

September, 1926

25 Cents

Labor Age

The National Monthly

Westinghouse "Welfare"

Industrial Unionism?

Thomas Kennedy and Philip Zausner

Bethlehem Bunk at Lackawanna

The Prosperity Bubble

Shall We Be Suppressed?
"Mildewed" Berry

Passaic and Victory!
Study Inventions

\$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

Co-operatively Owned and Published by a Group of International, State and Local Unions

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc.

3 West 16th Street, New York City

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



CONTENTS:

	PAGE
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM?	
MINERS' EXPERIENCE APPROVES IT <i>Thomas Kennedy</i>	2
BUILDING TRADES AGAINST IT... <i>Philip Zausner</i>	4
WESTINGHOUSE "WELFARE" <i>Robert W. Dunn</i>	6
"AND BALDWIN'S HEART WAS HARDENED".....	9
BROOKWOOD'S PAGES <i>Arthur W. Calhoun</i>	10
WE MUST STUDY INVENTIONS.....	11
AGAIN WE ARE ATTACKED.....	12
BETHLEHEM BUNK AT LACKAWANNA <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	15
THE PROSPERITY BUBBLE <i>Benjamin Chass</i>	18
MORE ABOUT "SOCIOLOGY" ... <i>Theodore Schroeder</i>	21

CONTRIBUTORS:

- ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Instructor in Economics, Brookwood Workers College.
- BENJAMIN CHASS, Former partner of Meyer London.
- THOMAS KENNEDY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America.
- THEODORE SCHROEDER, Psychologist; has contributed to numerous scientific journals on this subject.
- PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary, District Council 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE LABOR PUBLICATION SOCIETY, Inc.

President:

JAMES H. MAURER,
Pres. Pa. Fed. of Labor

Vice-President:

THOMAS KENNEDY,
Sec. Treas. United Mine Workers

Vice-President:

PHILIP UMSTADTER,
Pres. Printing Pressmen No. 51

Managing Editor and Secretary:

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

Treasurer:

HARRY W. LAIDLER

Business Manager:

LEONARD BRIGHT

Board of Directors:

J. F. ANDERSON,
Int. Assn. Machinists

MAX D. DANISH,
Editor "Justice", Organ, I.L.C.W.U.

A. LEFKOWITZ,
N. Y. Teachers Union

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
Sec. Treas. Int. Ladies Gar. Wrks.

CHRIS. J. GOLDEN,
Pres. District 9, U. M. W.

JOSHUA LIEBERMAN,
Pioneer Youth

H. H. BROACH,
Vice-Pres. Int. Bro. Elec. Workers

CLINTON S. GOLDEN,
Field Secy., Brookwood Wrks Col.

HENRY R. LINVILLE,
N. Y. Teachers Union

JOHN BROPHY,
Pres. District 2, U. M. W.

TIMOTHY HEALY,
Pres. Int. Bro. Firemen and Oilers

A. J. MUSTE,
Dean, Brookwood Workers College

J. M. BUDISH,
Editor "Headgear Worker"

WILLIAM KOHN,
Pres. Int. Upholsterers' Union

PHILIP ZAUSNER,
Secy., District Council 9, Bro. of Painters Decorators & Paperhangers

FANNIA M. COHN,
Sec. Education Dept., I.L.C.W.U.

PRYNCE HOPKINS,
Educator and Psychologist

THOMAS J. CURTIS,
Vice-Pres. N. Y. Fed. of Labor

A. J. KENNEDY
Secy., Amal. Lithographers No. 1

ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING,
Publicist

Labor Age

The National Monthly

Industrial Unionism?

The Answer to Merger and Mass Production?



AS
OUR
ENEMIES
SEE
US

From
the Scab
"Saturday
Evening
Post"
Employers'
Organ In
Disguise

GAZE upon the above piece of art. How low do the Open Shop forces estimate the spirit and intelligence of the American workers! In every line of this cartoon is revealed the contempt which they harbor for the Organized Labor Movement of this country. It is but one small item in the nation-wide propaganda going on, to the effect that the unions "cannot come back."

We shall have much more to say about the counter-agent to this propaganda, in our future issues. At the present moment, we are calling attention to the question: What is the answer to the merging of big corporations, and

the increase in mass production—which is undoubtedly designed to put Labor at a disadvantage? Mass production has speeded up the growth of unskilled and semi-skilled workmanship. There can be no doubt of that. Is an enlargement of Industrial Unionism in certain poorly organized industries the answer? If not, what then is the answer? Brothers Kennedy and Zausner open a discussion in these pages that should be widely followed up. They have, apparently, different views upon the matter. Undoubtedly it should be threshed out further. We invite participation by others in facing the thing through.

Miners' Experience Approves It

100 Per Cent Union of Skilled Men and Laborers

By THOMAS KENNEDY

IN the task of organizing those industries in which unskilled or semi-skilled workers play an important part, the experience of the coal miners with industrial unionism should be of much value.

The best evidence that laborers, skilled and semi-skilled workmen can be organized into a compact and permanent union is to be found, in fact, in the United Mine Workers of America, particularly in the Anthracite region. There a 100 per cent union exists, composed largely of men of this type. For the last ten years the skilled men of this organization, particularly the regular miners, have fought more for the semi-skilled men and for the laborers than they have for themselves. Their theory was and is, that the conditions of these laborers should be brought up to a greater extent than those of the others, for the united good of the whole group. They realize that the welfare of the entire mining workers' group depends upon a strong union of all, with not too great disparity in conditions among the various classes of men. Of course, due consideration is demanded for skill and hazard required in the work of various classes.

In the local union are found all the workers in one colliery—whether they be contract miners, more or less skilled tradesmen or laborers. The basis of the local is the colliery, not the craft. The problems arising out of each colliery—demands and grievances coming out of its operation—can be handled much more satisfactorily and rapidly in this way than by any other form of organization. Should the case come to deadlock, or should it involve questions affecting other collieries of the same company in that District, then it becomes the business for the cooperation of the District officer or Board member in the particular locality or of the District itself.

If chance should take you, therefore, at any time into a miners' local—whether it be in Shamokin, Hazleton, Scranton or any of the surrounding towns—you would find men of all grades of work and of many national extractions engaged in the discussion of their common problems. Slovak, Italian, Pole and Irishman, and men from other nationalities, mingle and debate, as do pumpmen, stablemen, car loaders, mine carpenters, breaker men, machinists, miners, and so forth. This arrangement has worked well, friction on craft or racial lines being comparatively nil, when the wide sweep of the industry and the thousands of men involved is taken into consideration. This is equally true of the soft coal fields, where the same policies and conditions obtain.

Out of this policy has come less jurisdictional difficulties than in any other industry. The United Mine Workers has had years of comparative peace with other union organizations; there being no disputes over the various classes of men employed. Out of it has also come this very interesting fact: that, while since 1926 the Anthracite contract miners have received wage increases totaling 82

per cent, the rates of some underpaid day men and laborers have been raised as high as 200 per cent, all of which was essential to secure decent standards of living for the lower paid men.

It is the set program of the union to encourage a continuation of this trend of affairs, in order that only proper differentials between the "day men" and the miners will obtain. A union which pursues such a policy need have much less fear of the coming of the machine into its industry than one which may be playing up to the skilled men, largely, in preference to the unskilled or semi-skilled. The machine frequently has the effect of leveling down the skilled men to the position, economically, of the unskilled. Unions which have not thought out that possible outcome have been hit hard and weakened in their job of safeguarding the welfare of the workers, as past experience shows.

Necessarily, the men of the mining industry have peculiar circumstances surrounding them which make for unity and for that spirit of crusading devotion to unionism which has been noted by observers on numerous occasions. They are shut off to a degree from the rest of the world. That makes them feel the need for self-sufficiency among themselves. They are engaged in an unusually hazardous occupation. That serves to remind them of their common problems. But none of these things, alone, has given the anthracite miners, for example, the results which have come to them. Their form of organization, allowing them to act as a unit, without widespread pulling and tugging between rival craft units, has been a boon and the basis of their continued march forward.

Membership in one industrial union has permitted much more than mere industrial progress for the men of the mines. It has made them determining forces in the life of their communities. Up in the Anthracite there have been no great worries about the conduct of judges in labor disputes. Even when silk-stockings sat on the bench, connected frequently with the operators by marriage or interest or other ties, they have had to respect the just power of the miners in the community. The result is, that in those northeastern counties of Pennsylvania where the anthracite miner holds forth, the injunction in labor disputes is an almost unknown thing. In Luzerne County, it has been invoked in but one case, to my knowledge. A Greek restaurant keeper in Wilkes-Barre got into trouble with his waitresses. The union question was involved. He went into court, asking for an injunction. The case came before Judge O'Boyle, who promptly stated that he could not even grant the customary and generally automatic temporary injunction. Things had always gone on very well in that section without injunctions, the Judge thought, and the best way for the restaurant keeper to act was to make some settlement with his help. Which was done.

THE PROBLEM

IT is no exaggeration to say that American Labor is at the crossroads of its career.

President James Lynch of the International Typographical Union, in one of that international's new releases; Vice-President Robert Fechner of the International Association of Machinists, in his address at Brookwood in June; and the editor of the RAILROAD TRAINMAN, in its last issue, have all pointed to that fact.

Murmurs of dissatisfaction are heard among the unorganized and company-unionized workers. The Employers have not been able, with the most skilled of propoganda, to make black into white for their men. Passaic's textile strike shows that. Lackawanna and Bayonne indicate it. The crudely conducted I. R. T. uprising points to it. But how is

Labor to make the most of such a situation? It is a matter all will agree for serious consideration.

One thing is certain: There are, in many industries, many more unskilled and semi-skilled workmen than Organized Labor has had to deal with in the past. They present a concrete question: What form of organization will appeal to these men and make them permanent unionists. The job of organization is not merely getting men out on strike, but in making them determined, religiously-devoted union members. In the automobile or oil industries, for instance, where the semi-skilled man is the rule: what form of organization will work best there? Craft unionism alone, craft unionism plus close federation, or industrial unionism pure and simple?

In many communities the miners' unions have acted for the community in the interest of municipal reform. Trolley fare cases, water rates and other utility questions of that sort are frequently fought out by them before courts and commissions. In Hazelton and elsewhere this was done, and in Nesquehoning the local union hired engineers to make a survey of the water situation. A current case in Schuylkill County shows even wider activities. For sometime in the past this county had become increasingly the center of a "roadhouse ring", which had grown bolder and bolder in its campaign for organized vice. Father J. H. Fleming, of the Holy Rosary Church, Mahanoy Plane, was one of the most active opponents of this gang. He was also, and has always been, one of the most pronounced champions of the cause of the miners' union. The miners rallied to him in his fight on the "ring"; their indignation increasing when his Rectory was burnt to the ground by gang members in June. On July 10, a great mass meeting took place at Shenandoah, Pa., under the auspices of the local unions of that county, and war against the roadhouses was declared to the finish. The finish is rapidly coming. The roadhouses have been forced to close up or sober down their methods and trade; a great number of the road house gang are in jail; and the miners' unions have shown their strength in that vicinity.

In wrestling with any of the new welfare schemes of the employers, the colliery plan of organization can be of great value. It is on the basis of the shop or plant or colliery that the so-called company union is founded. The idea is to oppose a sort of "shop-mind," as some managers call it, to a "craft mind." In that way, they hope to wedge in with their company unions and wedge the unions out. But in the plan of the United Mine Workers, the colliery form of organization is already there. It can function, too, in attacking any weakening of legitimate unionism.

The Locust Mountain Colliery of the Locust Mt. Coal Co., of Weston-Dodson interests, is a case in point. Dod-

son, by the way, was taken over by the Mellon crowd to war on the miners of the Pittsburg district. His efforts in Pittsburg and in his own colliery were not successful. A free group insurance plan had been introduced here, and the company thought it afforded a good opening for a breaking down of working rules. It therefore proposed that the miners hereafter pick the slate out from the coal instead of merely mining it by the usual methods. The men said "No," and the colliery—group insurance or no group insurance—was compelled to capitulate.

It was at the 1909 Tri-District Convention of the anthracite miners at Scranton, that the decision was made to demand flat daily wage increases for the laborers and other day men, instead of percentage rises. That was the natural result of industrial unionism, and it inaugurated the policy of lessening the differentials in wages between the skilled contract miner and his semi-skilled and unskilled brothers. At that time, the laborers in the hard coal fields were receiving \$1.25 for a 9-hour day. Now they secure \$4.62 for an 8-hour day. There is yet reason for further increases all around.

This policy has worked well among the miners. It has welded a union which five months of recent intense struggle could not weaken. It has made all the men in the industry feel their common interests. Such a policy, pursued with possible modifications in form, by unions in other industries where unskilled and semi-skilled men exist in force, would undoubtedly bring the same results that it has brought to the men in the Anthracite. To make the lessening of the differentials in wages between skilled and unskilled a definite part of union action in such industries would do much, it seems, to secure and hold this kind of labor in those unions. It is a policy worth considering, when mass production and new machine methods are increasing the number of non-skilled workmen in many industries. It is also a policy which is closely linked up with a compactly knit form of organization. It is the practical application of the slogan of Organized Labor: "United we Stand, Divided we Fall."

Building Trades Against It

Craft Unionism More Satisfactory

By PHILIP ZAUSNER

CAUTION should be the rule, in considering any extension of industrial unionism.

Speaking from the point of view of a member of the building trades, I should say that any such step would bring nothing but ill results to our industry. Its adoption in other lines of economic life ought to be carefully weighed, also, before being endorsed.

Last year, at the Dresden (Germany) congress of the painting unions of the various nations, I heard from the lips of a representative of the Swiss painters' and woodworkers' alliance, a pretty serious indictment of industrial unionism. This man, Brother Graf, is a member of just such a union. Thinking that they would be better protected by this device, the painting and woodworking unions of Switzerland have joined hands in one body. The outcome was a surprising disappointment. Brother Graf stated that it proved a complete frost. Indeed, he went so far as to say that industrial unionism was advocated in Europe rather for sentimental reasons than because of any proven practical values.

He found from his experience that an industrial combination of building trades, comprising two or three crafts, invariably resulted in neglecting the craft interests of some of the groups thus combined. The woodworkers, having the largest membership, dominated the alliance. Knowing little of the painting craft, they would favor strikes which would put the painters at a disadvantage. The gains that were made were gains for the woodworkers, not the painters.

The best arrangement, in Brother Graf's opinion, was not industrial unionism, but close cooperation between crafts, each still retaining its full craft autonomy. The wisdom of that suggestion can be seen, when we consider how a merged union of, say, painters and woodworkers (carpenters, etc.) would act. If the head officer were a painter, he would be inclined to lean toward the painters, in all those negotiations in between contracts where certain changes are to be made which had been agreed upon vaguely in the contract itself. If he were a carpenter, he would lean toward that trade. It would be impossible for him to do otherwise.

Would Hurt Painters

Suppose, for example, we had an Industrial Union of the New York Building Trades. While every one of these trades have craft peculiarities, and are in need of differing trade regulations the painter is particularly the victim of highly modernized industry. The other crafts cannot grasp his problems, and he would suffer from dependence on them.

