and thus made capable and ready to listen to his greater problems and to look forward to a better ideal into which the interest of all the workers would be furthered and bettered. The history of the most powerful labor movements abroad run parallel with the development of social legislation and government protection of the right of the workers. Through the vision and far sightedness of these labor movements the welfare of the workers were definitely identified with the development of the trade unions.

Labor's Minor Role

The difference in tactics can be measured by the results achieved. Abroad from 35 to 50 per cent of the workers are organized in the trade unions. In the United States hardly 10 per cent are so organized. Labor abroad keeps its head high and is one of the most powerful social forces. Our own movement has become "the door mat of legislative halls." Any contention that A. F. of L. policies are responsible for our higher American standard of life is ludicrously false. Organized labor has always played a negligible role in our national life; and the workers' standards have risen highest since 1920 when the American labor movement was steadily declining.

It would seem plain, therefore, that this hostility to social legislation can not continue if the movement is not to commit complete suicide. A policy of individualism is the very antithesis of a growing labor movement. It is a contradiction in terms. If American labor is to progress, or even survive, it must not voluntarily surrender the control of the government to Big Business. Instead of fearing governmental action it must organize to make the government part of its own power. It must use it for the protection and for the benefit of the workers even as Big Business now uses it for its own protection.

The South Afire!

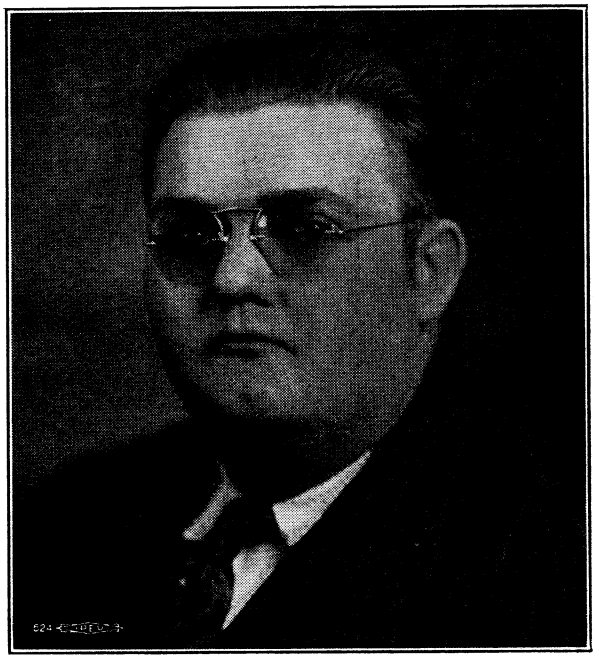
Battle For Union Rages on Two Fronts

By LEONARD BRIGHT

ALL eyes are turned southward these days. Many people are discovering, much to their surprise, that the popular song which describes the South as a land of "milk and honey, sunny skies and brown-eyed beautiful girls" does not tell the entire story by any means. They are reading on the front pages of their newspapers about strikes, kidnappings, state militia and low wages. You can't buy much milk and honey or, for that matter, ham and eggs, on $8, or even $12 a week, and after a day's work from 6 in the morning until 6 in the evening there isn't much time or inclination to admire sunny skies.

What is happening in the South? Simply this. Cotton mill and rayon workers have been working long hours for low wages, apparently satisfied. After all they had no standards of comparison at hand. This encouraged the employers to believe that these "cheap, docile Nordics" would not object to being stop-watched at their work so that they might be sped up a bit faster. To the question asked by one weaver of an efficiency expert, "What are you fellows trying to do," came the typical answer, "It is none of your damn business." But Mr. Expert learned that it was very much this weaver's business, and that of other workers. They would stand for no further speeding up, and they struck.

SOUTHERN ORGANIZER



ALFRED HOFFMAN
Brookwood graduate and progressive laborite

Chambers of commerce in various southern cities had been advertising that their workers were of Anglo-Saxon stock, proof against "foreign" agitation. "Come and build your plants here," they said to northern manufacturers. "You'll have no labor troubles." And now all these promises have gone up in smoke. Manufacturers are puzzled. They act as if they had been hexed. Of course, comes the too ready explanation—the "Communists."

Into the breach rushes THE MANUFACTURER'S RECORD, a weekly with a large circulation in the South, with this pompous demand: "The Americanism and Independence of Southern workers must be kept unsullied from alienism and the industrial bondage which communism and union labor agitators would impose."

From the point of view of this employer's publication there is no difference between the United Textile Workers of America, bona fide A. F. of L. union and the Communist officered National Textile Workers' Union. The U. T. W.'s organizing efforts are referred to as "but another scheme of radical labor leaders to keep in power and fatten on the miseries of others."

Quotes Muste

THE RECORD quotes with indignation from an article by A. J. Muste, "The Call of the South: Labor's Next Task," which appeared in the August, 1928, issue of LABOR AGE, as follows:

"Those who have been working the South recently all contend that the southern situation must be tackled soon, and on an adequate scale. . . . The textile industry in that section, for example, is becoming ever larger and more powerful.

"It is, as yet, unorganized. It is, however, no longer the only industry in that section of the country. Coal, steel, furniture, public utilities, railroads, and other great industries are springing up. These industries are also, in the South at least, unorganized. If this situation continues much longer we shall have a non-union, trusitfied industrial South.

"If this enemy is not conquered and not under control while he is young and has not reached his full growth, it is useless to expect that anything can be done with him later. . . . There must be a new attitude toward unionism, a new rebelliousness and courage developed in the southern working man as a whole."

The reading of the entire article, the first in any publication directing attention to the need and opportunities for organization in the South, is a revelation, in the light of what has transpired since. Brother Muste appears to be endowed with extraordinary prophetic powers. Yet any keen observer of the southern situation with confidence in the basic manhood of the workers to revolt against oppressive conditions could have foretold that they would strike a blow for unionism at the right moment.

In the April issue we presented some of the details

SOUTHERN ORGANIZER

ALFRED HOFFMAN

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YOUNG TEXTILE WORKERS

Four Glanzstoff rayon strikers fighting shoulder to shoulder with men folk for decent conditions.

of the first Elizabethton strike, which resulted in temporary victory for the workers. Whether the American Glanzstoff Corporation and the American Bemberg Corporation made concessions in order to gain breathing space, or whether pressure was brought to bear upon them by other mills, we do not know, but three weeks after the settlement they discharged the workers' grievance committee and ninety outstanding union men and women, and the strike was on again.

A strike of 5,000 workers is news, but it is not front page news except perhaps in the city involved. It took the dramatic kidnapping of Alfred Hoffman, young organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and of Edward F. McGrady, representing President William Green of the A. F. of L., to put the whole southern textile story in the headlines.

Kidnapping Helped

The story of how Hoffman and McGrady were kidnapped at the point of a gun, taken to the state line and told never to return or be killed, has been described fully in the daily press, so that it is hardly necessary to go into details here, but they did return in defiance of the mob of business men responsible for this outrage. Thanks to these gentlemen the whole issue of the organization in the southern textile centers has been placed before the labor movement in such a manner that it must be faced in a vigorous and intelligent fashion.

Ever since the kidnapping episode Hoffman has been guarded day and night by lean faced, long limbed Tennessee mountaineers, who carry loaded rifles and shotguns. The boarding house to which Hoffman and McGrady were moved after the kidnapping is a young arsenal. Everybody in Elizabethton, it is said, can shoot straight and is quick on the trigger.

Tennessee is not the only state involved. Strikes prevail in North Carolina and South Carolina mills. The most spectacular is the one conducted by the National Textile Workers Union at Gastonia, N. C., where the Loray mills are situated. It was in that city on April 19 that a masked mob of about 100 men between the hours of 2 and 3 a. m. entered the headquarters of the union, overpowered the 10 strikers who were guarding the hall and demolished the building with axes and sledge hammers.

Only a block away in the yard of the Loray mill were stationed three companies of state militia, but reporters are agreed that not a soldier appeared at the union hall until the building was in ruins.

On the other hand, the vandals fired three shots in the air, apparently as a signal that their work was complete. Soon several officers came running to the scene, firing shots into the air. They made no atempt to follow the mob, but instead they arrested the union men and carted them off to jail, where they still are at this writing, charged with having destroyed their own building.