The painter has drifted, under pressure of new building methods, from the highly skilled craftsmanship of the past to a thoroughly modernized semi-skilled laborer. When painting was a real craft, the men served ap-

prenticeships, attended schools of drawing and design, learned the nature of the pigments, which are used in paints, studied the idea of the relation of color to space and of color harmony. They had to know the nature of the different woods and the reaction of the various chemicals—for dyeing, finishing, etc.

It is entirely different today. The painting business is a highly commercialized industry. Buildings comprising hundreds of rooms must be completed in five per cent of the time it took 15 to 20 years ago. To meet that condition, the chemist has been brought into play. Employed by the paint manufacturer, he solves all of the problems of the contractor concerning the application of paint. The painter's job is not to reason why; his is but the task of doing what the chemist and the contractor find it necessary to do.

Changes in Methods

To cite a case indicating the change: On concrete buildings, the painter no longer has to kill saltpetre out of cement. The chemist merely prepares a neutralizer, which does the trick. Again, the cement may be porous. Three coats of paint might be necessary to give a smooth surface. Today the chemist solves all that. He makes up a vehicle that will dissolve the kind of a pigment which will stay on a surface instead of sinking into the pores of the concrete.

Of course, it can be said in parenthesis, that the new process may not produce as durable a job as the old-fashioned method: of applying as many coats of lead, zinc and oil as were necessary and then putting on the surface. But it answers the immediate purpose of the builder. It is a condition which is to be found not only in commercial factory building, but in many cases, in the finest type of apartment houses.

The outcome of it all is, that painting allows for more abuses than a good many other crafts. Plumbing must be done under certain health regulations; masonry, also. Health and danger for the "public" as well as the worker are supposed to be involved in those trades. Not so the painter. He has certain specific problems which the balance of the crafts cannot grasp, and in which they have no direct interest.

Because of the demand for quick drying and fast application of paints today, certain new and dangerous chemicals have been introduced in the manufacture of paints. While perhaps some justification may be found for them from an economic standpoint, they are decidedly detrimental to the men's health. It has become a matter of life and death for the painter to see that his hours are curtailed, and thus to see the amount of time of exposure to these poisons correspondingly reduced.

The 5-Day Week Fight

When the painters—with this in mind—started their campaign for the 5-day work-week, they did not, never-

THE "LABOR AGE" ARMY GROWS

WE are cramped for space. Otherwise, we would print in full all the letters we are receiving these hot days, commending us for our job in educating the unorganized and in stimulating the organized to militant and intelligent action.

Suffice it to say, that the LABOR AGE army grows, and to quote a few evidences thereof. The International Council of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America has shown its appreciation of our work by subscribing for the presidents of its locals and other active members. Secretary James M. O'Connor, in transmitting this action to us, has taken occasion to encourage us in the job we are doing.

The national conventions of the International Union of Pavers and Rammersmen and of the International Brotherhood of Bakery and Confectionery Workers have taken similar action. In Newark, a campaign of lectures on Open Shop propaganda, led off by Local 31 of the Printing Pressmen, has resulted in encouraging interest in LABOR AGE and in securing the facts through it, to offset this propaganda. We shall give a full report of this campaign in our next number. We are looking forward to added bodies, to follow the example of District 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators—every one of whose delegates is on our subscription list.

theless, have the sympathy of the rest of the building trades. They could expect no help from those quarters. Were the painters members of an industrial union, they would have had to endure those conditions endlessly. As it was, it was none too pleasant to undertake something which the other trades looked upon unsympathetically. We had our own strength, however, and our own means of enforcing conditions, without outside aid, and by that means we secured our health demand.

A similar situation arose recently in the plumbing trade. The employers insisted on increasing the number of helpers. At present there are two mechanics to one helper. The plan was to make it: one helper to one mechanic. Thus, there would be loaded on one mechanic the responsibility for the product of unskilled men. Where one helper works with two mechanics, he works only as a helper. Under the employers' scheme, increased production would have been obtained at the expense of quality. The helper would have been something more than a helper: he would have taken over mechanics' duties without the ability or training therefor. Here, again, the other crafts showed no sympathy with the plumbers in their fight. It was up to the plumbers themselves to contend stubbornly for their rights, and to retain the conditions they wanted.

The Auto Painter

It may be argued that different conditions face the automobile painter, and that he at least ought to be industrially organized. That is not supported by the facts. Grave as are the problems of the building painter, the auto painter has even graver ones. The greatest amount of auto painting is now done by the spray process. In large plants, on the painting of new autos, there is some measure of protection to the operator's health. Exhaust fans are used, at least to draw out the fumes. In the thousands of re-painting shops these protective appliances may or may not be used. If they are, they are inadequate and of the poorest types. Even the best do not afford the necessary protection. With this health problem staring them in the face, the painters have

building or repairing of auto machinery by the workers in the other branches of the industry. Even though they be covered by the same factory roof, they are looking at things in a different way.

A great change, amounting to a revolution in methods, has taken place in automobile painting. In days gone by, the auto and carriage painter was among the highest skilled of the craft. He was an artist in his knowledge of the special treatment of each coat; and could even foretell how long each sort of coat under various treatments would endure. Nowadays a different story must be told. The spray gun is around every where. The old skill has gone. But the special problems of the painter, nevertheless, remain—in new forms, but as distinct from those of other mechanics as they were in the past.

It would be incorrect to argue that craft unionism has been solely responsible for the unusual success of the building trades unions. The building industry is localized in one spot. It demands immediate returns from investment, more than any other industry. The hazard of loss in comparison to capital invested is so much greater than in any other operation, that those men who work in it and therefore participate in preventing these losses and in securing profits for the Employing Interests instead, should be accorded corresponding power and influence.

Granting these peculiar and helpful conditions, it is none the less a fact that that power and influence would be largely meaningless under any other form of organization than the one prevailing. The different crafts, woven together in an industrial union, would be constantly at loggerheads. They would have little understanding of many of the vital problems of their sister crafts. They would be engaged largely in holding each other back, rather than in advancing together.

So it seems to me, it would also prove to be in the automobile industry—at least, so far as the painters are concerned. Industrial unionism may appeal on an idealistic basis. Solidarity is a term which touches every one of us. But industrial unionism has yet to prove, on the practical plans, that it will be of any concrete value to the workers.

Westinghouse "Welfare"

By ROBERT W. DUNN

ANOTHER company union haven—the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company's plant at East Pittsburgh with 15,000 workers.

Westinghouse has for years dominated this community adjoining the feudal territory of the United States Steel Corporation. Westinghouse still rules, its iron hand covered with the velvet glove of the company union and sundry supplementary devices.

Some of these welfare wrinkles at Westinghouse to keep workers happy, dumb, carefree and contented are: veterans associations, junior veterans associations, life insurance, relief associations, building and loan associations, safety councils, stock distribution, scholarships, employees stores, cafeterias, 57 varieties of athletic leagues and teams such as the tool room duckpin league, employees chorus, brass band, scottish bagpipe band, technical night school, et cetera.

Pensions, of course, limited to those who join a relief association membership to which is barred to men over a certain age. Savings funds, of course. One man with \$300 in such a fund died. His widow blew in \$70 in legal fees before she cashed in on the \$300. Moral: Don't die with your savings in a savings fund. Spend 'em and then die. Vacations, of course. "Employees who remain in the company's service ten years are given a week's vacation each year with pay." Generosity running wild and unbridled along the muddy streams of western Pennsylvania.

But first in the hearts of management—the company union, named the Works Joint Conference Committee with its executive committee and its numerous subcommittees on shop regulations, buying, industrial relations, safety, and community service. The company union committees are permitted to assist in all the above named devices for the hypnotization of the working personnel.

This Westinghouse company union is aimed very directly at the labor union, specifically at the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the many other unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. which possess jurisdiction in the electrical manufacturing industry. The company union here grows out of an industrial situation similar to that which has given birth to other company unions in the United States—antagonism toward trade unions by management.

Readers of LABOR AGE perhaps remember the strikes of Westinghouse workers in 1914 and in 1916. The latter was the year in which many company unions developed out of broken strikes notably the "brotherhood" on the Interborough Rapid Transit Company lines of New York City. The Westinghouse walk-outs were broken by all the monstrous methods of violence known to the Pennsylvania empire of steel-company gunmen (or coal and iron police), state constabulary and militia. Westinghouse strikers were attacked, as in Passaic, with fire hose and police club. Both in 1914 and in

1916 the company refused to recognize unions, either the independent or the A. F. of L., the company officials refusing to deal with the chosen representatives of the strikers. Over a thousand workers were blacklisted after the 1916 strike. However, as the result of this strike for union a kind of grievance committee was set up as a partial concession to the workers and to win them away from trade union leadership. One worker reports that when this grievance committee was organized "it gave the company considerable trouble." But apparently since 1919 the committee has been tamed and domesticated and become nothing but the impotent, standardized company-controlled and dominated works council, some 800 of which now exist in the various industries of the United States.

Structurally the system of employee representation at Westinghouse is of the committee type, members being elected by precincts into which the various departments of the plant are divided. An equal number of appointed representatives speak for management on the joint committees. The works manager, Mr. R. L. Wilson, is chairman of the committee and presides over its meetings and is the most influential voice in its deliberations—a typical company union practice.

This company committee has no final legislative authority even of the most rudimentary sort. Like most committees of this kind it is purely advisory and consultative. An "information for employees" booklet tells us that in order "to provide a means whereby the more important matters which affect employees in general can have mutual discussion *prior to final decision by the management*, representatives, elected by employees, are called together regularly to meet the management." The usual limitation of the company union is expressed in this phrase. Management almost always has "final say." In the Westinghouse even arbitration of any kind is out of the question.

"Brightening Up the Cafeteria"

What do the 110 "elected representatives" consider when they are called into solemn session together with the company-appointed members of the Works Conference? They discuss the merits of some new notion in the building and loan association's policy. They deliberate on the very momentous matter of the proper grounds for the next annual employees outing. They report to the management's agents that "something must be done about brightening up the cafeteria." They take up a wide variety of questions under the heading of "matters of a general character." The chief business seems to be presenting such matters to the attention of the omnipotent Mr. Wilson asking him "what can be done about it?" If the suggestion is not too "extreme", to use Mr. Wilson's favorite word, he usually promises to look in to the matter and pass it on to the proper departmental executive. This promise made, Mr. Wil-

son proceeds to lecture his committeemen on the U. S. balance of trade, the business situation—from the standpoint of Mr. Mellon and Senator Reed—the elimination of waste, the reasons why labor costs must come down. His theme at conference after conference has been that “to pay higher wages would be a mistake.” The delegates, never having heard of Mr. Ford’s latest book or of Foster and Catchings, simply nod, listen and assent.

The Company Magazine

In keeping with the modern spirit in industry there is a company magazine to carry the baby pictures and to encourage hands to drop suggestions into the box. The Westinghouse Electric News is counted one of the crack specimens of company boosting organs in the east. It is composed largely of material turned out by the company’s press department—such as articles dealing with “changes made in Westinghouse waffle iron” or dope on “Developing a Pleasing Personality,” editorial observations on the duty of employees cultivating “less me and mine and more thee and thine” with appropriate quotations from the Carpenter of Nazareth and General Harbord, reports on the athletic teams, personal back porch gossip in the provincial lingo, cartoons covering the various social and company Y. M. C. A. events. Also a great deal about veterans, “How to Budget Your Income and Invest,” “How Do You Display the Flag?” and reprints from the subversive NEW YORK TIMES on “The Living Wage Question.” The company magazine also carries a pretty full line of minutes of the proceedings of the committees, sad and lifeless reading on the whole.

Westinghouse, as you may have gathered, is an “open shop.” The company magazine therefore carries no news, observations or comments about the world of labor, about trade unions, workers education, Brookwood, relief for British miners, labor defense, civil liberty, industrial democracy—except the company union brand—and other vital subjects of interest to organized workers. Of course the News has what it calls “shop reporters” but their news items are confined to accounts of weddings, christenings and Sunday School “sociables.” Anyone who reported on anything else would be considered crazy if not dangerous and quickly removed from the company’s employment, even though there is a phrase in the “information booklet” that says that “employees may or may not be members of any organization.” This looks all very well at first glance but give it a second and you find the joker in these lines:

“The company operates what is known as an open shop. It does not discriminate between Union and Non Union men in its employ nor will it permit either Union or Non-Union men in its employ to make this question one of contention between them.”

Which is nothing more than the hackneyed old decree passed down to company union slaves wherever they exist in this country. The decree runs in effect as follows:

“You may join any union you like but you can only belong to it. Try to function as a union man does. Try to get others into the union. Try to get the union to serve

you as trade unions are supposed to serve the worker. Try to have it represent you in negotiations for conditions. Try to have the company recognize it. Try anything of that kind, and out you go on your ear. Is that plain enough?”

Labor Spies Under Contract

It usually is. The Westinghouse employees do not join unions. They find it healthier to stay away from them. If a meeting is called to interest them in unions they are not inclined to go. For certain reasons. They know that the works and the whole community is alive with spies and stool pigeons. But perhaps they do not know that the Westinghouse has a contract for “service” with the notorious International Auxiliary Company, otherwise known as the Corporations Auxiliary Company, otherwise known as the Eastern Engineering Company, otherwise known as Automotive Industries Exchange (these are just a few of them), after the Sherman Corporation, Inc., the largest labor spy organization in this country. The workers probably suspect that “operatives” from this, and possibly other agencies, are at work counteracting all labor union talk, apprehending and reporting agitators and keeping labor unionism at the vanishing point. The International Auxiliary Company executives advertise their good works in the city of Pittsburg. In a confidential report of labor conditions sent to clients it keeps impressing them with the singular effectiveness of its spotter service. A recent report of the International reads in part:

“A client in Pennsylvania advises of the great help derived through our service. He operates a foundry on an open shop basis but most of the molders are card men. A new production system was resisted by all employees. Several of our representatives were placed among the men and through their leadership and propaganda work the men came to like the system. . . . The union is being gradually forgotten and we have another highly satisfied client and booster.”

Westinghouse pays for its share of “leadership and propaganda work” in the great capitalist sport of liquidating labor unions. And it is probably putting on a few more men just now. For in recent months there have been a few murmurs of protest. Early this year a little four page paper called the Westinghouse Workers’ Bulletin appeared. It declared for a union, for an increase in wages and for an end of company committee fakery. It still appears from time to time much to the distress of management and its company union dupes, one of which, be it noted, is a former prominent socialist in the community. It may be remembered that the town of Turtle Creek just adjoining East Pittsburg, was once a “hotbed” of socialists and boasted of a socialist burgess and even a policeman who carried a red card instead of a night stick. But these days are history, thanks to company strikebreaking tactics and the oil of welfare that has been poured over the drab valley. And some of the socialists have become ardent company unionists probably on the grounds that this is the “first step” toward revolution.

The new workers’ bulletin explodes some of the clap-

trap, hocumbe, and hypocrisy these ex-socialists have swallowed. It shows how works manager Wilson uses the company boys to spy on the workers thus aiding in the "good work," speed-up and "elimination of waste" system. It asks those workers running for jobs on the conference committee, "Will any of the candidates pledge themselves to fight for a 25 per cent raise and an eight hour day and a five day week?" We have not heard of any candidates who dared to run on any such platform. The new bulletin also shows up the subtle wage cutting methods used by the company:

.. "Transferring a worker from one section to another is one of the methods of reducing wages. This method has victimized many of the workers, particularly the older workers who through dozens of years of steady slavery have secured a half decent wage, which the transferring scheme cuts in half.

"A worker was transferred to Section P from Section B where he worked as an assembler for 18 years, receiving 68 cents per hour. Now in Section P he gets 44 cents an hour for sweeping the floor. Some promotion!

"Another worker, a boring mill hand, in Section D, after 23 years of service, was awarded a change of sections and transferred to Section P repairing old machines for 50 cents an hour. His rating in Section D was 73 cents. He protested against this change and the reply was, 'You're too old to get a job anywhere else, so if you don't like it get out.'

Still another practice complained of is the dropping of men of advanced age and then rehiring them on the same job at a much lower rate. One worker who was receiving 75 cents on a certain job was dropped. Later he was put back on the identical job at 45 cents an hour.

"Consider Wages!"

The new workers' bulletin is being eagerly read by Westinghouse workers because for the first time in 10 years—since the company union got under way—a local paper is showing up the acute state of their exploitation covered with a veneer of welfare. After citing the tremendous profits of the company the bulletin says "it's about time our representatives on the Joint Conference Committee cut out talking insurance, building and loan, picnics and other insignificant things. The most important subject for the committee to consider is wages, and not only must they consider it but they must demand it."

What are those wages at Westinghouse? A little better than at Passaic perhaps, but nothing that looks like a decent wage in the resplendently prosperous country described by Mr. Coolidge and his high tariff supporters. A reliable informant gives them as follows:

"Common labor—40 cents an hour; girls, 22 to 32 cents; girls after working at nerve-wrecking speed and often straight through the noon hour in some sections are able to clean up \$18 to \$24 per week. Semi-skilled or specialists receive 45 cents to 65 cents, in the tool room 60 to 80 cents, in a few exceptional cases 80 to 85 cents.

"Payment of these wages is made largely under what is known as the Standard Time System under which wages

are actually cut by increasing the amount of work to be done in a certain period."

It seems that when workers kick against this refined speed-up system they are likely to face discharge. In one case a few months ago two workers in the screw machine department received a cut of this character. For example on one job with a specified time limit of 6 minutes the time was cut to 1½ minutes. On another job with a 3 minute period it was suddenly cut to 45 seconds. On this occasion the workers refused to produce on such low limits. Two of the workers were particularly active in opposition to the scheme. They aggravated their treason against the company by circulating among the workers copies of a labor newspaper. Two company police arrested one of them and took him to the police office. He was finally released, but when he turned up on the job the next night he, as well as the other protestant, were fired. This is a practical application of the company's "no discrimination" professions.

The Westinghouse workers as a result of this persistent "period cutting" and the provocation of discharges, may be on the way to a revolt against the company union farce with its heavy coating of "welfare." In any event the East Pittsburg workers ought to provide a fertile field for the application of the "organize the unorganized" slogans now being broadcasted by high officials of the A. F. of L. The job is cut out for them and their affiliated unions. No independent or dual union can tackle it.

The obstacles are undoubtedly imposing and cannot be minimized. The clutching job fear of the worker. The cheap-at-the-price honey and oil of the welfare department. The recollection of lost strikes and not only discharges and blacklisting but jail and work house sentences for the leaders. The memories of the clubbings by State Cossacks and the coal and iron police also linger. All tend to keep the worker in doubt as to what he could get away with by an organization drive with the company more powerful than ever. That the company has no intention of sharing its tremendous profits with the workers is pretty clear to most of them in spite of the din of welfare. They have little faith in the company committees, although job-hungry committeemen, puffed up with a little brief importance, do all they can to "sell" them the whole program. But, as one conscious worker puts it. "They look upon it all with cold suspicion. They no longer expect anything from the committees. When voting for committeemen they cast their ballots for Barney Google, Andy Gump and their favorite race horses." This may be more than flippancy and sport. It expresses the current cynicism of the workers for the elaborate personnel policies the big corporations are trying to put over on them. Just when that cynicism will turn into creative struggle for real unionism depends upon a number of factors. One of these is the strength and depth of the campaign carried on by the A. F. of L. unions for which the workers are waiting. Only a strong federated group of unions, ready to fuse into an industrial union with a common strategy and purpose, can do the job at Westinghouse. Only such a union can cope with the corporations in the increasingly rich and profitable electrical manufacturing industry.

“And Baldwin’s Heart Was Hardened”

Our Answer: Rally to the Miners!

“Startling light on the Government’s coming attempt to change the legal status and to attack the rights of trade unions was shed by Lord Birkenhead in a speech to a Tory conference yesterday.

The changes suggested include direct interference in the governance of unions by the institution of ballots conducted by the Government; alterations in the law relating to peaceful picketing; the right to prosecute union officials for “wrongful acts.” Following Lord Birkenhead’s speech the conference passed resolutions calling for action in these lines.—LONDON DAILY HERALD, June 23, 1926.

IN speaking thus, Birkenhead spoke for Baldwin. Britain’s Prime Minister has now come out in the open. All his soft words and soft pledges during the General Strike were merely the whines of a Tory wolf in moderate sheep’s clothing.

Mr. Baldwin is, after all, a mine-owner himself. His Baldwin’s, Ltd., the big iron and steel firm, depends directly on the coal industry for its welfare and has mines of its own. Little wonder that he has been playing the game, all the time, to crush Labor.

Now the Government has decided: To pass the 8-hour law for the mines (acting thus, they hope, as strike-breakers for the mine-owners); to break down further the miners’ standard of life; to forget entirely the promised reorganization of the coal industry, and to develop an attack on the whole of the workers and their trade unions.

The amazing thing is, that such shrewd men as the British labor leaders should have been deceived for a moment by Baldwin “hopes” and “pledges”. These were blasted and broken, as soon as the Big Strike was safely over with. In the face of the resulting crisis, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has called off the conference, set for June 25, to discuss the conduct of the General Strike. At the present moment, Labor must turn to the common fight, it is agreed, and not waste its time in debates or bickering. Out of the ending of the strike has come, nevertheless, a need for a “national industrial strategy,” according to H. N. Brailsford of the NEW LEADER—one that will neither break nor bend under threat of armed force or judicial tyranny.

The so-called reorganization bill, which Baldwin has

brought in, is “eyewash”, as A. J. Cook of the Miners has called it. It deals only with amalgamation of mines, and does not provide any new powers or duties for the mine owners in that connection other than they have now. In other words, it leaves things just as they are—in chaos. It omits any compulsory amalgamation of mines, closing up of useless mines or State purchase of mineral rights—all of which were in the Coal Report, and were part of the “promises” made by Baldwin through Sir Herbert Samuel as conditions for ending the General Strike.

Tory pretensions to impartiality were completely exploded in Baldwin’s answer to the latest proposals of

the Church of England’s Bishops. In the name of peace, these dignitaries proffered a program of conciliation, including a continuance of the Government subsidy for 4 months, no labor re-adjustments during that period, a definite public pledge by the Government of a real reorganization of the industry, and arbitration of labor matters at the expiration of the subsidy. Baldwin, pressed by the Die-Hards and his own pocketbook, rejected these terms unconditionally. The miners’ officers accepted them, and thus allied a powerful group of “public opinion” to their side.

But the miners themselves, more “radical” than their “radical” leaders, voted the proposals down. They would have none of arbitration!

Which causes the Premier to express “surprise.” He has all along proceeded on the stupid theory that the men were conservatives, misled by Cook!

The Government forces, safe with their parliamentary majority, have refused to accept the Miners’ challenge to carry the issue to the country—in a General Election. They are intent on riding the hobby-horse of Reaction, until it breaks down under them. But what can be expected of a man, like Baldwin, who regards 1776 as merely an “incident”, as he stated in an address to the Anglo-American Conference of Historians the other evening? So George III thought, and so Baldwin and George V may be thinking of 1926. God grant, that the Miners may be as successful in overthrowing their tyrants as were the colonists in the “incident” at Yorktown!

You can aid by rallying financially to the miners through the A. F. of L.!



London Daily Herald

Brookwood's Pages

American Labor in the War and Post-War Period

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

NOTICE!

With this contribution, Brother Calhoun's review of the War and Post-War period comes to an end. He will now open a new series: a popular interpretation of wages and wage policies, based on Hamilton and May's book, THE CONTROL OF WAGES. All workers should acquaint themselves with the matters he will discuss—at least, to the same extent that many of them breathlessly follow the "ponies".

VII. INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

THE American labor movement is like the church: it professes to be against war, but it can be depended on to support the particular wars that actually break out. It thinks of Americanism first and Labor second, just as the church on such occasions thinks of patriotism first and Christianity second.

These facts were amply evident in the official policy toward the World War. Historians have shown us since (what workers with insight knew in advance) that all the talk about the rights of small nations, resistance to Prussianism, and making the world safe for democracy was pure bunk; yet the official machinery of Organized Labor supported the war and bitterly assailed the minor groups, such as the I. W. W. and the Socialists, who put Labor interests ahead of blind nationalism.

The official position of the American labor movement in the war now looks so unreasonable and so regardless of labor interests that apologists have even said that Mr. Gompers did not actually care anything about the war, but that he wanted to get Labor in good with the powers that were, in order to capitalize the war record of Labor in behalf of future advantage. One might inquire whether there is a subtle hope of this sort behind the present patriotism and nationalism of labor officialdom.

In any event, the docility of the labor movement in the face of the catastrophe into which the politicians plunged the country by entrance upon the war, led to recognition of organized labor by the government and to stimulation of organization in war industries, not all of which gains were entirely lost afterwards, although the movement failed entirely to inaugurate any wholesome education to instill into the new members the principles of unionism or to offset the insidious war-time patriotism under cover of which the "American Plan" naturally got under way in the post-war period,

It is to be conceded, however, that the American Federation of Labor has shown some sense of discrimination in international affairs, and has been of some use in supporting the aspirations of weaker peoples, such as Mexicans and Chinese, against capitalist aggression. It is a puzzle in this connection how labor people are able to give official support to the League of Nations, which

is merely a conspiracy of the great capitalist powers against the freedom of the human race. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the fact that the League by establishing the International Labor Office more or less veiled its major designs and created the appearance of honest interest in the welfare of the workers. Of course what the Labor Office is really up to is to systematize the conditions of exploitation and put it on a modern scientific basis.

The official attitude of the American Federation of Labor on the Russian question shows that more store is set by the preservation of capitalist institutions than by efforts of oppressed workers to throw off the capitalist yoke. The same officials that supported conscription and war-time dictatorship in the United States when conducted by a capitalist government in the interests of financial imperialism bitterly fought conscription and dictatorship when practised in Russia by a revolutionary labor government defending itself against the hatred of the capitalist nations, America included. It is quite clear on the face of the returns that the American labor movement has not yet developed a labor consciousness, but is more ready to exert itself in behalf of imperialist schemes of petty politicians masquerading as statesmen than in behalf of any whole-hearted attempt to set the world free from the yoke of capitalism.

To the same effect is the separation of the A. F. of L. in 1920 from the International Federation of Trade Unions on the ground that national autonomy was abrogated in the federation, that the executive had committed the federation to a revolutionary principle to which no labor movement guided by democratic ideals could give approval, and that excessive dues were imposed on the A. F. of L. on account of the conditions of foreign exchange which so enhanced the value of the dollar. The matter of dues could surely have been adjusted, and the A. F. of L. could have got whatever autonomy it wanted. The withdrawal simmers down to an unwillingness to sanction such general strikes as were inaugurated against the capitalist dictatorship in Hungary or as were proposed as preventive of future wars. In other words, the A. F. of L. can be depended on to support American capitalism in its future wars,—unless there is a very thorough reversal of the position taken in the matter of the Amsterdam international.

As over against this provincialism of the American labor movement, we must, to be sure, recognize the fact that various internationals are still represented in the secretariats of their trades at Amsterdam. Some significance must also be attached to the launching in 1919 of the Pan-American Federation of Labor under A. F. of L. auspices. The domination of this federation by the A. F. of L. is for the present assured by the fact that the people in the countries to the South want the aid of

WE MUST STUDY INVENTIONS

New Processes Ahead Will Change Workers' Lives

MODERN invention, taken by and large, waits for no man. Here and there strong financial forces may successfully hamper some one new process, or postpone its coming into use for a lifetime. That is increasingly the exception, however, and the general sweep of the Machine and of the countless additions to it cannot be stopped.

Trade unionism has a vital interest in just what these inventions are to be, and how they are to be met. The cigarmakers' union failed to adapt itself to the coming of the machine. Thereby it descended from one of the most powerful of American unions at the time of the foundation of the A. F. of L. to one of the weakest in our day. The printers, by finding a way to conquer the machinery introduced into their trade, succeeded in maintaining the strong organizations we still see about us.

Only a few days ago the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., prior to selling its big station WEAf to the General Electric Co., announced that it had perfected a process whereby one central orchestra can in the near future radio its program to a great number of moving picture houses within a given area. What such a new departure will do to the Musicians, a well-organized and comparatively well-paid group, can readily be seen. Unless something is done to meet this, the musicians will find themselves faced with the cigarmakers' dilemma. The problem is, undoubtedly, to face the invention before it comes widely into the field. To attempt to destroy it, on the whole, may be worse than futile.

We also note that in the textile field, another revolution is in the making in the process of weaving. A German, Herr Gabler, has produced a new powerloom, already in some use in German mills. The new loom works without a shuttle, and simplifies the art of weaving in a number of ways, it is claimed. It has even been calculated that whereas one worker might be able to look after from 12 to 16 looms with automatic change of shuttle,

he can look after 24 of the new looms just as easily.

We do not vouch for any of the miraculous claims of any of these new machines or developments. What we can vouch for is, that the Union Movement must be on its toes to study them. If it does not understand them and what they hold in store for it, rather rough waves are sure to be ahead.

The Employing Interests themselves have been tripped up at times, in not figuring out the significance of new ideas, and new steps forward. A signal example of this fact can be seen in the long struggle of the street railway companies with the competing bus lines. Short-sightedly thinking that their old control of legislatures and commissions could help them against economic progress, they sought to stifle the buses rather than get into the bus business themselves. The inevitable outcome was, a long expensive war—for which the "public" paid largely; because it is stupid, too, and the street railways are monopolies. Now, after years of tussling, the American Electric Railways Association has commissioned one of its officials, a Mr. Storrs of Connecticut, to study this and kindred problems continuously, in order that they may be met and solved.

If the private interests do this in the utility field, how much more so should Labor do it? So much more is at stake for the workers! The A. F. of L. might consider the creation of a bureau to study inventions, with a board of strategy of international union officials to decide upon the value of its recommendations. If the item of expenses stands in the way, such a bureau might be combined in the beginning with a similar bureau studying company unionism and other employers' schemes. At the present moment, it is thoroughly evident that haphazard calculation frequently is the prevailing tactic in Labor's detailed program. The problem of oncoming invention, displacing men and changing industries, is with us. How it is met is as much a test of Labor's intelligence as the battle against company unionism is a test of our zeal.

the A. F. of L. in blocking some ventures of U. S. imperialism, and can be sure of such aid only on condition that they allow the views of the A. F. of L. official circle to prevail in the international federation.