Murderous Deputies

The soldiers have left, and their place has been taken by deputies—plug uglies of the same type as the notorious coal and iron police of Pennsylvania. They go about armed with club, revolver and a bayoneted rifle. They have already put in some deadly work, pickets have been beaten up and wagon loads of union men have been hauled off to jail. They have clubbed and bayoneted a reporter for the Charlotte Observer, which is an influential newspaper in North Carolina. This is likely to bring favorable publicity to the strikers and help to expose the brutality of the mill owners.

Josephus Daniels' News and Observer of Raleigh, N. C., has editorially denounced the masked mob which destroyed the National Textile Workers union headquarters. It has also reprinted from the Monroe Journal of North Carolina the following statement:

"Unionism will eventually come and so long as mill owners refuse to let it come peaceably and reasonably they may not be surprised if it comes violently and unreasonably . . ."

The big fact is that public sentiment in the South on the whole question of unionism seems to have changed. A few months ago no such editorial as that reprinted here would have apeared in a southern newspaper.

U. T. W. Swings Into Action

The U. T. W. has used good judgment in declining to enter the field in Gastonia where the National Textile Workers Union is handling the situation. The suggestions made that if the union were A. F. of L. the employers would recognize it are not sincere. Furthermore, the workers have shown that they are interested in higher wages, shorter hours and the abolition of speed-up—they do not care about communist philosophy.

The United Textile Workers have opened permanent southern organization headquarters in Charlotte, N. C., and have appointed the first members of what is to be a small corps of organizers to push forward with a steady campaign in the South. Their efforts will be watched with deep interest and sympathy by everyone interested in the organizing of the South.

One of the most vivid descriptions of the Elizabethton strike situation has been written by Chester M. Wright, editor of the International Labor News Service, of which Matthew Woll is president. While the official service did not apparently see the Southern

revolt coming on the horizon, it is good to find that Wright strikes such a militant note in the following graphic and thrilling picture of the spirit of southern workers, native born Americans, who know how to fight:

"There is something doing in the South—such a something as has never before been doing. But in this city between ranges of mountains that breathe poetry and soft voices, there is the backbone of the battle forces of progress. Here the men are still entrenched on the land. 'What the hell do we care for their jobs,' they say. 'We can go back to our land.' It breeds an independence. The workers have not been cut off from thier base as they have been in other sections. They dare to do. And they have been doing.

"Incidents of the kidnapping of Edward F. McGrady and Alfred Hoffman give some point to it all. Twenty men guard these two day and night. They have rifles and pistols. They want no more lawlessness. They have a conception of rights and fairness that is unencumbered by the involvements of law. Their role is rigid. They are clannish, but they are emphatically not feudists. In Stony Creek, home of most of this body guard, the murder rate is perhaps the lowest in the United States.

ON GUARD

The grim look in the eyes of the two straight-shooters in this picture bodes no good to any chamber of commerce thugs who might come "messin' around." Strikers have insisted on guarding Hoffman since his return to Elizabethton in defiance of death threats.

"Incidents of the strike illustrate still more. They (the pickets) kept rigidly to the letter of the injunctions issued against them. But they started their picket lines where the injunction stopped and not a man passed those lines. When they said nobody was to go to work they meant it. Militancy? Chicago doesn't know its meaning. These pickets, not at all to their discredit because it was all as they believed right, stood picket duty as guardsmen on post. They had their rifles with them. They even lay in a trench. But when any person not a probable strikebreaker came along every rifle disappeared down a trouser leg. They are unbeatable. They are resourceful. Listen to this amazing thing: For two days an airplane zoomed hour after hour over the Glantzstoff plant, coming within twenty feet of its roof Nobody has yet learned where that airplane came from, who flew it, or whence it went. Nobody doubts that it was procured by strikers or friends. Leaders from the outside can't find out where it came from. These people tell you what you know and you never learn anything else from them.

"Ten cases of dynamite disappeared from plant property the first day of the strike. Nobody knows where it went. But there is a suspicion that it was taken away by workmen and put where nobody could use it in such a way as to blame its use on strikers. A train load of strike breakers was stopped. About this there is little to be learned. The act was against orders from strike headquarters. Nobody knows yet who did it. But the strike breakers didn't get into the plant and the engineer of the train, so it is said, vowed, when he learned the facts, that he would not run his train into the mill yards even if he had a clear right of way. There is a solidarity here that is astound, refreshing and inspiring."

* * *

That the revolt in the South should come at this time when in certain official circles the feeling has prevailed that much money has been spent to organize the textile industry in the South without results gives further encouragement to Progressives whose first slogan is "Organize, organize, organize!"

It would be tragic indeed, if the labor movement failed to measure up to the opportunity. To organize 300,000 workers is no easy job. In fact, it cannot be done without the spirit of whole hearted cooperation from the entire movement. As Louis Budenz suggests editorially in this issue, a large organization fund must be raised and a willingness to do the job must be evident if the workers in the textile and other basic industries are to be rescued from the bondage of open shoppery. The South with its low wage labor stands as a threat to other parts of the country unless it is organized. Recent events there show that the workers are ready for action; they wait proper leadership and financial assistance. Will Labor respond to the challenge of the South?

Six Hour Day Fight Is On

Railroad Brotherhoods Blaze the Way

By ISRAEL MUFSON

THE demand for the six-hour day for railroad workers recently formulated by executives of the four transportation Brotherhoods in Boston brings to the fore in striking manner the astonishing effect of the present technological changes in industry with their consequent reduction of labor forces. No one could possibly have prophesied at the beginning of this new industrial era that machine development could materially affect the status of the railroad workers. Railroading is a service activity where the human element always has been the most important factor. Though some changes in locomotive and car construction could be anticipated, there was no inkling that such changes would seriously touch the problem of railroad employment.

But such is the nature of the efficiency virus that nothing is immune from its ravages. One recent very fine morning railroad labor woke up to discover that over a quarter of a million railroad employees were missing from the industry never to return. Between 1923, the peak employment period, and 1928, railroad workers engaged on Class I railroads in the United States dropped from 1,857,674 to 1,656,289. Thus in four years the railroads lost 201,385 men and women who previously had earned their livelihood in that industry or about 12 per cent in rough figures.

But this is not all of the story. In 1923 the 1,857,674 workers averaged 2,653.1 hours. In 1928, despite the fact that there were then over 220,000 less employed, the average number of hours worked per employee fell down to 2,602.5. Figuring on the basis of an eight hour day, even those lucky enough to have retained their jobs in 1928 had 6.3 days less of employment than in 1923. And reductions are still continuing.

On the other side of the balance sheet is the fact that with the fewer men employed more traffic has been handled. Even those railroads showing decreasing gross revenues show increasing net earnings. In 1923 the average cost of transporting a net freight ton mile was 90.6 cents. In 1927 that cost was chipped down to 81 cents. Due to larger engines and more efficient methods of handling, the use of coal, one of the chief items of cost in transportation, was also reduced. So there has been a net gain all around for railroad management. All the workers received, in addition to some slight increases during the past years, was the opportunity to lose their jobs.

Confronted with this situation the railroad labor executives took the only logical step left open when they declared for the six-hour day. Knowing the temper of the transportation Brotherhoods, or the Big Four, as they are better known, it is safe to assume that this pronouncement will be far more than a gesture. We may look for them to take vigorous steps to bring the six-hour day into actual practice.

The history of the eight-hour day struggle in 1916-17 is convincing proof that once the Brotherhoods embark on a project they cannot easily be turned away from their goal.

According to the executives of the Big Four, the same procedure which was successful in 1916-7 will be followed in 1919 to obtain the six-hour law. There is no evidence that any of these railroad labor leaders are dominated by the National Civic Federation company union ideology. They are just as aggressive and militant a group as they were twelve years ago. They are convinced that the only solution for the problem of unemployment and the stabilization of the railroad industry is a shorter work day. Every means, therefore, that will bring success will be utilized in the struggle for this new objective.