The upshot of the whole period since 1913 is that the American labor movement is still committed to the support of nationalism, capitalism, and associated in-

terests, and that in so far as it thinks in terms of the future of Labor it continues to acquiesce in the subordination of Labor and labor interests to the powers that rule the established social order. In other words, the American labor movement in its official attitudes is a bulwark of conservatism and the property system, not merely at home but also in world relations.

COME-BACKS.

Is there no comeback to Brother Calhoun's statements above? Is American Labor so hopelessly entangled in the Employers' Big Business net? We think a come-back might be in order. Has any member of Organized Labor any additions or criticisms to make to the above? Brother Calhoun will welcome them, we are sure.

AGAIN: WE ARE ATTACKED

Employers' Organ Urges Mails Be Closed to LABOR AGE

ONE great advantage is ours in the tussle with the Employing Interests: that they understand so little of the motives of the man or movement fighting for an ideal. So sordid and mean are their own methods that they suspect all others of the same degraded ideas. Ghosts and shadows of fear thereby become their specialty.

Witness the NEW YORK COMMERCIAL of July 29th. Ordinarily, we pay but small heed to its ravings. So far-fetched are they and so ill-informed that even the corner grocer must see partly through them. And yet this organ is an accredited publication for businessmen and employers. And its editorial of July 29th, reprinted in full, is a fair sample of the mode of thinking of the "other side." We allude to it here, largely with that in mind. Through its lines we can see exactly what our opponents are thinking.

Cutting down its verbiage, here are its indictments in brief against LABOR AGE:

1. That we are backed by "international unions"—the poor dub editor not knowing that such has been the official title of our national unions for years. For him the word "international" is so horrid that it conjures up shadows of Moscow and God knows what else.

2. That the Managing Editor "lauds the activities of Communists in the United States." Any reader of this publication knows this to be the pure fabrication of a diseased brain. For the employers, anything progressive—even urgent requests to organize—must necessarily be "red."

3. That our leading article in July incites workers to violence. This is the most absurd attack of all. Our good friends, the enemy, are so accustomed to employing violence to suppress opposition that they know nothing of the A-B-C's of passive resistance. Defiance of courts and police, such as was urged in the New Jersey article, is to be shown by ignoring these chosen vessels of the employers. We know that the judges and the military, represented locally by the police, are in 9 cases out of 10 with the employers. It is only when the union attains great economic power, as in the anthracite region, that they begin to become reasonable. The answer given in the New Jersey article was: "The answer to suppression is more agitation." That is the answer of all great minds, down through the pages of history. If you have a great cause, those in power will always be against it. Be not concerned with their puny motions of suppression; but defy them by your continued action for the right.

Even for that, two thousand years ago, was One crucified in Palestine. The indictment against Him: "He stirreth up the people." Even for that were the champions of negro freedom hounded from town to town, with bloodhounds and the hose, attacked by mobs and killed at the doors of their anti-slavery printing shops. Our employing brethren might read some good American literature on that subject: Ralph Waldo Emerson's statement that "the highest morality is always

against the Law." Henry David Thoreau's plea for "civil disobedience." James Russell Lowell's attacks on the Cotton Power," wrapping the cotton flag about it.

We need not be concerned with such statements as these by our great American writers, to understand that the breath of freedom is supposed to be the breath of America; that freedom is only won and has always been won by its assertion. We know full well that our courts have been prostituted by a corrupt judiciary, that our police forces seep with rotteness. Buying your way out is the favorite means of escaping the law among those-who-have, from the tourists on the highway caught by the traffic cop to the highest officials caught with frauds, and the utility companies caught with the defrauding of the public. Such buying may be of the crude sort, resorted to by Fall at Teapot Dome or by the detective who protects the dope fiend in order that the latter may steal for him. Or it may be refined, as the bribery of commissioners and governors and judges with corporation jobs, after they descend from the high and mighty offices which they have held.

To fight these corruptionists is the highest duty for the workers: intelligently but firmly defying them, through non-resistance. It is these "decent" gentlemen who are breaking down the Constitution and cheating us of the liberties guaranteed therein. We will uphold that beautiful higher law embodied in direct words in the Bill of Rights, when we assert that we will meet and publish and discuss whenever and whatever we please, despite these puny autocrats. That is the spirit to union victory.

MARK WELL THEN: What the employers' organ proposes as a means to shut us up, and all those who think of Freedom with us. It does not say: "Let us go out and combat this propaganda with the facts as we see them." No; it cannot understand that sort of thing. It indicts itself more brutally than we could ever do. What does it propose? That LABOR AGE be suppressed! That the privileges of the mails be taken from us, so that we cannot circulate. It can think of nothing but in terms of force. "Those who do not agree with us we will put down—by Force," it says in effect, calling on the business men to get busy. That in itself is a sufficient answer to its excitement over us. It leers at us in anger through its own red-tinted glasses.

Here is the Editorial of the COMMERCIAL, typographical errors and all. The bold marks are theirs; the italics are ours:

GET THE FORCE OF THIS

Within the past six or seven weeks the police, not only of New York but of many other cities, have been forced to use drastic methods to prevent rioting in connection with strikes. Inducing the necessity for this character of action on the part of the agents of law, those so engaged then turn their mud batteries loose and denounce, with all the vileness they can command—or they can get printed—the police as "brutal" and "cowardly." This sort of a campaign has been waged with a vengeance in the

New Jersey "lesson in revolution." The press has been filled to overflow with abuse of constituted authority.

The other night subway strikers—or more largely, Communists seeking to make this outlaw affair a medium for their activities—came in contact with the police sent to the meeting place of the agitators to preserve order. At once it was charged in the press that the police were "brutal"; that they attacked men without provocation and used their night clubs in a reckless manner. The American Civil Liberties Union had its story for the press almost before the affair took place. It has many times made similar charges against the police of New Jersey towns when they were compelled to use force to preserve order. The fact that in all these cases the officers of the law were protecting the public against possible injury has never been mentioned.

Recalling to your mind the large numbers of stories maligning police organizations turn to Labor Age for July, printed in New York City. This publication is "co-operatively owned and published by a group of international, state and local unions." Note well the word "international." The first article is, "New Jersey Awaken!" The author is Louis France Budenz. His name appears as managing editor of the magazine. He lauds the activities of the Communists in the United States. Mark well this quotation at the bottom of page two and top of page three:

Not so long ago four men and twelve "agitators" were arrested by the company guards of the plant (Durant Automobile Works). They were charged with technical violations of city ordinances, but their real crime was the dissemination of literature anti-Durant in tone. Meetings of protest were held against their arrest, and the same advice as that given in Perth Amboy was given here.

"The answer to suppression is more agitation. Thumb your noses at cops and courts."

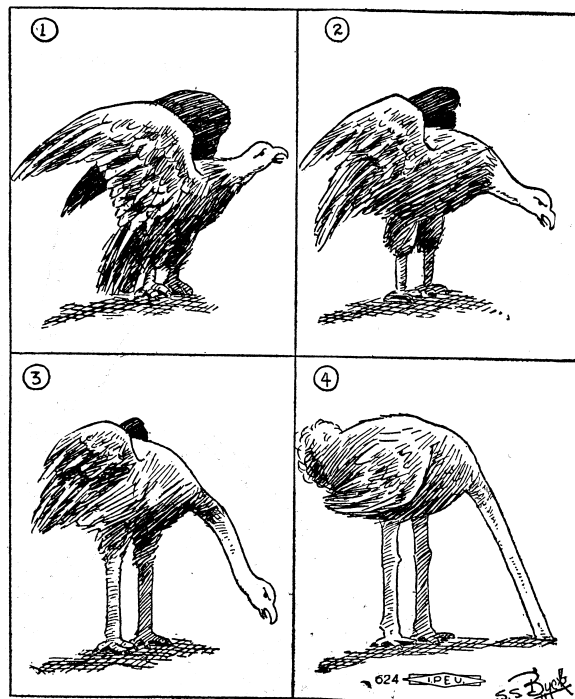
That is the message that should be heard everywhere. It works miracles. As soon as the workers learn that policemen and judges are largely lazy loafers, unfit for honest work, and that much of their power is as flimsy as their uniforms and robes of office, the path to rapid organization becomes a comparatively easy one.

Again, with that in mind go back to the newspaper accounts of the "brutality" of the police. It doesn't take any reasoning or logic to get the connection. Here is a specific statement of the system to be used to bring police officers and courts into contempt. Here is a rule those seeking to use force to attain their ends must follow. And they have been following it. "Thumb your noses at cops and courts!" Isn't that what the entire criminal class of this country are doing, and have been doing? Can one conceive of any command more un-American or anti-American than that? "Cops and courts" stand for law and order; therefore create the belief in the minds of the people that they are made up of "lazy loafers" and that their authority means nothing.

This sort of thing has gone on for some time. It will continue to go on until there is an awakened consciousness in this country. Disrespect for law and authority is being taught—mind you, actually taught—many of the children and youths of today. They are told that all

RIGHT OR WRONG?

Evolution of a Once Proud Bird
(If the Pacifist Movement Keeps Growing)



Well, it's taken from the esteemed NEW YORK COMMERCIAL, whose love for us is displayed upon this page. It's right—in brazenly exposing the viewpoint of the "Open Shoppers": their thirst for Militarism and War. The two things go hand in hand: Anti-unionism and Militarism. The COMMERCIAL and many of its brother-sheets are openly promoting the military machine, and attacking foreign nations. They do not want the American eagle to become an ostrich, as the cartoon indicates.

And there is just what's wrong with the danged thing. The ostrich, as a matter of fact, is not such a fool as he is cracked up to be. Scientists now know that he does not stick his head in the sand at all. The employers' organ was as badly informed on that as on LABOR AGE.

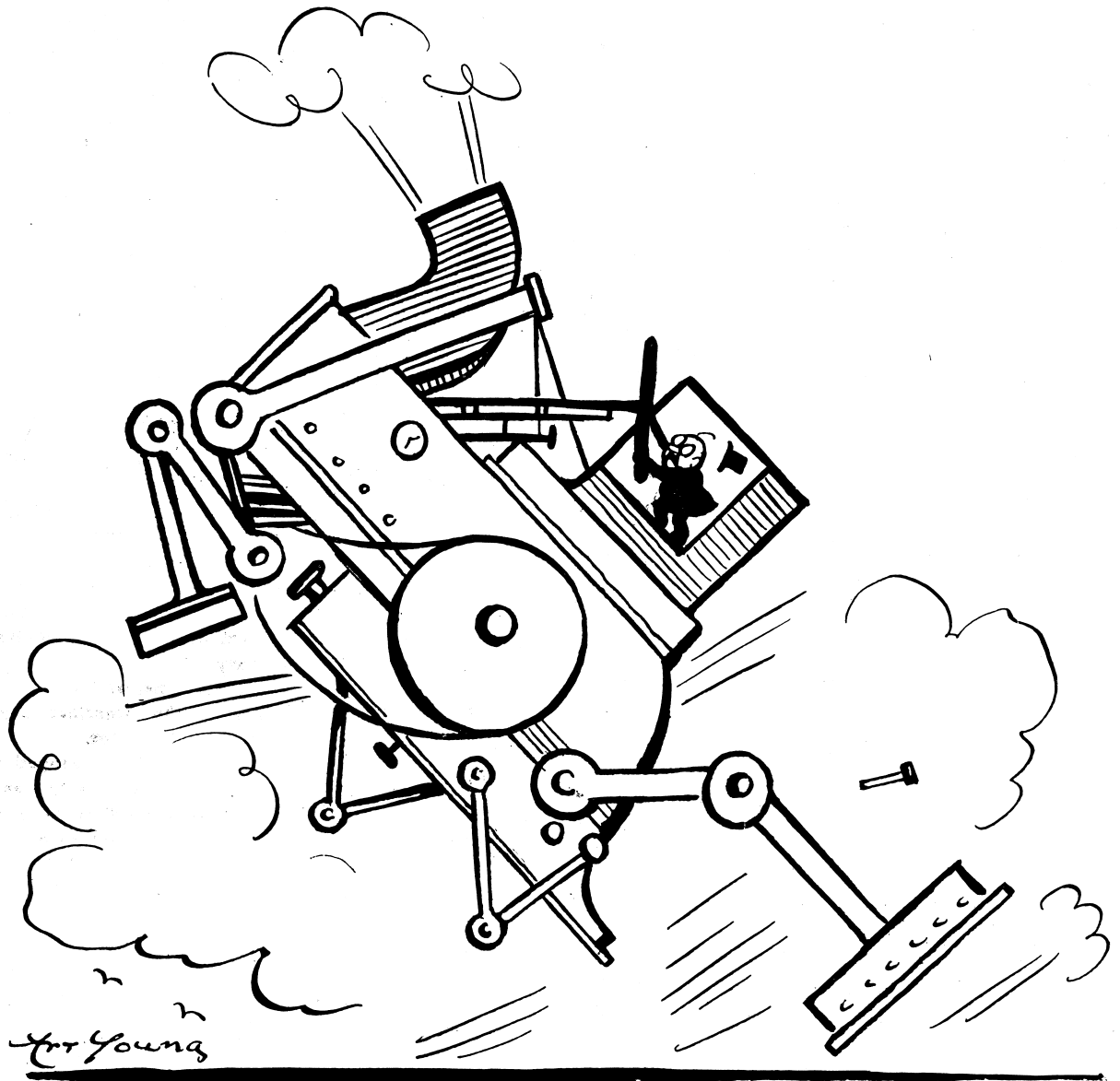
American institutions are to be destroyed; that our laws are made only for a certain favored few; that the wealth of this country has been "wrung from the poor workers"; that to urge and teach revolution is to be admired; that police officers and judges are to be denounced, and the former physically attacked when superior numbers are available, and the latter derided on every occasion.

Papers, magazines, booklets that teach this damnable doctrine circulate through the mails. They are to be found at every corner newsstand. They are generously supplied those who have not the money to buy them. Many of them are printed in foreign languages but others, such as Labor Age, are printed in the English language and enjoy second class mailing privileges.

You are aiding, through the tax you pay each year to uphold the Government, in the circulation of this sort of thing.

It's up to you to put a stop to it.

OUR MACHINE-MAD WORLD



Drawn for Labor Age by Art Young.

Can man control his own inventions? We use our greatest chemicals and machine improvements for self-destruction. We waste carelessly the fruits won by Progress. These are problems confronting Labor—War, Waste, Wealth-inequality.

Bethlehem Bunk at Lackawanna

Charlie Schwab's "Holy Hell" and the Graceful Mr. Grace

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IT CAN BE DONE!

That era of organization is here. We predicted it in our June issue. Already we see it all about us. Lackawanna is one more evidence thereof. Men are waking up to the Company Union fakery. They are coming out of the "long sleep." Fighting's ahead, brothers! Let us be alert!