A Businessman's Testimony

Perhaps now that the railroad managements are twelve years older than they were in 1917 and with that much added experience the attempt to install the six-hour day will be made easier. During the past three or four years the air has been full of ideas about the need for shortening of the work day—ideas that came not from labor people alone but from the soundest of economists and the most conservative of managers as well. Even Roger Babson, the high priest of American business prophecy, throws up his hands and wonders where all these workers are to go who are displaced by machinery. The railroad labor executives are only a few of those who have an answer ready. For a change let a successful business man speak. His forum is the bulletin of the National City Bank of New York for November, 1928. What this business man sees in the very near future should make the demand for a six-hour day a matter of easy attainment. Says the business man:

"We have large reconstruction programs in process of execution at the present time which will greatly increase our capacity, but I think they will not require *any additional labor.* In fact, I think it is more than likely that *we have more labor in our employ now than we will have after these projects are completed,* due to the character of the labor saving devices which we are putting into effect. We are doing in a general way only what nearly all well organized and managed manufacturing businesses are doing, and I have no doubt that these changes that are so widespread in industry today are sufficient to account for practically all the unemployment that now exists. *I think that industry, as a whole, is not ready for the five-hour day yet, but I should not be at all surprised if in some not so far distant day, it is quite extensively adopted.*" (*Italics mine*).

All these discussions have developed a receptive mood on the part of the general public towards the idea of shortening the working day. It is very significant that such an expression should come from a business man and should be printed in the bulletin of the National City Bank of New York. Such wide-spread sentiment is bound to favor the demands of the railroad Brotherhoods. Credit should go to them for taking time by the forelock and paving the way for that era when five hours shall be considered a day's work.

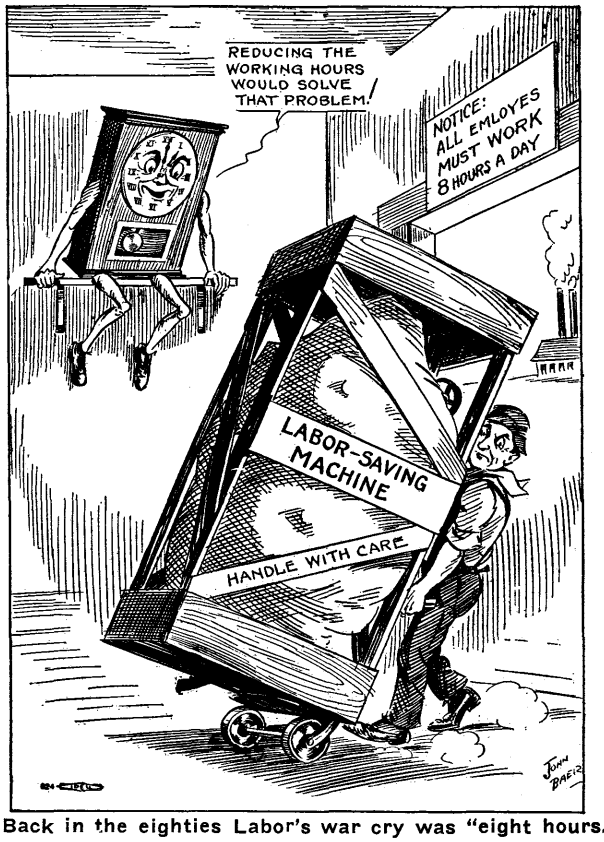
However, there is another factor which enters into the situation and which acts as an irritating obstacle, though not an effective one in the end, towards this objective. This is the Railroad Labor Act, and especially the provisions of the Watson-Parker Law.

A Law That Means Delay

In order to understand what the railroad Brotherhoods are up against in their attempt to inaugurate the six-hour day a short resume of the chief features of the Bill is essential. The sections provide that, "in case of dispute between a carrier and its employees, arising out of grievances or out of the interpretation or application of agreements concerning rate of pay, rules, or working conditions," the representatives of labor and management must confer on such dispute. If they cannot come to any agreement, they then must call upon the Board of Mediators or the Board of Mediators may step in voluntarily and offer its survices. If the Board of Mediators cannot settle the controversy then the question may be submitted to a Board of Arbitration. It is not necessary to call in a Board of Arbitration and the union may declare a strike when the Board of Mediators fails to bring the controversy to a settlement. But such a step is so hazardous because of assured misunderstanding on the part of the public that submission of unadjusted demands or grievances to a Board of Arbitration is the usual procedure. After an award has been made by a Board of Abritration it becomes law unless either party within ten days files a brief showing that the award is contrary to the requirements of the Railroad Labor Act, or that it does not confine itself to the points at issue, or that a member of the Board of Arbitration is guilty of fraud and corruption. However, if any dispute is not arbitrated and a strike impends, then the Board of Mediation notifies the President of the United States who may create an emergency board to investigate and report to him. When this board has been created no change in the status of the dispute can take place until thirty days later. If at the end of that period no agreement is reached the strike can be called.

It is needless to point out how involved the procedure the Railroad Labor Act calls for. Months pass before any effective action on the part of the union can be taken. In the meanwhile, the railroad managements can prepare themselves for whatever emergency they may foresee. Finally if a strike impends, the pressure exerted by the President for a settlement is strong enough to prevent any labor organization from using its economic power to gain its end.

SIX HOURS IS ENOUGH



Back in the eighties Labor's war cry was "eight hours." In view of the machine's onward march, let's tell the world six hours is enough.

In the last analysis, if the demand on the part of the Big Four Brotherhoods for a six-hour day is not settled amicably between themselves and management, it will eventually go into Mr. Hoover's hands for final disposition. If Mr. Hoover, as President, is able to maintain the same attitude towards the unemployment problem and towards the stabilization of industry he held as Secretary of Commerce under Mr. Harding when he called the National Unemployment Conference in 1921, the six-hour day may become a fact in the railroad industry without much struggle. On the other hand, President Hoover may have forgotten by this time the scientific aspects of industry which greatly interested him then and may be more interested in the viewpoint of management. Then there might be quite an interesting time of it.

Here again we see the dire effects of laws, no matter how beneficial they may appear on the statute books, without the requisite political power to give them meaning in practice. If labor had a well organized political party of its own and its representatives in Congress wholly in accord with the just demands of the railroad Brotherhoods, the six-hour day would not be nearly as difficult of attainment. As it is, however, everyone interested in the welfare of labor will enthusiastically support the move for the six-hour day in the railroad industry and lend whatever assistance they can in the forthcoming battle for its achievement.

Recognition—By Whom?

Success of Headgear Workers Experiment

By **J. M. Budish**

UNION recognition is acknowledged as the foundation stone of organized labor. But somehow this fundamental principle has been largely vitiated by putting the emphasis on Union recognition by the employer rather than by the workers. In its report to the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council declared:

> "Economic status comes through what we are accustomed to call 'recognition of the Union.' This means that the right of the workers to join the Union is recognized and the Union is accepted as the regular method through which matters of joint relations are determined."

This attitude which considers that the workers cannot gain economic status or a firm position in industry unless their right to join the Union is recognized by the employer, puts its stamp on the policy of the Federation. In fact, it may be considered largely responsible for some of its most objectionable features. It explains why the Federation program for any organizing campaign provides for—"a message for the employer, particularly the employer of non-union labor and for the unorganized worker." If recognition by the employer is so essential as to be indispensable, it is natural to direct your efforts first, to secure such recognition. For that purpose you carry your message first, and above all, to the employer and only then to the workers.

But if the message of the trade union movement is to be directed to the employer, particularly the non-union employer, at the same time if not before it is directed to the workers, the message itself has to be formulated quite differently. It cannot very well be higher wages, shorter hours and workers' control of industry. So the Union message is toned down. Says the Executive Council:

> "The trade union rests its claim to recognition upon its capacity to do the things that are good for industry and for human beings."

In its over-anxious chase after the employer's recognition, the A. F. of L. is apparently unaware that it is losing in the process its identity and integrity. It does not base its claims any more on what the working people can accomplish through it for themselves, but on what it can do *for industry and for human beings.* Such an approach is not very much different from that of almost any industrial and social welfare agency. Trying to make its appeal to the employer, the Executive Council seemingly fails to notice that under this interpretation the trade union movement loses all character of its own and tends to degenerate into one whose purpose "is exactly the same as that of other intelligent progressive persons." The labor movement thus becomes the expression and spokesman not of the working people but of that indefinite and undefinable group called intelligent and progressive people. (But to be sure, that does not include the "frothing" intellectuals and reformers.)

It is no exaggeration to say that this philosophy and policy practically precludes the initiation and the vigorous prosecution of any effective organzing campaign in the basic industries on the part of the A. F. of L. Whoever may be considered by the A. F. of L. as the "intelligent and progressive persons" they quite evidently have no share in the control of the basic industries. For they not only fail to recognize that their purpose is exactly the same as that of the "economic statesmen" of the A. F. of L., they do not even care to listen to the message and appeal of the trade unions. It is even impossible to secure an appointment with them in order to submit the plea for recognition. But as long as the entire campaign has as its starting point the securing of recognition by the employer, there is little else left to do except to wait for that blessed and happy moment when these employers will succumb to the education of the A. F. of L. and will become "progressive and intelligent." On the other hand, it is hardly possible to expect that a message based on that abstract and general capacity of doing good for industry and human beings will have a greater appeal to the workers than "welfare capitalism" and "company unionism," or other schemes of company made counterfeit.

A Mistaken Idea

Hence, the appalling impotence and helplessness of the A. F. of L. in the organizing of the basic industries. If Union recognition by the employers were really so essential as to make it indispensable as a preliminary condition for the success of any great organizing campaign, the situation would be almost hopeless. Fortunately, that is not the case. The entire conception is fundamentally erroneous. It is based on the mistaken substitution of the effect for the cause. Union recognition by the employers is not the cause of the economic status of the worker but its effect. It is only *after* the workers gain economic status in fact that recognition by the employer comes, and *then* it comes inavoidably and independently of the "intelligence and progressiveness" of the employer. A case from my own experience will illustrate this point.

In 1919 the millinery workers union carried on a sixteen weeks' strike in New York City. (The larger shops of ladies' hats are concentrated in the so-called Uptown district, where about ten thousand workers, operators, cutters, jobbers and trimmers are employed.) The strike ended unsuccessfully in this Uptown district. The workers were exhausted, discouraged and terrorized to the extent that they were afraid even to be seen on the street with a Union member,

not to speak of a Union organizer. The situation seemed to be hopeless. The general attitude was that there would be no chance to again organize this major district of the millinery trade unless working conditions should deteriorate to such a low level that the Union would be able at some opportune moment to call another general strike.

Workers Recognition First

The 1919 strike involved an expense of over a quarter of a million dollars. Under the new conditions the Union would have to face much greater difficulties, and expenses. The Union treasury was totally exhausted. It seemed clear that another move of that kind would have to be delayed for an indefinite time. The prevailing attitude was that it would be useless to attempt to organize the workers shop by shop. There was not the slightest chance to gain Union recognition from the manufacturers in that way. There was no doubt the manufacturers were determined and prepared to fight any demand for Union recognition to the bitter end and to lend their entire support to any individual shop which might be tackled by the Union. It was further the general idea that it was impossible and, therefore, useless to try to organize the workers as long as there was no chance to secure for them Union recognition or improved conditions at an early date.

Needless to say, I could not share that pessimistic attitude. Union recognition by the employers is, to my point of view, of secondary importance. It is in any case merely an effect of the success achieved by the workers in solidifying their own ranks and in learning the principles and practice of collective and concerted action.

In 1921, the writer submitted a plan for starting an organizing campaign, based on the slogan of *Recognition by the Workers,* caring naught for the moment whether we would be able to secure recognition by the employers or not. Under this plan it would be necessary to secure the adherence of the workers to the Union on the basis involving a deeper understanding of the principles of labor solidarity, implying a readiness to stick to the Union even when no immediate material gain was to be expected.

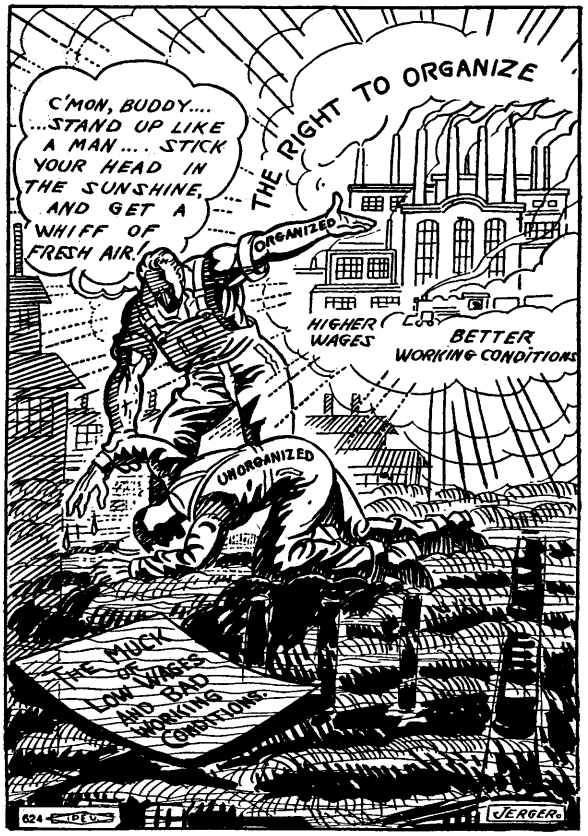
The plan provided for an organizing drive to be conducted with great discretion and circumspection. The early stages of the organizing campaign were to be based on a person to person canvass by visiting the workers at their homes and holding small meetings as far as possible outside of the district. For the first several months, it was not planned even to open an office in the district. There was no reason for the immediate opening of such a union office, for as already mentioned, the workers were so terrorized that they would not have dared to visit the union office in any case. Finally, every man joining the Union was to be warned that he could not expect to secure any substantial improvement of his conditions until the campaign had advanced sufficiently and had succeeded in unionizing the bulk of the workers.

The underlying thought of the plan was that as soon as substantial numbers of the millinery workers joined the Union, were ready to act concertedly and in accordance with the principles and decisions of the union, they would by this very fact have gained economic status in the trade, becoming such an important factor that the manufacturers would be compelled to concede union conditions to them independently, whether these manufacturers did or did not recognize the union officially.

When this plan was first proposed it was almost laughed out of court. It was considered next to impossible to get new members to stick to the organization long enough until sufficiently large numbers had organized, if the union would not be able meanwhile to do anything substantial for them. When the plan was finally adopted, it was merely as an experiment and primarily because nothing else could do done. Even then it was considered so impracticable that no one was ready to volunteer his service on the committee which was to undertake this task, and appointments on the committee were accepted only grudgingly. It should be stated, however, that the organizer immediately in charge of carrying out this plan, Nathaniel Spector, now manager of Millinery Workers Union No. 24, put his heart into it, bringing into the campaign unusual zest, enthusiasm and energy.

The success of the campaign exceeded all expecta-

LABOR'S BIG JOB



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

Our major task, we repeat, is to organize the unorganized. We need all the light we can get on how to do the job. That is why we are glad to present the accompanying article, the second in a series by Brother Budish on organizing problems.

tions. Notwithstanding the fact that it was made clear to every worker that by joining the union he could not expect any protection immediately; that even in case he should be victimized for his membership in the organization he could not depend upon the union for reinstatement, except that every effort would be made to help him financially until he found a new job; and that he would have to stand by the union for a year or more before something substantial could be done for him, the union message met with an immediate and ready response. In several months the great majority of the workers of many individual shops joined the union. In all such cases these men conducted shop meetings at which the particular problems of their shop were taken up as well as the general trade problems, shop committees were elected and instructed to take up the workers' grievances with their employers in an unofficial capacity.

How the Plan Worked

During this initial period of the campaign, we never asked for union recognition or for the signing of an agreement. Instead, the workers of the shop were instructed as to the wages and working conditions upon which they were to insist under the unofficial supervision of the shop committee. Neither did we let ourselves be provoked into premature strikes. There were many cases of discharge and discrimination because of union activity; the members of the unofficial non-recognized union shop committee were especially singled out by the employers for victimization. In all such cases we would help them financially, frequently raising the necessary funds for levying an assessment upon their co-workers in the shops. We did not interfere when employers took new workers in place of the discharged. But under the pressure of the rest of the men in that shop the new worker, if he was not a member of the union, would soon join the union and would then behave exactly the same as the other workers of the shop, in compliance with the instructions of the shop committee and the union officers. To be sure, as the campaign proceeded and the proportion of union workers grew we did in special cases call shop strikes, but only when their success could reasonably be considered as more or less certain.

For almost two years the organizing campaign was carried on in this way and the entire district was fully organized. During this time substantial improvements in workers' conditions and wages were secured. What is more, without any signed agreements whatever, without any union "recognition" by the employers, without any direct dealings of the union officers with the employers, and even without the officers of the union having admission to any of the shops, practically uniform working conditions and wages were established and maintained. These conditions were continually raised and brought up to a level which would stand comparison with the well organized trades having official union recognition and collective agreements.