DIRTY, tawdry cafes. Dirtier poolrooms and lodging houses. Crowded on Ridge Road and Hamburg Turnpike and slopping over into the neighboring by-ways. Card-boarded and curtained, to shut out the keen eyes of the critical. Beyond, stretches of waste land, sprouting weeds and debris. Long rows of smoke-blackened houses, untouched by paint. Towering and dominant in the background, the open hearth stacks and the huge cranes of the Bethlehem—lord of this bleak and depressing region.

That is Lackawanna, in the State of New York, as I saw it the other day. A pre-war industrial community to all appearances, one of those running sores which were supposed to have been dried up through the miraculous touch of the "corporations with a soul".

We were sitting in the "soft drink" rear room of a Ridge Road pool parlor. Stanley had asked me in. My acquaintance with Poles in general, and with Poles in Bethlehem, Pa., in particular, had touched a soft spot in his heart. It overcame the suspicion with which he had viewed me. "You no company dick?" he had blurted out, upon my casual reference to the Bethlehem Company and its Grace-given "company union". An invitation of "look me over" had had the desired effect; and I thanked the Creator for the garb of innocence with which he had clothed me. The "company dick" loomed large in every conversation thereafter. It is like a sinister shadow, which the men expect to dog their steps at any moment, as they constantly peer over their shoulders in secret dread.

The proprietor of the poolroom gazed at me furtively, as he drew the "soft drinks" from the spigot. Some twenty Mexicans, Negroes and Slavs were in the room, imbibing. "Poolroom boss often dick," Stanley whispered. "Tell everything to mill boss. Call up; say men say this and that. We get wise—now."

They are "wise", too, to the "company union", it appears. "Company union, no good. Everybody afraid to say to boss. We kid him, though. Other day: put red flag on crane. We stop and tip hat. Bolshevik flag, we say, for fun. Boss, him take it down. Too many boys looking at flag."

The Workers' "Voice"

And so, starting with Stanley and lounging up and down Lackawanna's eyesore highways, the full account

of the great Buddah of Bunk which sits in the mills of the Bethlehem was unfolded. It was in 1922 that it appeared upon the scene. That was the year that the Bethlehem interests took over the Lackawanna Steel Co. Along with the new control, came the "company union." It was all set down in the "Plan of Employees' Representation, Lackawanna Plant, Bethlehem Steel Company"—a little gray backed booklet containing the "constitution" of the scheme.

Its opening statement gives its supposed reason for being:

"In order to give the employees of the Company a voice in regard to the conditions under which they labor, and to provide an orderly and expeditious procedure for the prevention and adjustment of any future differences, and to anticipate the problem of continuous employment as it will present itself through trade fluctuations and other conditions, a method of representation of employees is hereby established."

A "voice" in wages is conspicuously omitted, and the "voice" that is allowed concerning conditions will be analyzed hereafter. With a smile of some cynicism, when the state of mind revealed by Stanley and the other men is recalled, we read the following:

"The representation of employees, as hereinafter provided, shall in no way discriminate against any employee because of race, sex or creed, or abridge or conflict with his or her right to belong or not to belong to any lawful society, fraternity, union or other organization."

That little word "lawful" must cover a multitude of worker sins. A union of steel workers, under the company's interpretation, would certainly not be desired; would certainly be fought with the whole system of spies and undercover men who cover the plant, is certainly being opposed tooth and nail at the present hour.

Representation is by departments, on the basis of one representative for each two hundred employees or major fraction thereof. At the present time, the representatives are about 40 in number, out of a total of something around 6700 employees. The detailed work is handled by five committees, which report at the meetings of the general body of representatives once a month.

Is it necessary to say that no wage increases have come out of the plan? Its four years of operation have produced none such. Wages at the Lackawanna are among the lowest in the entire steel industry. The men have no way of being sure of this, from outside technical help. The company, under the plan, necessarily does all the compilations on financial matters. But workers going from one district to another bring word of what the wages and conditions are—in Cleveland, Youngstown,

LABOR AGE

Chicago, Pittsburg, and in that center of steel serfdom, Bethlehem, Pa., itself. The last named place has the distinction of being on a par or lower than Lackawanna. From it comes the impetus to "readjust" the men's conditions in the northern plant, although the task for the good hired men of President Grace is not so easy, apparently, in the works near Buffalo as it has been in his own "home town".

Lackawanna workers have the reputation of being a bit more testy than the men in Pennsylvania. They cause the company slightly more worry. Always there hovers over the Lackawanna scene the shadow of the Great Strike of 1919—the Buffalo district being the district of bitter fighting, which Foster particularly calls attention to in his book on that struggle. It was at the Lackawanna that the state police met more than their equals in the Amazonian brigade of Slavish women, who put them to flight. Likewise, did the town have its baptism of blood in that upheaval—the funerals of Casimir Mazurek, war veteran and striker, and of Joseph Buskowski being spoken of to this day.

Grievances Go By the Board

With this background, the "Lady Bountiful" plan of the company has had the reception which Lady Bountifuls generally get from men and women who have self-respect. "Put in to kid us," "Too much boss—not enough union", "Real complaints can't be got across", "No real stuff"—are opinions of the Great Idea among workers who will talk about it.

An instance: The men on the furnaces and on the rolls are skilled men, and are paid by tonnage or piece work. With a real union absent, of course, the checkweighman is absent also. The men have no means of knowing whether their tonnage allowance is correct or incorrect. They are at the mercy of the company's benevolence. Widespread rumor has it that "tonnage is being stolen". Nobody knows whether this is so or not; there is no way to check up as to whether it is true or false. But it reflects one source of suspicion and friction that is part and parcel of the whole plan.

Representatives confess that they dare not present grievances that they and the men who elected them would want to have presented. They "have no backing", and "feel like lone wolves fighting for the pack". Should they try to assert their cause, they would be marked men—without any organization to support them or assist them in their demand. As in most other company unions, the "free feed" for representatives is about the chief net result of the system. This is officially known as the "annual conference," attended by the officials of the company, the superintendents of the various departments, and all the incoming and outgoing representatives. The ratio of speakers at the "banquet" is a superficial but true index of the ratio of influence between men and "management" in the company union itself. Of the ten speakers generally on the program, the workers have but three "voices" and the "management" has seven, ending up with Grace of Bethlehem. The workers' "representatives", of course, have no other recourse at the affair than to sing the praises of the plan. President Grace, in his last say, picks to pieces all that the

lesser lights have said, and throughout, his eagle eye broods over the festive scene.

House Selling Idea Fails

One of the great company "lights that failed", and in its failure indicated the men's opinion of company ventures, has been the new house-selling project at Bethlehem Park. In the summer of 1923, the company floated this "new idea". Up to that time, it had run its "old village" at Smokes Creek, about half a mile from the main entrance to the mill—composed of rows of barracks, of four rooms to a family—and the "new village"—composed of the blackened near-shack "houses" which first strike our eye. These are rental projects, however—the old "company house" idea carried out in all its squalid, sordid details. The new housing plan was to be "different." The houses were to be sold to the workers—at from \$3500 to \$5000 per house. Ten per cent down, and \$40 per month.

The honesty of the Company in its high-sounding bunk about no discrimination in regard to race in the opening paragraphs of the Representative "Plan" receives a rather rude shock (in honest men's opinions) when its nice conditions for purchasers of houses in Bethlehem Park are noted. The Negro is specifically debarred from ownership. This is one of the conditions for the passing of title. Although the Negro was relied upon in 1919 to break the Great Strike, and although he is becoming an increasingly important factor in the steel industry—he is looked upon by the Company officials as a mere serf. We are of the opinion that those gentlemen are reckoning beyond their host, particularly if the unions come to realize that a New Negro, painfully but surely, is arising in America.

But for some reason, despite the "nice conditions", Bethlehem Park has not thriven as it should. Two hundred houses remain unpurchased. The company has boosted the rents in its "villages"—the men say, to force purchase at the "Park". Terms of purchase have been eased up; they are now \$50 down and \$40 per month. Even the strenuous "soft soaping" of the Management Representative, N. B. Ludhein, has fallen upon hard soil and produced few sales among the men.

Conditions in the mills? What could you expect? Seniority there is none. Everybody kicks about the promotion system. "New man come; he get good job. sometime some man bring boss cigars, maybe; maybe booze. Boss like that. He get pull. Boss give him good work. Men no like."

Speeding Up and Petty Tyranny

The speed-up system flourishes in all its glory. "Production; production" is the cry. No complaint is as frequent as this one. The company union has not brought "plant loyalty" here. The men's heightened speed is not occasioned by zeal for the Schwab-Grace interests. It is due to the fact that the men are at the mercy of the bosses. This reflects itself in a thousand and one petty irritations imposed by petty foremen. One of the most vicious fruits of the absence of a real union exists in this

abuse. The company union, as with all other "open shop" devices, has made the foreman king. It has the same effect as putting the uniform on a cop. The business of power goes to such head as the man has, and petty tyranny becomes his practice.

Among other fears heard is that of a possible wage cut. If there is any security for wages under the company union plan, the men do not know about it. They feel at a tremendous disadvantage, from what I can gain from my many conversations with them, in this matter in particular. There has been some talk of a wage "adjustment" in one of the departments. The men state that the matter has even been before the company union representatives. Although it would have meant a cut in but one place in the mills, the alert men in other departments have apparently become alarmed by the proposal. They feel that it will be the beginning of wage cuts all around. The matter deadlocked in the "wage committee"—all the men's representatives voting against it, while the company superintendents on the committee voted for it. It is now reposing on the desk of President Grace in Bethlehem. Much may yet come from out of his action. If he decides to push the cut, over the representatives' protest, his company plan is due for a rude earthquake. Such at least seems to be the temper of the men.

The zenith of Bunk is reached in the inevitable "relief plan". Firstly, the workers have no option but to come in under its provisions. Every worker in every plant of the corporation must pay into this fund. As set forth in the BETHLEHEM REVIEW of April 24, 1926—"a bulletin of news for the employees of the subsidiary companies of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation"—the monthly payments under the "new plan" and the benefits obtaining, are as follows:

	Employees with annual earnings of	Employees' Monthly Payments per month	Death Benefit	Sickness Benefits per wk.
Class I. ...	\$1500 or less	\$1 00	\$ 500	\$10.00
Class II. ..	\$1500 to \$2500	\$1.50	\$1000	\$11.00
Class III. More than	\$2500	\$2.50	\$1500	\$12.00

The Catch in It

Secondly, there is a catch in it. Injury is one of the serious problems in the life of the steel worker. It is his chief dread. If left to himself, he would choose that insurance which would cover accidents as well as other hazards of life. But in his compulsory policy, he is informed that this plan does not apply to any injury covered by the various compensation acts.

As the Corporation claims, in its REVIEW of December 10, 1924, that there are 70,000 employees in all its plants, the royal sum at least of \$70,000 a month is poured into its coffers under this compulsory "relief". The Company is the one obviously to be "relieved" by the plan—from worry about a number of things—unless the "relief" to the pocketbooks of the men is also considered.

WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT

HARVEY O'CONNOR, Assistant to the Editor, Locomotive Engineers Journal: "Let me commend you again. The July LABOR AGE is better than the June, and that surpassed the May issue. It seems to me that your creation is climbing to unsuspected heights. My compliments, for your achievement is really tremendous, given the time in which you operate. What stirred me especially is the 'New Jersey Awakens' story, citing chapter and verse in support of your claim that 'everywhere the unorganized CAN be organized . . . with militancy and intelligence.' I liked Muste's story, and the others had real punch."

NATHAN FINE, Associate Editor, AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK: "The Labor Banking debate was a real contribution to American labor thought and policy."

Thus is presented the first chapter on Lackawanna. My little journeys through its highways and byways, and into its pool parlors and "soft drink" houses produced much more information than can be set out here. We will strive to expose these other trimmings later. Perhaps we will have some detailed words to say on the elaborate espionage system—not merely at Lackawanna but throughout Buffalo as well. It is not a pretty story, nor are pretty men connected with it. "Soft drink" has a powerful effect upon some labor spies, however, and after checking up, we may find some of their "confessions" worthy of reproduction.

Enough is known, nevertheless, out of the facts here presented, to see that Company Unionism is fooling few workers; that its soft soapers and spies have "not put it over"; that men accept it merely for the same reason that a prisoner goes to jail. Remove the labor spies from the mills, and Mr. Grace would be face-to-face with a real union tomorrow. Great opportunities are ahead, nevertheless, for renewed union action in Steel. Recently, the switchmen went into the Bethlehem at Lackawanna and organized the men there. Neither has there been any reluctance on the part of these members to announce themselves. Their union buttons can be seen on their caps as they enter the gates. The railroad workers are organized at this plant, and the bricklayers likewise. Although the organization of the latter is of small significance, and they have never shown any great sympathy with the steel workers. There are only about 400 bricklayers and about 500 railroad workers in all, at the plant. The chairman of the general body of representatives, Frank Columbus, is said to be a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

Something can be done at Lackawanna. Educationally, something should be done immediately. We mean to do our part. As one Slav worker put it: "This no union. Company talk too much for it. Say it holy thing. Not me; say it Holy-Hell. Charlie's Schwab's Holy Hell." And, brothers, a little razing of Hell at Lackawanna wouldn't hurt a bit. On the proposition, we vote "Aye."

The Prosperity Bubble

Is the American Worker Lolling in Wealth?

By BENJAMIN CHASS

FROM the headlines in the daily press it seems that the United States is passing through one of the most prosperous periods of its history. Unceasingly, it seems, the newspapers carry items to the effect that this is a year of prosperity. Yesterday it was some notable banker who announced that prosperity was here; the day before it was a steel magnate who sent forth this good news to the American people; today it is a prominent railroad official who broadcasts these glad tidings.

"The American worker is better off today than he ever was before," speaks the great banker. "The American worker is receiving higher wages today than ever before in the history of this country," continues the banker. And with great pride and with his chest expanded he goes on to tell us of the great prosperity of the American wage-earner; he tells us that the American worker is riding around in automobiles and of the good houses he owns and lives in; of the good clothes and of the many luxuries he is able to enjoy. "The workers of the United States are far better off than those of any other nation of the world," the banker exclaims with greater pride than ever.

These quotations are not only typical of the speeches made in 1926, but are just as typical of the speeches made in any other year. The leaders of industry and finance are continually delivering these "prosperity" speeches. It is as if it were taken for granted that the American worker is so inherently stupid that he does not even know when he has an automobile, or when his wife has a fur coat, or when he lives in a good, modern home, or if he were ignorant of the fact that he owns his home—if such were the truth—which is not of the great army of workers. But personally I do not think that such is the case. I do think that the American workers (though not all intellectual giants) are aware of their prosperous condition—if their conditions are indeed prosperous. And therefore I do not think that it is necessary that the leaders of the American capitalists crowd the daily press with their prosperity speeches. Because if the workers are receiving high wages; if they are prosperous, no one can know it any better than the workers themselves. Hence to me it seems as if our leaders of industry and finance are not so interested in placing before us the facts of our economic position, but rather in making laudatory speeches filled with beautiful phrases and rich exaggerations. To put it tersely and pleasantly, they are attempting to "talk" us into believing that we are prosperous. In other words, prosperity is merely a matter of auto-suggestion.

However, to sensible and practicable people it is merely a question that if it is it is and if it is not it is not. Therefore, let us inquire into the real facts of the situation and thus ascertain whether or not the American

workers are receiving higher wages today than 20 or 25 years ago.