Of course, the manufacturers couldn't fail to discover sooner or later that their shops were in fact organized and that the workers followed and carried out the instructions of the union. They couldn't help feeling that in certain cases they involved themselves in unnecessary difficulties and delays. For the men in their dealings on price settlements would drag the dealings in order to report to the union officer and get instructions. If matters were urgent the manufacturers found themselves compelled to suggest to the workers that they call in the union officer and settle at once. Gradually many manufacturers came to the conclusion that it would be better for them to recognize the facts and deal directly with the union rather than continue the make-believe that their shop was still non-union. So one by one the manufacturers started to sign agreements with the union, though even at this time there was no collective agreement in the trade. As already mentioned, however, the degree of organization reached in this uptown district would stand comparison with the best organized trade.

The process of organizing on the basis of recognition by the workers and not by the employers, developed among the workers in every shop a strict discipline and an ability and practice of acting concertedly at all times in accordance not merely with instructions but with the very spirit of the union. It developed such an *esprit de corps* that it made it possible for the union to withstand many critical situations, and come out of such difficulties with strengthened positions much more successfully than many another strong organization which did not pass through such a school where the workers had to depend entirely upon their own ability to control the conditions in the shops.

Praised by Union Head

At the 1925 convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union the President of the organization had this to say to the effect of the organization campaign described above: "It was Budish and nobody else who initiated the campaign of the millinery workers uptown. He was the initiator, he laid out the plans, wrote out the manifesto, and decided the policy how to organize. He coined the slogan 'Recognition by the workers and not by the bosses,' and that slogan organized the trade."

There may have been a little over-emphasis in this estimate by the President of the International Union. There is no doubt, however, that dependence upon employers' recognition makes the trade union helpless and impotent in the organization of the bulk of workers, and that if our organizing campaigns are to be made effective they must be based on this principle of *recognition by the workers* and not by the employers. So we are in a position to formulate another general principle and method:

> Organizing campaigns must be based on union recognition by the workers. This means that the workers develop clear and conscious understanding of the indispensability of concerted action on their part and develop an ability to practice such concerted action individually and collectively. In this way, the workers gain economic status and control in industry and they do so independently of any official union recognition by the employers.

Whether such methods and plans can be applied to the basic industries demands further consideration.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

XII. HOW'S BUSINESS?

THE best way to know what is happening in industry, commerce, finance and agriculture is to follow diligently the financial pages of a good daily newspaper. Too many persons who do not have a direct interest in the stock market skip this section of their paper altogether, yet it is probably the most important of all. At the beginning reading the financial section is a bore. One does not understand the language and ideas and does not sympathize with the money-makers for whom it is intended. Be patient. After a while you "catch on," you get the continuity of events, you discover what is important to look for, you look up terms you do not understand.

For the uninitiated a few hints may be given. Your chief guide is the column or two that the financial editor and other experts write every day. Their discussions give you an insight into current economic events. Do not bother at first with the long tables of stock and bond prices. Watch the advertisements and write for free literature when it is offered. Notice where the summaries of the previous day's or week's data are located. Read carefully reports of discussions or comments. Follow up with some care one or two topics and if necessary read up on them in some good books.

Once in a while, especially when business conditions become first page news, it is well to consult one of the more expensive dailies published in Wall Street, the "New York Journal of Commerce," the "Wall Street Journal," and the "Wall Street News." The first emphasizes commerce and industry, the other two, finance.

The next thing for the research worker to do is to read rather regularly at least one of the weekly or monthly business periodicals. Of the weeklies the "Annalist" is probably the most serviceable. It is published by the New York Times Company and sells for twenty cents per copy or seven dollars a year. Its summary, The Business Outlook, by the editor, Benjamin Baker, is most enlightening. Its record of current economci data accompanied by charts is useful, and readers will find its compilations of mergers and changes in capitalization of corporations of great interest.

The "Commercial and Financial Chronicle," published by the William B. Danna Co., New York City, was founded in 1865. It is published weekly. Subscriptions cost ten dollars a year. It is the most comprehensive compendium of business conditions we have. Its features are: well-informed editorial comment from the point of view of big business, a complete record of all current economic statistics, generous and frequently complete accounts of speeches, articles, and reports of experts and organizations whose word counts, and the reports made by corporations to their stockholders or the investing public.

Other periodical literature should be consulted from time to time: (1) besides the "Annalist" and the "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" other general business magazines like "Commerce and Finance," the "Magazine of Wall Street," "Forbes Magazine," the "Nation's Business," "Barron's Weekly," the "Magazine of Business" and the "Harvard Business Review;" (2) governmental or semi-governmental periodicals like the United States Survey of Current Business described in an earlier article, the Federal Reserve Bulletin and the bulletins published by the various Federal Reserve Banks; (3) trade papers like the "Women's Wear Daily," "Coal Age," the "American Contractor" and "Automotive Industries;" and (4) surveys and market letters of banks, trust companies and brokers such as those of the Chase National Bank, American Exchange Irving Trust Co. and Hayden, Stone and Co., both of New York City.

Probably the most complete guide to current business is supplied by the Standard Statistics Company, New York City, whom we have mentioned as publishers of the Standard Corporation Records. This company puts out the Standard Trade and Securities Service at $15 a month or $180 a year. Of course, it is intended for investors and speculators. The service appears in two loose-leaf volumes which is replenished with up-to-date material frequenlty. Volume 1 is called the General Section, and Volume 2 the Industries Section. The General Section consists of the following parts: the Business Prospect, Standard Earnings Bulletin, Statistical Bulletin, Sales and Credit Prospect, and Special Supplements. The Industries Section reports regularly on forty-two basic lines of business, emphasizing volume of production, prices and profits, and supplying data about the leading corporations in each industry.

Other investors' services of great usefulness are Babson's Statistical Organization, Brookmire Economic Service, Harvard Economic Service, and Moody's Investor's Service.

Special attention should be called to "Facts for Workers" published by Labor Bureau, Inc., 2 West 43rd Street, New York City. It is a monthly review intended to give trade union organizations and their members a summary of economic developments in general and by industries. It also publishes the results of special investigations by the Bureau. Subscription terms and sample copies may be obtained by writing to the above address.

All libraries contain some of the material mentioned in this article, the larger ones most of it.

For Your Own Research

1. Describe business conditions in the United States last month.

Flashes from the Labor World

Pennsylvania Solons Laugh at Workers Bills

Pennsylvania senators laughed until their sides split. "Thousands of workers are being displaced yearly by mechanical inventions," the clerk droned. "A majority of all industrial establishments bar new workers over 45, and in some cases as low as 35," continued the little bald-headed man by the speaker's chair, but his voice was drowned by the guffaws of portly solons.

"I move you, Mr. President," cried one, "that the bill be referred to the mines and mining comittee." Peals of merriment followed this sally and the Keystone statehouse, of graft-ridden memory, nearly rocked on its base.

The senators were about to adjourn for the session. Out in the cloakrooms, Mr. Mellon's favorite brand of whisky was flowing freely. The party was all on Mr. Grundy, a prince of good fellows, and, as everybody knows, the head of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association. Hadn't the senators done everything Mr. Grundy wanted? Hadn't the governor just okehed their Mansfield bill which changed the name of the coal and iron police to industrial police, to appease the wrath of labor and progressive sentiment aroused by the murder of John Barkoski?

Nearly everyone enjoyed the high comedy, save Sen. Larry McCrossin, union printer from Philadelphia, whose bill was being insulted by being tossed to an irrelevant committee without even the courtesy of a vote.

* * *

It was the same with other labor measures before the Pennsylvania legislature. The 44-hour bill for women and children never got out of committee. Working girls who had come from far and near to Harrisburg to speak against the 10-hour day and 54-hour week were not even permitted to open their mouths at the committee hearing. But a reverend gentleman from Berks Co. delivered a long oration to them on the evils of the 44-hour week. Didn't they know, he asked, that such a law would mean they'd lose their jobs? And what did they want so much leisure for anyway? Didn't the good book say something about the devil finding something for idle hands to do? Why weren't they working instead of fussing around the state capital? Isn't woman's place in the home—eh, beg pardon, the factory?

IN MELLON-LAND

It did not require much investigating to bring out the truth concerning the murderous hirelings of Pennsylvania's coal and iron corporations, but when it comes to legislating them out of existence, that's another story, as Harvey O'Connor points out.