Rainy Day Accounts

In the midst of all this talk about prosperity the Savings Bank Division of the American Bankers' Association comes out with the announcement that prosperity is truly here. And this organization of America's leading capitalists serves us with great masses of dollar signs and great big numerals following these "prosperity" marks.

We are told that in 1912 there were 12,584,316 savings depositors with a total of \$8,425,275,000 savings deposits, or a per capita savings of \$89. In 1917 there were 11,385,734 depositors with total deposits of \$11,115,790,000, or \$108 for each person of our total population in 1917. In 1920 the number of savings depositors jumped to 20,915,612 with a total of \$14,672,178,000 or a per capita of \$137. In 1922 the number of depositors was 30,323,320 with a total of \$17,331,479,000 or \$158 per capita. In 1924 the number of depositors rose to 38,867,994 with total deposits of \$20,873,562,000 or \$186 for each of our 110,000,000 men, women, and children. Thus in twelve years the number of depositors was trebled and the total deposits almost doubled. This, we are told, by the Bankers' Association, is a sign of genuine prosperity. Let us carefully analyze these huge figures and see what they really signify.

Suppose each family of five were to have \$930 in a savings bank (which would mean the per capita of \$186 for each person) suppose this would really be true of the nigh 25,000,000 families in this country—would this be called genuine prosperity? Is it more than reasonable to expect every person to have a few hundred dollars put away so when sickness or the rainy day comes along, the emergency will not have to give way to poverty or charity?

However, the fact is that every family of five does not possess this sum in a savings bank. As the figures show, below 40 million people are depositors and many of these are no doubt duplicates, as innumerable numbers have two, three, or four bank books in as many different banks. Then again children are included in this number. A child may have a dime in the bank and he, too, is counted as a depositor. Thus the number of depositors means very little. That this number has trebled in twelve years is also indicative of little meaning; it does not mean that people are earning more money or saving more money. The increase in depositors is largely due to the great amount of advertising done by banks.

That the amount of the total deposits has almost doubled in these twelve years is also of little value in measuring the supposed increase in wages and our so-called prosperity. The decrease in the purchasing

power of the dollar since 1912 accounts to some extent for the increase in deposits. According to Irving Fisher's index of prices, the purchasing power of the dollar was 62 cents for the average of 1924, if 1912 is to be indexed as 100. Thus the \$186 per capita deposit in 1924 would be reduced to \$115 if we are to use the dollar value of 1912. Hence in "real" dollars the increase in per capita deposits in the twelve years—1912-24—would only amount to \$58.50, instead of \$97, or approximately 35 per cent increase in deposits over 1912 instead of nigh 100 per cent as has been calculated by the Bankers' Association.

Wages and Living Costs

Taking this sum of \$58.50 as the per capita increase in savings deposits, does it mean that every person is today richer with this sum? No. It means that bank deposits have been increased by this sum. Again, it does not mean that the wage-earner is the depositor who largely composes this great number of depositors who have saved this 40 billions of dollars. No doubt there are people who have thousands and tens of thousands of dollars in savings banks, and of course these people are not wage-earners, but rather do they belong to the employing class. Hence, banks deposits do not indicate the wealth or prosperity of the average wage-earner, nor does it signify that there have been any great increases in wages. Thus, we can easily understand that money in savings banks is no fair measure by which to gauge the wage-earner's wages or his so-called prosperity. Some other gauge must be applied if we desire to ascertain the real amount of wages the workers receive. And the most accurate way to find this out is to analyze the trend of wages and the cost of living during a certain period of time.

To ascertain the trend of wages in this country; to find out the increase or decrease or standstill of wages, I shall re-produce the figures analyzed by the United States Department of Labor and by other reliable sources. Then, after careful consideration, we will be capable of knowing the real facts of the worker's "prosperity."

In the following table (quoted by the Federated Press and based upon U. S. Dept. of Labor statistics) is contained a review of the increases in wages and the increases in the cost of living for the period of 1900-24:

Year	Wages per cent	Cost of Living per cent
1900	3.3	3.0
1901	5.0	8.5
1902	8.1	14.6
1903	11.0	14.7
1904	11.9	16.2
1905	13.2	16.4
1906	16.2	20.3
1907	19.3	25.9
1908	20.6	30.1
1909	21.7	37.2
1910	24.1	44.1
1911	25.8	43.0
1912	27.5	54.2
1913	30.4	55.7
1914	32.5	58.8

1915	33.5	62.3
1916	38.5	74.0
1917	41.7	103.1
1918	69.1	147.1
1919	92.8	186.7
1920	146.0	224.7
1921	152.3	185.4
1922	138.7	163.0
1923	159.0	166.0
1924	179.8	163.8

A glance at the above table shows us that not since 1900 were wages on a par with the cost of living. Only in 1924 did wages reach the mark where they could meet the soaring cost of living. All the other years wages in this country failed to meet the increase in the cost of living.

From 1900 to 1910 the average weekly wages had advanced only 24 per cent whereas in the same period the cost of living had advanced 44 per cent. The margin grew greater as the years advanced and by 1919, when the situation was at its worst wages were only 92.8 per cent above the average of the last 10 years for the 19th century, while the cost of living advanced by 186.7 per cent. This signified that a family depending for its necessities and comforts on these wages could only purchase two-thirds of these things that it could purchase during the last decade of the 19th century. In other words the workers were approximately 34 per cent worse off in 1919 than in this earlier period. And it is important to remember that this report is based solely on the union scale of wages. Non-union wages were no doubt lower and hence non-union workers must have fared still worse.

Whether or not an analysis of this report spells progress and prosperity for the average American wage-earner is left entirely to the reader's own judgment.

Are Wages Too High?

Mr. Basil Manly, who often acted as Joint Chairman of the War Labor Board with Chief Justice Taft, has made a thorough investigation of the wage question and in his book "Are Wages Too High?" he gives us some enlightening data on the subject. Mr. Manly tells us that "American wages are not too high, judged by any fair standard of comparison. With the exception of a few isolated occupations that were miserably underpaid in 1900, no class or group of workers has succeeded in maintaining unimpaired the real value of their wages as measured by the buying power which they possessed in 1900. With the exception of a few isolated and exceptionally skilled trades, the wages of American workers are insufficient, without supplement from other sources, to provide for the subsistence of a family consisting of husband, wife, and three minor children, much less maintain them in that condition of 'health and reasonable comfort' which every humane consideration demands. American labor has been consistently deprived of its share in the ever-increasing productivity of the nation's industries. It is this ever-increasing inequity that is at the root of the nation's frequent industrial depressions. And it is out of this constant under-payment of labor that a large part of the great private fortunes and the huge surpluses of American corporations have been created."

LABOR AGE

Dr. Abraham Epstein, Director of the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission, in an article in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" tells us the same thing about wages. He writes: "It is patent that despite the tremendous increase in wages, experienced during the last six years, only a few classes of wage earners have succeeded in keeping pace with the increased cost of living. In the case of many workers, especially the skilled ones, the purchasing power of their increased wages for a full time week in 1920 was considerably less than it was in pre-war days. And if the great mass of workers did not receive what is authoritatively considered an American living wage before the present advance in prices had begun, their standards at the present time are necessarily lowered."

In October of 1922 the National Catholic Welfare Council made public a report showing that:

"In the period of the seven and a half years from the beginning of the war, the skilled workers gained 4.5 per cent, the unskilled workers gained 1 per cent and the women gained 15 per cent as compared with the cost of living figures furnished by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"The average worker in the manufacturing industries gained 4.5 per cent. The average skilled worker in these industries made about \$1,325 a year; the average unskilled worker about \$1,025 a year, and the average woman about \$825.

"Using 1914 money on the basis of the cost of living the skilled workers received 63 cents a week more than they did on the eve of the war; unskilled men got 12 cents; and women \$1.15 a week more."

These important findings by responsible people discloses the fact that the employers overly exaggerated the trend of wages during the past few years. The point is, that when one speaks of wages one usually has in mind the wages of the carpenter, or the railroad engineer, or the highly skilled steel worker who have been able to command a higher wage than the average low wage, but even in these apparently favored occupations, the total yearly earnings are usually much below what the hourly wage rates indicates, due to under-employment.

Those So-Called High Wages

The year 1918 was considered as a year of "great prosperity;" in that year there were 37,569,060 income receivers. According to data compiled by the National Bureau of Economic Research the incomes received by these workers were as follows:

38.47 per cent received less than \$1,000 per year
33.27 per cent received between \$1,000 and \$1,500
13.90 per cent received between \$1,500 and \$2,000
11.84 per cent received between \$2,000 and \$5,000
1.56 per cent received between \$5,000 and \$10,000
.68 per cent received over \$10,000.

Herein is proof of the so-called high wages received by the American workers. It discloses that the vast majority of people are forced to live on meager earnings; that only about 12 per cent of our total army of income receivers receive over \$2,000 a year and the remainder must live on less, mostly on about \$25 per week.

During 1924 much of an uproar was raised by the employers and their interests about the high wages received by labor. That year, it is true, was the banner year for American wage-earners—as far as wages were concerned due to the slight fall in the cost of living. But, again, only hourly and weekly wages were figured and not the total yearly earnings. The question of unemployment is of vital importance here.

Professor Irving Fisher, professor in economics at Yale University, tells us that the wage earner not only loses during the period of inflation, but also during the period of deflation. This is true during the latter period, he says, "because of unemployment." Thus has been the year of 1924 and the early part of 1925; business has not fared in any prosperous manner; the workers have been hit hard by unemployment. In truth, we have passed through a "silent" panic.

If the average worker is "thrifty" enough to squeeze a little out of his meager wages during the period of steady employment, the period of unemployment more than swallows the little savings. "Averaging good and bad years, it is conservatively estimated that from 10 to 12 per cent of all workers in the United States are out of work all of the time," reports the Russell Sage Foundation. Regardless of what authority on the subject one may quote, the findings are the same. Unemployment is a scourge visited upon the American workers at various, steady, and inevitable periods. This scourge tends to kill what little life there is in the low wages received by American labor.

There are three ways by which to measure wages. First; dollar wages, second, buying wages, and third, comparative wages. The first two have been discussed herein. The third-comparative wages—is the wage received in comparison with the value and increase of production.

Modern machinery has revolutionized industry and the rate of production per man. To cite one or two examples: in 1904 the average production of pig iron per man was 470 tons; today it is 1,179 tons. In 1916 it took one hour and 42 minutes for one man to produce a pair of shoes; today it takes this same man only 54 minutes. In general, such has been the marvelous progress and increases in production throughout American industries. But have wages taken such giant steps? In 1914, the value of manufactured products over and above the cost of raw materials was \$23,987,860,000; in 1923 the value of manufactured products was \$25,853,151,000, or an increase of approximately 67 per cent in this period of nine years. During this same period the total amount of wages received by the total number of wage earners increased by approximately 60 per cent, which would almost equal the increase of the value of their production, but during this period, there was a 25 per cent increase in the number of workers engaged in producing these products. Thus, we see that so far as comparative wages are concerned, the workers have lost considerably during this period—1914-23.

We must conclude, then, that the American wage earner has been not the gainer, but the loser, both when wages go up and the cost of living goes down, and also has failed to advance with the steady increase in production.

More About "Sociology"

A Psychologist's Viewpoint

By THEODORE SCHROEDER

Mr. Schroeder continues an explanation of his ideas. We warn you again: His case is being put rather extremely, we suspect, in order to "get it over." The "inferiority complex" explains, undoubtedly, many of our own acts—and those of many men with whom we come in contact. That it, or psychology in general, explains everything of course, is not the point at issue.

II. "APPEARANCES ARE DECEITFUL"

IF we judge our friends wholly by means of the external symptoms we are doomed to many disappointments. Thus your most blatant or avowed agnostic, may some day reveal himself as an ardent mystagogue, by becoming an enthusiastic New-thoughter, Vedantist, Christian Scientist or spiritualist. More truly than he himself really understands, he may then tell you that at bottom he really was this. During the late war, we saw many such surprising reversals of attitudes of mind; surprising to everyone except the genetic and evolutionary psychologist.

Over-night some vociferous international pacifists became super-patriotic militarists. Their morbid feeling of inadequacy could now find a new mode of getting a compensating importance by showing themselves superior to the most conspicuous war-lord of the world; by becoming identified with the new military machine that would smash his power. All their hitherto suppressed sadism found a new stimulus and a "moral" rationalization for its release. Some of the most radical and revolutionary opponents of capitalism, became its conspicuous defenders against other "extremists". A super-moral pose, expounded with a super-righteous enthusiasm in their denunciation of other revolutionists with a different rationalization of their unconsciously controlled compulsion, brought praise and recognition from the formerly hated, conspicuous beneficiaries of things as they are. This new identification with the more efficient aristocrats did more to neutralize their feeling of inadequacy than could be derived from their former radical activities, in behalf of the workers.

So our enthusiastic labor leader may at times come to be judged as being only a painfully disappointed aristocrat. Unable to neutralize his consciousness of a painful feeling of inadequacy by becoming a millionaire, he may act as if to show himself superior in power to his successful competitor for unnecessary or unearned wealth, by humiliating the latter or by injuring him in purse, through the leadership in organized labor. The inferiority feeling in his followers makes them quite willing to exalt him into an aristocrat by giving him five or ten times the salary he could earn at his trade. They enjoy affiliation with an aristocrat who acknowl-

edges himself to be their creation. They also invest him with the economic might and riot-power of their combined association, because they also enjoy the "kick" to be derived from discrediting or impairing the boss's economic might. When the radical labor leader can change his status, and can achieve even a small measure of success, as a "captain of industry", he often becomes an equally enthusiastic partisan of the beneficiary of things as they are. Then other and newer labor leaders, just entering upon the career of climbing upon the shoulders of their fellow workers, call him a renegade; deserter, traitor and other epithets of reproach. Probably he is only acting as any of the other disappointed aristocrats would act, if they too could achieve their original economic aim or aristocratic exaltation. Perhaps also the denounced one, only acted as his successor will act in the near future.

The more or less radical; or even the more enthusiastic among conservative labor leaders, seem to have difficulties in understanding their "erring" fellow laborer. Our socialist and conventional sociologists attempt to explain such seeming inconsistencies of conduct in terms of "economic determinism" or "moral turpitude". This applies also to the worker who becomes a policeman or strike breaker; the labor agitator who proves to be a company detective. The free-lover of radical women or men who proves to be a government spy; the organizer or leader of liberal organizations who is ultimately found to be using his official position as a means of securing inside information as to the skeletons in the closet of radicals, by means of which they can be blackmailed into silence. Then too we know of some radicals who keep a technical and logically consistent attitude, while yet turning to the defense of their former capitalistic opponents. They accomplish this by diverting their energies to a criticism of such of their former revolutionary co-laborers, as rationalize their opposition to the present economic and political systems, by means of a different creed.

The Same Conflict

THE genetic psychologist is not much surprised by all this. He knows full well that all our super-righteous labor leaders and similar radicals, have exactly the same internal conflict as our hyper-enthusiastic capitalist or his pettifogging literary slave. He knows that all or any of these can easily make anything look despicable, by comparing it with an unattained and unattainable ideal. It is so we create an hysterical furor against the capitalist. By the same intellectual methods the advocate of capitalism discredits all actual radicals or their social experiments. It is an easy trick on either side. Furthermore, a change in such partisanship does not surprise us nor change our estimate of the immature intellectual methods, equally employed on all sides of such controversy.

PASSAIC AND VICTORY!

WE are proud of the outcome at Passaic. Not that we rejoice at the passing of the able Weisbord and his associates. Far from that, we regret that factional differences still remain in our Movement, such as caused the long impasse in the New Jersey city. We do rejoice that the gallant 12,000 who have held out so long and splendidly, are now within the ranks of the American Labor Movement.

Never for a moment did we have a doubt as to what would be the final chapter there. From the beginning, through thick and thin, this journal has consistently fought with and for the men and women across the river. Some might waver, as to the net result; but we wavered never, in our judgment of what Passaic had in store for all of us.

It is vitally important that this step within the Movement has been taken. Everywhere, but especially in the God-Forsaken hell holes of Northern New Jersey, has the name "Passaic" come to have a magic sound. It has embodied the hopes of the "beneficiaries" of Company Unionism and other quakeries. As it works out to a victorious conclusion, it will revive the spirit of those men and women, who have felt hopelessly lost in defeatism and despair. The entire Company Union Movement is one of despair—on the part of the Employers, fearing even in the midst of their power, that Unionism will threaten again; on the part of the workers in accepting it, because they felt beaten.

That brooding feeling on the part of the workers

is on the wane. Passaic has done as much as any one thing to put it to flight. New advances may be expected out of their confident ranks, when they see how success can be attained.

Much of the success in shifting the conduct of the strike into the hands of the United Textile Workers, is due to the efforts of Henry F. Hilfers of the New Jersey Federation of Labor. The none too easy task is now on his shoulders and those of the officers of the United

Textile Workers to effect a decent settlement with the mill owners. Those Kaiseristic gentlemen have not a leg to stand on, since their pet cry of "Communism" is taken from them. What will their Citizens' Committees, Local American Legionnaires and other mill tools, do now?

"Passaic" must become a great symbol for the continued progress of the workers. It ushers in the new era of organization, so

confidently predicted in these pages. Let us see it through. Let us not be guilty of the temperamental sin of helping a thing only in its beginnings, as so many well-intentioned and well-pocketed folks do. Neither unions nor individuals should mesmerize themselves into thinking that the duty of supporting the strikers is now over. It has just begun. It will continue, until the United Textile Workers and the Passaic mill owners have signed an agreement on the dotted line for a 100 per cent union shop and the restoration of the 10 per cent wage cut. "Passaic" and "Victory" must be one!



Newark News

Our sociologists, all and every one, are devoted to the same immaturity of intellectual methods. That incidentally they exhibit a judicial pose, or an extensive erudition, does not alter the facts in the least. Always they are dealing only in surface descriptions of symptoms of our social disorder, or making childish special pleas for the status quo, or for their particular methods for a change of social symptoms. If they really were scientists, they would be devoted to describing the subjective (internal) aspect of natural psychologic processes and their conditioning factors, as these are involved in the course of maturing our impulses, even before becoming conscious as desires and maturing the mental mechanisms by means of which these become effective in thought and

action. Conflicting social theories would then present issues in the relative maturity. There I have said a lot; perhaps none of my readers will adequately grasp my meaning. If our academic sociologists and our practical sociologists among which I count our labor leaders, could understand this meaning in my sense, they would not so uniformly, and yet unconsciously manifest quite childish intellectual methods in their activities.

The exposition of my concept of different and maturer intellectual methods will be developed at an other time. It is a long story. For the present my only ambition was to point out the existence of a somewhat new and different attitude of mind with which the genetic psychologist approaches human problems.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

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

“NO COMPROMISE”

WISH bones may be pretty playthings for petty occasions. But they are of small value, you may be sure, in a hand to hand fight. After all, Coue is dead.

Two million workers enrolled in company unions is something to ponder over, we rather suggest. Two million slaves in a land that once boasted that it was free! If that is Americanism, then Americanism is rotten and stinking in its decay.

If our union men have any “intestinal stamina” about them, they will refuse to allow this definition of “Americanism” to be written. They will refuse to allow the leprosy of servility and Lickspittledom to spread any farther. Not by wishing that company unionism will fade, but by going out and swatting it—among the non-union workers, in the local press, on every available occasion: will this present low state of dubbery and blubbery be abolished.

Our enemies have no illusions about how the whole business stands. They have contempt for any form of compromise. They have hatred undying for the dirty lower classes; which every labor man would readily see, if his “inferiority complex” did not fool him—when some of these soft-spoken gentry slip their hands around his neck and call him by his first name.

Warnings are being uttered in the employers' camp. “Do not become too cocky!” say these appeals. “Eternal vigilance is the price of keeping other men in slavery.” The League for Industrial Rights (the old Anti-Boycott Association) views with alarm the strength of the building trades and the continued disposition on the part

of those unions to demand union-made products in the factories where the building materials are made. The implication in its July bulletin is that the building trades unions ought to be smashed.

In the same merry month comes the Open Shop Department of the National Association of Manufacturers (Mr. Noel Sargent speaking) and views with alarm the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit. The San Francisco episode, where the building trades are in a hot fight against Open Shoppery, and the unsettled automobile industry disturb the N. A. M. not a little. Unrest increases in the making of motor cars. The low wages, camouflaged by Fordized advertising as high wages, are ample grounds for revolt. If unionism is successful, says Mr. Sargent, “a serious situation will arise (for the employers) which will affect not only the various branches of the automobile industry, but all industries using mechanics.”

Those “public expressions of good will and harmony which union spokesmen are continually making” are overwhelmingly refuted, he adds, by the continued agitation for the union shop, particularly in San Francisco. For the Employing Interests, in this labor fight, there is to be “No Compromise!”

For us, if we are sincere, there can be none, either. Our great opportunity has come. Company unionism has shot its bolt. More and more will the poor slaves under it, attack their chains. But our chance will only be realized upon, if we are alert to it. Well does Henry Thoreau say: “Only that day dawns to which we are awake.”

MAKING PUBLICITY COUNT

BLACK DIAMOND, employers' organ in the Coal Industry, is interested. In its July issue it alludes to the advertising campaign of the United Mine Workers of District 31 (Northern West Virginia), to inform the “public” of their side of the controversy down there. The “controversy” is simply the breaking of contracts by the Rockefeller-headed coal companies—to which the free miner-mountaineers are again replying with a fight.

The coal publication further notes the Chicago Fed-

eration of Labor's new broadcasting station—WCFL; through which Labor's message will be delivered, with the assistance of the Actors' Equity Association and the Musicians' Union.

The power of publicity is great, says the coal organ, and Labor is awakening to its value. We are proud of the two instances quoted. They are but the little trickling, however, of the stream of publicity in which we should be engaged. Most central bodies cannot purchase broadcasting stations, as has the active and able Chicago body under the leadership of John Fitzpatrick

LABOR AGE

and Ed. Nockels. But all can avail themselves of the daily press, by the organization of a carefully-planned publicity campaign. Says Emerson: "Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo." We hope to be nettles in the sides of our friends of the central bodies, until we see Labor's case adequately presented in every local newspaper. We are prepared to cooperate with central bodies in this effort, and by the middle of September will be able to do so aggressively.

THE LIE ABOUT HIGH WAGES

WE are still waiting patiently—but with a growing tendency toward impatience—to see union men take up the cudgels in their own behalf in the local daily press.

It is little short of nauseating to note, day after day, the editorial drivel that is put out to the "public" on the labor question. Of it all, this universal lying about high wages in this country is the bunkiest of the bunk.

Mr. Roger Babson is not a labor man or sympathetic with labor, God knows. He sells his services to the Employing Interests, and gets along very well therefrom. But occasionally he deals with facts. And he now tells us something about our incomes. Of 30,000,000 persons who receive incomes in this country, says Mr. Babson, "the startling fact is, that the total number of persons receiving less than \$1,500 is 27,056,344, while the number receiving less than \$1,000 for the year is 14,558,224." In other words, over 90 out of every 100 persons receiving income get less than \$1,500 per year.

That being the state of affairs, as per the testimony of one in the opposite camp, we cannot see any particular reason for the paeans of joy that are going up everywhere about the "prosperity" of America. The whole world is being treated to a good bath of "high wages in America." Still another delegation from Britain is being organized to come and see for themselves, this so-called modern miracle.

The sorry fact is: That the workers of the rest of the world are war-wrecked, shell-shocked paupers. We, in our rags, appear by comparison to be clothed in the robes of princes. Our masters, seeing the grand opportunity, use it to psychologize us into thinking we are abiding in Paradise. The business spreading far enough, it soon becomes a matter of apology for workingmen, particularly in unionized and therefore highly paid industries, to ask for wage increases. There is the rub, brethren and sistern; that's where we come very much into the picture. The "public" is being put into this frame of mind: "Are those loafers asking for a higher wage again?" Well, let them go to the Place of Blistering Blastedness!"

Frankly, we are doing little to hammer out our own case. We are not showing up the profits of the Employing Interests. We are not quoting such admissions as those of Mr. Babson, when our newspapers wallow around like epileptics before our "generous" and "enlightened" Fords and Fordizers. Perhaps, we have not fully made up our minds as yet to demand and demand and demand—as the A. F. of L. wage program sets forth. That's the only option we have, nevertheless. There is no halting place in this fight with the Employers. There can be no limit to our group ambitions. God and Mr.

Babson know, we are far away from decency in industry to date.

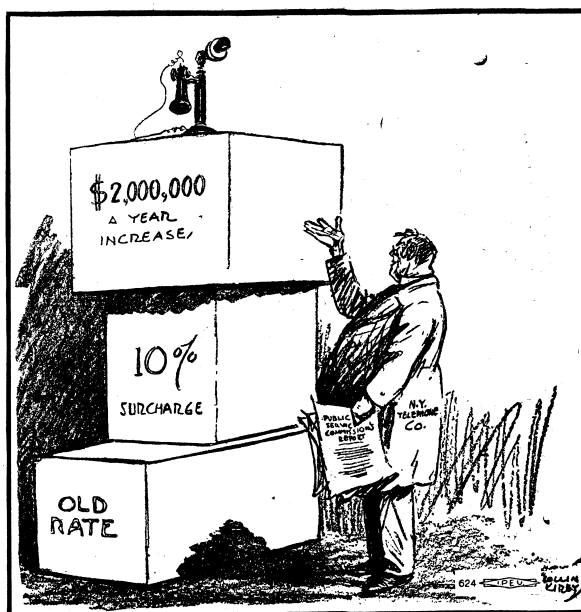
KNOW THY INDUSTRY

A Secret of Union Success

SAY all the heroic mystic thinkers of the ages: "The first commandment for individual peace and perfection is—KNOW THYSELF." With unanimous voice, figures so far apart as Buddha, Confucius, He of Nazareth, Francis of Assisi and our own beloved Thoreau give us this precept.

He or she who attended the Electrical Workers Institute at Brookwood in July must have agreed to a somewhat similar commandment for union group achievement and perfection. KNOW THY INDUSTRY came the conclusion, after two weeks of delving into the nooks and crannies of Electrical-Workerdom.

THE COURTS DID IT!



The NEW YORK WORLD calls a Cause to our attention in the above, but it does not name the Effect. That is none other than our courts, owned in the main body-and-soul by the corporations. Through their absurd theory that any regulation against a corporation is "confiscation," they have set on foot a series of highway robberies that would have made Whittemore and Chapman green with envy. Through court connivance, the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. waxes fat, off its contracts which its "own self," under other local names. The New York Telephone Co. is the A. T. and T. 100 per cent—and yet the holding company bleeds the state company, in order to keep the latter in a state of apparent "poverty". Thus, the rates can be put higher and higher. To which the courts say "Amen".

In the discussions centering around Robert W. Bruere's explanation of those company unions in the electrical industry which he has been studying, this need was brought out sharply. Electrical appliance manufacturers have been carefully building up a "shop psychology," with which to fight the individual craft unions. They

have been stimulating an interest in the industry and plant among the men, allowing these men at the same time to see in detail only a part of the entire process. Independence has been bartered away by the company union workers for a "feeling" that they are part of the concern.

It was readily admitted by the representatives of the unions present at the discussion that much information in regard to the industry—and indeed, in regard to the workings of the unions themselves—was a closed book even to active union men. President O'Hara of the powerful Local 3 suggested that next year a study be made, not merely of the company unions in the appliance field, but of the agreements now operating in that sector where the union is entrenched—the building industry. There is no real knowledge at the present time among local officers of the nature of the agreements in force in other cities, how they have been secured, and how they may be improved.

Further, it was clearly seen—out of the discussions—that the unions have not made their best case before the public. In the matter of restricted membership, for example, the strong social arguments that may be advanced for this action in such cities as New York has never been brought into the light of day or into the columns of the press. It is only the anti-union view that gets an airing. The glut of the New York market from the smaller places, in an effort to get the high wages prevailing in the big city and thus to begin to break down those wages; the hailing of production restriction by corporations as a great national blessing, by the press, while in the same breath it attacks union restriction, under all circumstances—and many other items of that character, have never been vigorously brought out by the unions. They have preferred to maintain a defensive attitude.

To know industry is the foundation-purpose of Workers' Education. For five years LABOR AGE has been hammering on the fact that shop economics classes are the basis of local labor educational efforts. Out of these may come a desire to learn English, public speaking and public writing; but the entire purpose of workers' education is to perfect union men and women for the labor fight. A survey of the country will show that those classes which have been most successful have been those which concerned themselves with the industrial problems of the workers. Where funds or "teaching" personnel are lacking to make this sort of activity a big and real thing, central bodies can do no better than to discuss at every other meeting problems presented in such publications as LABOR AGE and the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. A further step would be the scheduling of a series of lectures on Open Shop Tactics and on our own strength and weakness, before local union bodies. Portland's labor college has found it must do this, to maintain interest in its formal classes. In Newark, LABOR AGE has been carrying on a series of such lectures—showing in detail and by exhibits the extent of the Open Shop Fight and how it can be combatted. It is certain that those members who have heard these latter lectures will vouch for their interest and value.

The secret of any success—individual or group—rests largely on knowing what the whole business we are embarked upon, is about. With the company unions

introducing new tactics in the labor struggle, it is more incumbent on the unions than ever to KNOW what they are up against, what other groups have done in the same circumstances and how organization can be carried on successfully. Where there is a will, there is a way. And the beginning of the way is BELIEF in the cause and KNOWLEDGE concerning its functioning.

MRS. McCORMICK AND A COMPANY UNION

IT is not the Mrs. McCormick with the ex-husband of monkey-gland fame of whom we speak today. It is the Mrs. McCormick who broke all records last month in commissioning a \$7,000 private train to hurry her to an important religious meeting which she wished to attend.

The husband McCormicks are of the self-same family. The coin with which the monkey-gland slid into the anatomy of Ganna Walska's bridegroom came out of the same hides as the money which paid for the religious dash of the Mrs. McCormick of this tale. It all came out of the humble workers of the International Harvester Company.