Most shameless of all was the legislation record on the coal and iron police. Opinion throughout the state was at white heat for the abolition—or at any rate the curbing—of the vicious private armies of thugs on the payrolls of the steel, coal and railroad companies. Two weeks before adjournment, bills were still in committee. With the spotlight of public anger playing on them, the Mellon-Grundy legislators passed the Musmanno and Mansfield bills, one modifying the powers of the private cops, the other changing their name.

And then, as if by prearrangement, Gov. Fisher dumped the Musmanno bill into his waste basket and signed the insulting Mansfield bill. Hot resentment swept the state. Labor leaders dusted off the dormant Labor Party and waved it at Grundy and Mellon. Liberal papers stormed. Gov. Fisher, taken aback, fumbled nervously and asked a state cossack chief to make a report on the coal and iron police. And that's that.

* * *

In Albany, New York labor fared no better. State Federation of Labor officials mourned the loss of the anti-injunction bill. It never came to a vote in the senate, but was conveniently "lost" by Sen. Knight, G.O.P. man Friday for the Associated Industries, in the closing days of the session.

Wily boys, these politicians. In Pennsylvania Gov. Fisher denounced the Mansfield coal and iron police bill as "weak" two weeks before he signed

it. Well, Sen. Knight himself wrote the State Federation's anti-injunction bill. And then lost it!

* * *

Other labor bills also died a-borning. The occupational disease compensation bill never got to first base. Even radium poisoning wasn't important enough to merit compensation for its industrial victims. Yellow dog contracts are still sacred. Only silent rows of crosses mark where lie the legislative hopes of New York workers.

* * *

Same story in Boston. The old age pension was reported adversely to the house, where labor men succeeded in having it revived. Again the story of the mechanization of industry was told, of how the 40-year age limit is being drawn against workers, of the expensiveness and cruelty of the poor farm system.

But, queried a member from Brookline, what's the matter with charity? Ain't we giving thousands every year to panhandling charity agencies to look after them? What do you want, paternalism and socialism in rock-ribbed Massachusetts, crade of liberty? At which the old age pension bill sighed and passed away.

* * *

Southern workers are beginning to get angry. Some "furrin agitators" from the north showed them advertisements appearing in northern papers. These ads dwelt on the beauty of "docile, 100 per cent American, contented Anglo-Saxon workers," who don't listen to unions, work cheap and stick on the job reasonable hours, namely 10 to 12. Then along came Mr. Bedaux, a gentleman who knows how to make a worker produce two hours of work in 60 minutes.

Together Mr. Bedaux and the agitators were too much. The southern worker ignited. At some mills they handed an ultimatum to the boss, couched in pretty poor but yet unmistakable English, asking for the end of "doubling up" and "stretching out." When the boss didn't kick through, they pulled the cord on the mill whistle and every last one walked out.

That was the case in South Carolina, where the strike wave engulfed one mill after another, leaving mill bosses flabbergasted. Just the day before their bright publicity boys had written such eulogies of their workers' supineness, and here they were making a million dollars worth of free advertising on the front pages of papers all over the country, exposing the South's dirty labor policy.

* * *

Up in Gastonia the story was much the same. But some National Textile Workers organizers came along. These left wingers shocked the South to the soles of its boots and set the mill workers to thinking with slogans of the 40-hour week, and a $20 minimum wage. This to slaves getting $10 a week for 60 hours' work. At the Manville-Jenckes mill, they tumbled out in answer to the strike call. In came the militia, five companies of them, howitzers, machine guns, cavalry, infantry, bayonets and gas.

But the infantry boys were workers too, in many cases relatives of strikers. And so they were withdrawn in favor of thugs and gunmen imported from other sections. While the Gastonia and Charlotte press shrieked "communism" and "bolshevism" at the strikers, Manville-Jenckes and American Legion set to work. The strikers' union hall and relief quarters were wrecked to the last chair and typewriter. Food for hungry children was destroyed on the street.

* * *

Across the ridge in Tennessee exciting things were happening, too. Five thousand Bemberg and Glanzstoff workers won a strike for more pay. The German bosses, making money hand over fist, gave in after the usual preliminaries of militia and injunctions.

Then the southern cotton mill owners got to them. What, raise wages in the rayon mills, so we'll have to pay more in the cotton mills? Not on your life! Cut them wages! So the German bosses tossed the agreement into the waste basket and began firing leading members of the United Textile Workers.

Later Alfred Hoffman and Ed McGrady were kidnapped at night from their hotel, threatened with violence and taken to the state line. "And if you come back, you'll leave in a box," they were cautioned by the mob, composed of rayon foremen, ministers, business men and leaders in the community.

Hoffman and McGrady came back and with them William Green of the A. F. of L. All the time the rayon workers got hotter and hotter under the collar. Finally they blew up again. Strike!

Need we continue the story? Militia? Why, of course. And injunctions, too. And pickets beaten up. And all the trimmings of strikes as known in the north.

* * *

Out in Centralia, Wash., near the big log country, Elmer Smith went back to his old stamping grounds. Nearly 10 years ago Elmer Smith was an attorney in the sawmill town, fighting on behalf of workers, gaining them compensation, getting money owed them, helping them against the hundred and one ways bosses have of cheating lumber workers.

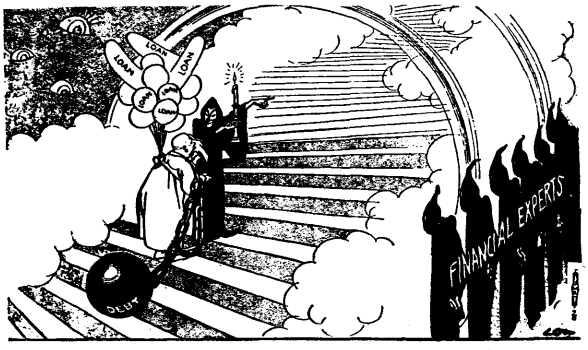
On Armistice Day, 1919, the American Legion strode down Tower Street. At a signal they broke ranks while passing the Lumber Workers' hall. Into the hall they burst, intent on wrecking the structure as legionnaires had done in so many other Washington cities. Rifles spit, guns flashed. Force met force, the one in defense of constitutional rights, the other intent on wiping out a radical workers' union.

A few weeks ago Elmer Smith went back to Centralia and before hundreds of cheering workers dared Legion officials to debate with him on the continued imprisonment of eight lumberjacks in Walla Walla penitentiary. For 10 years they have been there, serving 25 to 40 year sentences. Smith himself was indicted, but acquitted. For the past 10 years he has given his life to freeing his fellow workers. The movement grows for their freedom. A Methodist ministers' conference meeting in Stamford, Conn., echoes the cry for their release. From various parts of the country comes the demand that Gov. Hartley free the real victims of the Centralia tragedy, the men who are sitting in Walla Walla prison because they followed legal advice to defend their constitutional right to have a union meeting hall.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Bureau Manager of The Federated Press.

In Other Lands

GERMANY'S DEBT NIGHTMARE



London Daily Express

The boneyard rattle of the World War—the battle of the Shekels—otherwise called the Reparations Conference was the uppermost question for Germany and, because of the close inter-relations of trade and business, most important for the rest of Europe. The British and French spokesmen for the Allied nations asked an excessively high figure, no doubt with the intention of scaling down in the bargaining process. Dr. Schacht, for the Reich, countered with a correspondingly low figure, but refused to scale upwards, and as he had nothing to bargain with the delegates found themselves in an impasse. This was inevitable since the only thing the Germans had to give away was to abandon their claims to the mandated colonies and Dr. Schacht emphatically said they would not be discussed. As the French by their threats are in the "give us our pound of flesh" frame of mind and as John Bull can not use his genius for compromise it looks as though Morgan and Young, the American delegates, will have to use more than their wonted astuteness to extricate the conference from the impasse.

What is not understood outside of Germany is that the economic conditions are in poor shape all over the Reich. Agriculture is in a bad way. Unemployment is greater than ever. The steel and textile trades are by no means prosperous. In fact, the only business doing well is the hotel trade and that is due principally to foreign visitors. This unfortunately has caused a wrong impression abroad. People think the Reich is making money. The truth is it is largely paying its way and carrying on through the loans raised in other countries. All economists are agreed that this situation can not go on indefinitely. Huge reparations mean more loans and industrial slavery for the workers, with its vicious circle completed in the shape of reduced standards and fierce competition for the toilers in all countries within the international trading circuit.

TORIES' NEW TEA PARTY

Parliament has not dissolved but the general election battle has begun. Churchill's budget and the abolition of tea duties—a bribe to the new women voters—was the first big gun of the campaign. All parties are stressing unemployment and their special remedies for it. All the big newspaper magnates and editors have espoused Lloyd George's cause and are attacking Baldwin and Chamberlain. It looks as though the crafty men behind the scenes want a change of cards rather than a new game with a new set of rules or principles. Tweedledum or tweedledee is more welcome to the magnates than a Labor government.

Cook's defection from the Communist side of the fence to the middle of the road group coupled with his dining with the Prince of Wales was the sensation of the week. How far the Prince's visit to the mines was a scheme to sidetrack radical unionism and socialist republicanism one can not at this early stage positively tell. Yet something like that must have been in the minds of the ruling class—always astute and consummately clever—when the tour of the heir to the throne was planed. The Prince is repeating the tactics of his grandfather of an earlier day when Albert Edward shook the hand of Mundella, the republican leader, and paved the way for his entry into the Gladstone cabinet. Of course, no one thinks it will allay discontent in Britain but the tactics of the Prince and his advisers will ensure a Right Wing or moderate government should the Labor Party carry the elections.

Both the British and the American capitalist ruling groups favor smaller fleets and a modified form of disarmament as against the Soviet proposals on the same lines. The former groups are now in financial control of the world and they want to see it disarmed so that their own governments will be able to dominate with less expense and no worry. They abolished piracy and slavery after they had secured all the wealth and the profits of slavery to themselves.

DICTATORS' DIFFICULTIES

Uneasy lies the head that wears the dictator's crown and the bosses of Italy and Spain are finding that physical power without moral backing is not everything. Hence Mussolini sacrifices part of his prestige to hold his power by dealing with the Vatican and allowing himself to be outgeneraled by the Pope. Riviera, who has no Pope to help him out of his troubles with the intelligenzia, is throwing out broad hints that there will soon be a change for the better in old Spain.

INDIA AND THE EAST

The Governor General has wiped out the last vestiges of parliamentary rule in the nominated assembly by forcing through his bill giving him the right to deport Communists and revolutionists, both native and foreign. He did it over the protest of the speaker who had delayed the bill and held it up until after the state trials. Strikes are epidemic all over the country. Afghanistan is gradually getting back under the rule of Ammanullah and the tools of the imperialists are being defeated by him one by one. This can also be interpreted as a triumph for Russia. The radicals have gained a new lease of life in China though they have not secured any new power. The dissension among the generals has aided Mme. Sun Yat Sen and her associates. The new movement will not supplant the Koumingtang though it may compel a modification of the policies of the government.

PATRICK QUINLAN.

"Say It With Books"

LABOR AND THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The New Industrial Revolution and Wages by W. Jett Lauck, Funk and Wagnalls Co. 1929. 308 pp. $2.50.

Labor and Automobiles, by Robert W. Dunn, International Publishers. 1929. 224 pp. $1.00.

THE rapid technological progress of American industry has brought about certain fundamental changes in our industrial structure. The last vestiges of the much vaunted equal opportunity have disappeared. In the words of that profound and penetrating philosopher, John Dewey, "The culture pattern works out so that society is divided into two classes, the working group and the business (including professional) group." This situation calls for a hard and strenuous philosophy. We must look the facts straight in the face and we must have the courage to draw the logical conclusions therefrom. If the house is divided against itself, if society is divided into two classes then the class struggle can no more and should no more be avoided than the struggle for existence and survival.

The advance of the new industrial revolution came much more rapidly than the corresponding adjustment of our mental attitudes. As Professor Dewey correctly finds, "Our older creeds have become ingrowing; the more we depart from them, in fact, the more loudly we proclaim them." While labor organizers are kidnapped by respectable business people in broad daylight, while union headquarters are literally destroyed by sledge hammers in the very presence of militia mobilized presumably to maintain law and order, there are ever louder professions of friendship and harmony between capital and labor, of cooperation between management and men. Perhaps the greatest difficulty with which the labor movement is confronted at present is its apparent inability to rid itself of the magic formulae which are so loudly proclaimed though they are contrary to every actual condition which organized labor has to face.

W. Jett Lauck's "The New Industrial Revolution and Wages" still treats the professed creeds as realities. All we need is "a practicable and equitable method for wage fixation and for the participation of wage earners in productive gains." The argument is based on the assumption that the professions of the lords of finance and magnates of industry strictly correspond to their policies, in fact. We are informed that "Industrial leaders and financiers, as well as heads of labor organizations, accepted the new enlightened and far-seeing attitude as to industrial policy." The lion and the lamb are ready to cooperate in peace and harmony. We merely need to work out the necessary procedure and then . . . the millennium. For "ultimately this procedure will result in labor becoming capital and in the complete democratization of industry." As a matter of fact, even the procedure is practically already available. The author refers to "The Epoch-Making Significance of the Mitten-Mahon Agreement" and states that "from this beginning management and labor may be expected to cooperate so as to obtain the maximum of industrial stability and prosperity." The Mitten-Mahon agreement was already discussed at length in the columns of "Labor Age" and needs no further comment, except perhaps to mention that President Mahon has just issued a statement denying that the agreement is in operation. So at the very threshold of the fairy land we are deprived of the magic wand that is to open the gates of maximum stability and prosperity.

Robert W. Dunn approaches the problem in a different spirit. He does not take much stock in proclaimed creeds. He puts the situation to the test of a cold factual analysis, and draws his conclusions therefrom.

In no industry has the new industrial revolution made such rapid strides as in automobiles. Perhaps the entire automobile industry is a product of the new industrial revolution. While in all industries the output per wage earner increased about 40% from 1919 to 1925, the increase in the automobile industry amounted in the same period to 120 per cent. The productivity per worker in the automobile industry grew three times as fast as in the average industry. Over 700,000 workers are employed directly in the manufacture of automobiles, accessories and tires. Over 4 million cars were produced during 1928. The profits are fabulous indeed. For example, "at their high prices in June, 1928, the securities of five companies had an aggregate market value of $4,666,974,557, while their book value at the end of 1927 was only $980,870,661." In fact, the automobile industry is sometimes put up as an example to prove that there need not be any clash between profits and wages. It is so frequently repeated that the automobile workers share in the prosperity of the industry that many accept it for granted. Robert W. Dunn has not permitted himself to be influenced by this popular fiction, and his book does not stop at appearances but searches behind the scenes disclosing the actual conditions.

We discover that with the exception of Ford's, the fifty-hour week still prevails. In many cases the men are forced to work between 11½ to 12 hours a day, and that the workers pay dearly for the forty-hour week at Ford's

both in speed-up and in reduced wages. We discover that the index of real wages ran from 100 in 1919 to 121 in 1923, but dropped again to 94 in 1927. The index of Labor's shares in the prosperity of the industry dropped from 100 in 1904 to 90.3 in 1925. We find that the average hourly rate for male workers in the auto factories was about 66 cents in 1922-23, and 70 cents in 1925; while the average union wage in the organized industries was 86 cents an hour in 1923 and $1.09 an hour in 1925. The rate of wages in the most prosperous industry in the country was 34% less than in the average organized industry. It should also be remembered that no industry is quite as centralized and as controlled by the real leaders of finance and industry as is the case with the automobile industry. If industrial leaders and financiers really accepted the new enlightened and far-seeing industrial policy, as the leaders of labor organizations, here was the opportunity to apply it in practice. But the more loudly these professed principles are proclaimed the more drastically they are departed from.

The house is divided against itself. The professed harmony between capital and labor is counterfeit.

Postscript: While assuming professions for facts, and counterfeit for real money, W. Jett Lauck's book, "The New Industrial Revolution and Wages," is a valuable manual on wage theories and contains excellent suggestions with regard to unemployment and other forms of social insurance; it is also invaluable for any student of the new defenses of capitalism.

J. M. BUDISH.

RATIONALIZATION

The New Industrial Revolution. By Walter Meakin. Brentano's. $3.00.

IN this book the author deals with the significance of post war tendencies in the rationalization of industry. Rationalization is not the application of the Taylor System to industry but something more—a rational planning of the entire productive process with a view to decreasing production costs, increasing wages and output.

The author is strongly disposed to rationalization of industry though it brings greater unemployment temporarily, because it means increased production, lower cost, greater demands for future labor with higher wages and a stabilized industry. He believes it to be infinitely superior to the British method of lowering wages and lengthening hours so as to to underbid competitors and recapture the market thus furnishing employment for all.

Radical labor is opposed to rationalization not only because it gives a new lease of life to capitalism but also because it means the temporary displacement of workers and the surrender of many union rules built up by centuries of sacrifice for the prevention of the exploitation of the workers. On the other hand, German labor because of its bitter experiences believes in co-operating with employers to rationalize industry but insists that industry must bear the burden of the displaced workers until they are reabsorbed by the recovery of industry and that labor should have a vital part in the planning of the reorganization of industry.

Not only should workers refuse to bear the cost of rationalization either in the form of unemployment or temporarily lower wages but they must guard against creating giant combines which will have society at their mercy. Suppose these great combination of capital act for their own selfish ends as against the interests of society and the workers? May not the workers and all interested in orderly progress be forced to nationalize these industrial combinations? The book of Walter Meakin raises fundamental questions of industrial reorganization which the leaders of labor must face—especially in the industrially advanced countries. This means careful research and long range planning upon the part of the leaders of labor. Is American labor equipped for this necessary task? Do its leaders appreciate the significance of the spread of rationalization in Germany and England and what it may mean in future competition and possible war? Capitalism revitalized by rationalization, unless intelligently combated, may mean industrial slavery.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

Greed's Grip Broken or the Right to Live. By Joseph W. Savage. The Avondale Press. $2.00.

"GREED'S Grip Broken or the Right to Live," by Joseph W. Savage, is a highly colored imaginary clash between the common people and monopolistic capital dominated by greed and using their control of the judiciary, the government and the pulpit to pile up ill-gotten gains for themselves at the expense of the masses. The intense, exaggerated emotionalism of the author is evidenced by such mild phrases as "wealth is a stamp of hell" or "the hideous monster as withering as a blast of sirocco," etc., which are strewn across almost every page of the book. The interesting struggle between the two forces reaches its climax when the outraged people elect their incorruptible tribune, Senator John Samson as president. Intrenched capital refuses to accept the verdict of the people and civil war ensues, the people finally emerging triumphant.

A. L.

"LABOR'S AMERICA"

120 Million, by Michael Gold, International Publishers, 1929, $1.50.

EVERY labor movement produces its great writers, its mouthpieces of revolt and daring. In Europe, South America, and the Orient these writers are appearing in ever-increasing numbers. Yet, in America, since Jack London turned from the writing of revolutionary fiction to the reeling off of sob stuff for the Cosmopolitan magazine, there has been until recent years a dearth of proletarian literature, relieved somewhat by the strong work of Upton Sinclair. Now out of labor's ranks comes a

group of young writers, promising us more of the literature our American movement must have.

This is good, for American Labor reads. In the absence of good labor literature, it reads trash. I have seen southern millhands, after eleven hours of exhausting work in the cotton mill, poring over "True Stories," crime news, anti-white-slave tracts, and such fiction literature as the local library afforded. Negro workmen devouring religious tracts, making up their own folk tales and songs. Up north, workers absorbed in Hearst scandal sheets, and (sometimes) union papers. This reading hunger is now perverted and demoralized by commercial interests. But what a challenge it presents to the Labor movement, to mobilize this force in its direction.

It is just this job which Michael Gold and numerous others have set themselves to tackle. In "120 Million," Gold gives us simple, unforgetable pictures of working class life, not of labor's aristocratic upper-tenth, but the life of the great masses of semi- and un-skilled workers in the mines, oil fields, steel mills and textiles. Bitter struggles. Bitter defeats. Grim determination that will go on to final victory.

There is the damned agitator. A quiet Pole, thrust into strike leadership, wrestling with his task. The young needle-pusher, despising his lot, yearning for knowledge. Love on the Boston dump heap. Peg-Leg Johnson, keeping a midnight vigil near the mine, learning to think. The strike seems lost. But, "We gotter. We just gotter." The miners' march, for Peg-Leg has told them, "The Strike needs a Great Deed." Vanzetti in the death house, agonized, triumphant. The very spirit of labor moves throughout these sketches, stirring a labor reader's blood and imagination.

Gold uses the vivid, direct language of the working stiff. "Rough words, plain words in overalls, deep proletarian w rds." He writes with great emotional power. Yet at times his emotionalism degenerates into something akin to mere sentimentality. As a dramatic and lyric writer on labor subjects, Gold has few rivals, but his work nearly lacks all epic proportions. This is too bad, since his material warrants more large-scale treatment. He writes too much from the heart and too little from the head. Nevertheless, Michael Gold has proven himself one of the ablest of labor's new generation of writers. It is to be hoped that the maturing process which is evident in "120 Million" will go on, and the emotional and dramatic vitality of his work will be rounded out by more of a perspective on the social forces and the whole of the system against which the working class struggles on to victory.

MARGARET HUTCHINSON.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

What Shall I Read? Compiled by Grace Poole and Solon DeLeon, Issued by Educational Department, Workmen's Circle, 175 E. Broadway, New York.

THE Educational Department of the Workmen's Circle (the great Jewish workers' cooperative insurance organization) has rendered a real service to children, parents, teachers, the labor movement, and all those interested in education with "a progressive social spirit" by the publication of a book entitled "What Shall I read?" It contains lists of books for children of three age groups —up to nine years, ten to thirteen, and fourteen years and over. For each group there are books recommended under the following heads: Arts and Crafts, Biography, Drama, Fiction, Folk Lore, History, Poetry, Science and Nature Study, Social and Industrial Questions, Travel. The compilers of the lists are Grace Poole and Solon De Leon of the Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science. This authorship in itself guarantees good work to those who are acquainted with them. The present reviewer has checked rather carefully the sections dealing with History, Biography and Social and Industrial Questions, and finds that the lists given are comprehensive, present varied points of view as they should, and that the descriptive note on each book is brief, yet not too brief, clear, objective, straighforward and illuminating.

Nearly 1,600 titles are listed. There is an excellent index by authors and titles. A wide circulation and use is bespoken for this handy volume. A. J. M.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1929, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

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

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

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Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

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

LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1929.

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

(My commission expires March 30, 1931)

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LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1929.

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

(My commission expires March 30, 1931)

THREE VICTORIES

LABOR AGE and labor progressives may be proud of the victories won during the past month, which point to the fact that the progressive position is sound and should encourage us all in the fight.

1. Just a year ago, in the May, 1928 issue of LABOR AGE, A. J. Muste exposed the dangers of the Mitten-Mahon agreement. Labor progressives who raised the question at the 1928 Pennsylvania Federation of Labor convention were told it was "none of their business." Nevertheless, the matter was debated in two issues of LABOR AGE by J. M. Budish and W. Jett Lauck, and we condemned the agreement editorially for its company-unionizing tendencies. President William D. Mahon of the Union has stated recently that the agreement is not in effect, thus admitting it was a mistake. *We were right.*

2. In the March issue we directed attention to the American Bar Association's so called Peace Plan, and warned the movement not to let itself fall blindly into this trap. In the April issue we again referred to the grave menace of the Bar Association's proposal and protested against the delay of the A. F. of L. committee, headed by Matthew Woll, appointed to investigate the arbitration plan, in not reporting on it. Within a week after that number was off the press, President William Green went over the heads of the committee, put the A. F. of L. definitely on record against the "Peace Plan," and also called for the committee's report. *We were right.*

3. Brookwood was banned by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. as a "communist" institution. President William Green asked A. F. of L. unions to withdraw their support from Brookwood. We knew the A. F. of L. was wrong, and called on Labor to rally to Brookwood. At the Workers Education Bureau's convention Victor Olander, administration spokesman said, "I am not accusing Brookwood of being a Communist institution." *We were right.*

Yet, in spite of this and talk of conciliation by Olander and Woll, President Green refuses to yield to the logic of the situation and continues his hostile attitude toward Brookwood. For our part, we shall continue to urge that Brookwood be recognized by the entire labor movement as an integral part of the workers education movement.

AND NOW TO ORGANIZE

The time has come for labor progressives to unite for action. As announced within the pages of this issue of LABOR AGE, a conference will take place in New York the latter part of May. It is being arranged without any ballyhoo, but labor men and women from various parts of the country will be there to discuss the situation and to work out plans that will crystallize progressive sentiment in the movement. A report of the conference will be presented in the June issue.