"Humble" is apparently the right word to apply to these 100 per cent workers who toil for the McCormicks, if the Hon. Cyrus Mac, Jr., spouse of the religious lady, is to be taken as an authority thereon. About the same time that his wife broke all financial records for individual train traveling, Cyrus himself broke into print. In the June FACTORY magazine—published by A. W. Shaw and Co. as a "magazine of management"—he gives his fellow-exploiters an insight into "The Practical Results of Employee-Representation," that is, Company Unionism, as practised by himself in the Harvester plants.

In his very first words he rings the note of the Company Union: "Step by step our works councils have advanced of and for themselves along the road of cooperation to a point where safety of workers and increased quantity and sustained quality of the International Harvester Company's product are now among their primary aims."

Increased safety? Yes; in order that the company may be spared the expense of high payments under the workmen's compensation laws. When did the corporations become fans for safety, if not *after* the laws passed by Organized Labor had made their obligations to injured workers automatic ones? Increased production, in quality and quantity? Yes; in order that the profits of the company may rise ever higher, and that Mrs. McCormick may fly ever higher in her record-breaking rides and that Monkey-Gland McCormick may fly higher, too, with his Polish prima donna.

But higher wages and shorter hours, as a reward for the workers' increased output? Avaunt, impertinent! Such shall not be discussed. And Mr. McCormick does not discuss them throughout the article, as he can say naught of them. Scrap reduction campaigns, with cuts in scrap from 100 per cent in Nov., 1923 to 62 per cent in June, 1924; engine fuel cost reductions of 26 per cent per locomotive hour; safety campaigns in which the workers become over-heated on the subject; and the inevitable "practical results, visible on the income and balance sheets of the company!" Everything is heard of, but increased wages and shortened hours.

Vital Issues

"MILDEWED" BERRY

New Jersey Judge Confirms Our Contempt for Courts

NO crystal glass was necessary. You could close your eyes and tell it would come. Was it not only in our last issue that we expressed cynicism regarding what the New Jersey hirelings on the bench would do to the workers' recently enacted peaceful picketing law?

We were satisfied that our judgment of the judiciary could not be too low. "Jersey Justice" has become a by-word of stupidity and corruption. So Vice-Chancellor Berry hastens to confirm in his decision, handed down this August 14th, in the city of Trenton. What says this pocket edition of the Lord Almighty? That there can be no such thing as peaceful picketing. That one picket even is a menace and can "strike terror" into the hearts of scabs. He even grows poetic in his say-so, quoting Poe's poem, "The Pit and the Pendulum," in his behalf. An injunction, permanent and sweeping, is thereupon issued by this ass in judicial clothing—against David Stern, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, Costas Dristas, of the Greek Restaurant Workers' Club and 20 others. The complainant was the owner of a

Greek restaurant in Newark, the Essex Restaurant by name.

Quickly indeed, does "Mildewed" Berry rush to do the bidding of his bosses—the Employing Interests of New Jersey. He intends to show that the peaceful picketing law is dead. What cares he for law, passed by the representatives of the people?

He is but one of "our" numerous judicial maniacs, blinded by their delusions of grandeur. It is unfortunate that the workers have not enough power to clap them all into padded cells, where they could mumble their insanities without harm to anyone.

As it is, there is but one answer: to snap our fingers at the whole putrid lot. Mass picketing is the comeback to this ukase against picketing by one man. Let 20 or 30 men go to jail, and let the mildewed one know that his lawless act is a mere beating of the air. Our modern Dred Scott decisions are coming thick and fast. And Berry and his gang are headed for the same historic Hell as Roger Taney, Chief Justice of the United States in the Dred Scott day, and sundry other legal tyrants.

DISCUSSION COURSES FOR ORGANIZERS

District No. 2, Brookwood Institutes—And A Suggestion

RELIGION ceases to be religion when men come to think it only the business of the clergy. Organization ceases to be organization when trade unionists think it only the business of the organizers.

Standing on the basis of the principles of the American Labor Movement, working with our organizers and for our organizations, individuals can do much as committees of one to spread the gospel of group action. For that, we must have the facts. We cannot go far by merely shouting out generalities. In time, nobody will believe us.

We must also have spirit. We must see the Labor Movement as it is—the great uprising of the oppressed and "lower" classes, to demand power and a larger life. We must see in it a panorama as noble—if not nobler—than that of any one individual nation. We must realize that it has had its Valley Forges and Bunker Hills and Gettysburgs. It has produced heroism as sublime as that of any national patriot.

Look at that long line of suffering men and women in District 2 of the Miners, at this very hour. They are battling for freedom, even as the Revolutionists of 1776 did, on the level of their own class and conditions. The news that we get, that these men have begun another attack on Non-Unionism in Indiana County, should spur us all on to our own job in our own home town. The Rochester and Pittsburg Coal Co. is the objective. Men who have returned to non-union conditions there, are now in revolt. Their wages have been cut 30 per cent. "Dead work" is no longer paid for. Cheating of the miner has grown again into a practise, in the absence

of the union checkweightman. The company store has branched out in all its glory, to defraud them with high prices. Company spies are on the job. It is a hell which the men can stand no longer.

Why has District 2 arisen again out of its bitter Valley Forge of the past few years? Partly because it has had vigorous mass education through its Workers Education classes and Chatauquas. Partly, because its goal, clearly understood, is the re-organization of the industry through Nationalization. These are the things which have given a religious devotion to the men of that district.

Paul Fuller's work, under the sympathetic cooperation of John Brophy and Jim Mark, has been a training school in the organization spirit. We suggest the possibility of taking up a similar effort, in a more concentrated way, for definite labor organizers. Chambers of Commerce do not disdain to provide training courses for their secretaries. Efficiency is acquired thusly in the game of bunking the public and baiting the workers. For years these group courses have been given, generally in the summer time.

A meeting place for the active union organizer, to exchange experiences with his brothers in the field, in Brookwood's quiet retreat, would be a great thing. Already have the rail, textile and electrical workers unions broken the ground for this, with their institutes at Brookwood, dealing with organization problems in general—in which representatives of all unions will participate. That cornerstone of workers education—our resident college—is the natural place for such gatherings.

LABOR AGE

partial or complete stoppage of work on the part of all or part of the unions. Evidently, the British workers are thinking rather of perfecting their machinery for a general industrial show-down in the days to come, rather than feeling any repentance about the Great Strike of 1926. The International Federation of Trade Unions is taking advantage of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the international trade union movement, to begin a new publicity drive for the universal 8-hour day. Although the nations of the world have given lip service to the 8-hour principle, it is hitting the rocks of opposition in becoming anything like permanent. Austria leads in 8-hour legislation, but much of its action is modified by the negative attitude of Germany, Britain, France and Italy.

The first of these four countries may see a big mine war in September. The miners unions of the Rhineland and Westphalian districts have demanded a 15 per cent wage increase, effective the first of that month. The present rate is around 26 cents per hour. Wholesale unemployment—fruit of the Dawes Plan—is still plaguing the German unions; even in the face of the remarkable comeback of the German steel industry. Out of the unsatisfactory conditions resulting, has come a sweeping victory for the Left group in the Berlin Metal Workers Union. They captured the entire thirteen seats in the coming Bremen congress of the German metal workers this month.

The International Federation of Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees reports an increase of 100,000 in its membership for the year 1925. Its total now comes to 725,000. Despite this fine showing, there still remains much to be done in the clerical field.

Industrial discontent increases in France, as the financial crisis refuses to down. The number of local strikes has been steadily on the rise. When the Poincare Dawesization sets in, there will ensue a bitter fight over the 8-hour day. As we have pointed out before, the heavy immigration into France will weaken the French unions in this test of strength. About 3,000,000 foreign workers are in the country at the present time, mostly Italians and Poles.

RUSSIA AND THE ORIENT

Joseph Stalin has tightened his grip on control of Soviet Russia. Zinoviev, as per our forecast, has been ousted from his leading position in the political bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. In China, Russia's favorite, the Christian General Feng has been routed by the militarist leaders, Chang, Wu and Sun. The Canton Government, however, has begun an advance against them, which has thrown the fear of God into the Europeans in Shanghai. No decisive action can be expected, however, until the Autumn; neither side wishing to hazard the destruction of the crops. At that time, fresh warfare will break out, between the Cantonese and the Kuon (People's Army) on the one side and the militarists on the other. The much-heralded Pan-Asiatic Congress, held in Japan in August, split on the rock of national differences. The Chinese representatives demanded the cancellation by Japan and other nations of the unequal treaties in China; which led to the withdrawal of the Japanese delegates. The meeting was something of a boomerang for the Japanese Government, which apparently was secretly encouraging it. A Left Workers and Peasants

Party having been suppressed by the Japanese Government three hours after its formation, a new and more moderate party of the same name has now appeared. The party is pledged to the "emancipation of the working class." As the right to strike and freedom of the press do not exist in Japan, it has a big job ahead of it.

THE 44-HOUR FIGHT IN AUSTRALIA

Across the way from the Nipponese Isle, a battle of some consequence is being fought out. The Tory Government of Australia, under the leadership of Premier Bruce, has submitted a referendum to the people, suggesting serious changes in labor regulation. For sometime past, there have been clashes between state labor courts and the Federal labor court over the work-week. A strike against the Federal court's decision for the 48-hour week, has been won in New South Wales. (Reported in last issue.) The state courts stand for the 44-hour week, which is the Labor stand. Bruce's referendum is clearly a corporation-lawyer drawn instrument. For some years Labor has been seeking to vest responsibility for workers betterment in the Federal parliament. Bruce's amendment rather adroitly vests labor regulation in "authorities" created by the Federal Government. Unfortunately, this juggling has deceived some members of the Australian Labor Party—who have half-heartedly endorsed the referendum. The unions, however, are not taken in, and are fighting the proposal tooth and nail. Up to our going to press, no word had been received as to the outcome.

"DUTCH DOLDRUMS" AND COOPERATIVE SOAP

Of course, every one has been duly informed of that other referendum, whereby the German folk voted 15,000,000 strong for the confiscation of the royal properties. The vote failed to gain the desired result, as it fell short of the absurd constitutional requirements. Open intimidation by the employing and Fascist groups kept it below what it would have been in any out-and-out method of election. It was impressive enough, just the same, to cause the reactionaries to go slow in rearranging the property question with the Kaiser and his family. While this little farce is concluded, the German people are still suffering severely from the "blessings" of the Dawes Plan. Unemployed workers continue around 2,000,000 in number.

In happy contrast, we note the continued progress of the Cooperative Movement. One indication of this is the opening at Irlam of a great new soap works under British cooperative auspices. This is the answer of the cooperative societies and the Wholesale to the effort of the Soap Combine in England to interfere with cooperative business methods. The new plant will have a capacity of 500 tons per week, thus giving the cooperative a total capacity of 1,400 tons a week. An idea of the extent of the British Movement is shown by the fact that in this one soap factory alone, 1,100 people are employed. It is a great venture in cooperative production.

At the same time, the International Summer School of the Cooperative Alliance has met at Manchester, calling attention to the international character of cooperation. Representatives of all European countries were present, to discuss the detailed problems of the movement and its plans for future progress.

At the Library Table

TWO BOOKS OF GREAT VALUE

Among the books coming to our library table, there are two to which we wish to return occasionally. These are: Stuart Chase's *TRAGEDY OF WASTE* and G. Lowes Dickinson's *THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY, 1910-1914*. Reviews of both will appear in the October issue.

It will repay trade unions and trade unionists to think through the vital issues these books present. Who loses more by the wastes of our present system than the worker? Two things are important: That the campaign against waste be carried on under union auspices, and that the mere words "waste prevention" be not used by the Employing Interests as avenues to attack the workers' shop conditions. In the way that Mr. Chase puts it, they cannot escape that easily.

War is one of the most vicious of wastes. Workers are not responsible for war. They are not responsible for the statesmen and militarists, who plotted (in a maggot-mass of intrigue and double-dealing) the Great War of 1914-1919. Except—that they, the workers, are to blame if they fail to acquaint themselves with the causes of international conflict, and fail to make moves based on that knowledge. Mr. Dickinson is no day dreamer; he is a scholar, armed with documentary evidence. What he reveals of the acts back of the past war should be in the possession of every trade unionist. The book should be in union libraries. It is published by the Century Company of New York City. Let us arm ourselves with ammunition against Militarism!

"LEFT WING UNIONISM"

Reviewed by Morris Lattman

LEFT WING UNIONISM; by David J. Saposs, New York: International Publishing Co., \$1.60.

THE history of the American Labor Movement abounds with factional struggles. From its very inception to the present day, minority groups, differing with the philosophy, policies, and tactics of the group in power sought, either through propaganda or domination, to impose their own philosophy and their own policies and tactics on the Movement. Two methods of attack were open to these recalcitrant groups.

1. "Boring from within".
2. "Dual unionism".

It is the history of these minority groups, their exigencies, their failures and successes, and their influence on the history of the American Labor movement that Mr. Saposs treats in his book "Left Wing Unionism".

With deft hand, keen analytical power and scholarly objectivity he traces the struggles of these groups. Clearly he reveals the secret springs that motivated them; the causes and circumstances of their rise and growth; the reasons for their decay or disappearance, as in the case of the I. W. W. or the International Trade and Labor Alliance or their eventual succumbing to the philosophy of the dominant group as in the case of the Socialists.

The Anarchists, the Socialists, the I. W. W. and the Communists and the various warring factions within each of these groups are taken up chronologically; their various tactics and ideologies are analyzed, and their influences in shaping the policies and tactics of the American Labor movement are carefully evaluated.

The two methods of attack namely "boring from within" and "dual unionism", open to these groups come in for a searching analysis. The author points out that in the early history of the Labor Movement they were practiced "simultaneously and interchangeably" by the radical German elements that came to this country. Only in

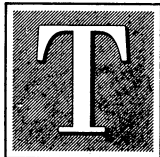
the late nineties after many and various experiences did they become crystallized into distinct and rivaling policies.

Two types of "boring from within" are recognized by the author. That which relies on education or propaganda for the accomplishment of its goal and that which depends on militancy. The former he relegates to minority groups which have no rank and file following and hence hope to influence the labor movement by converting "persons strategically located" to their point of view. The latter he attributes to minority groups having a large rank and file following to fall back upon and which are forced, in order to maintain the loyalty of such a following, to embrace militant measures.

In treating with dual unionism Mr. Saposs dispels the illusion so prevalent in this country that it is necessarily radical. Here again he recognizes two distinct types, "opportunistic dual unionism" and "ideological dual unionism". The former being dual unionism stimulated by practical differences and the latter being dual unionism stimulated by ideologic differences. The former is an outgrowth of the universal jurisdictional rights that an A. F. of L. charter confers upon National or International Unions. Very often such dual unions do not differ widely with the politics and tactics of the official labor movement. For this reason opportunistic dual unionism is peculiarly American and is not found in European countries. Ideologic dual unionism, on the other hand, is an outgrowth of a struggle "for ideologic control and domination" and is universal.

One closes the book with a feeling that a real contribution has been made to Labor Literature and also with the regret that the wealth of information contained in the book has not been developed somewhat more elaborately so that a wider public, those not possessed of a knowledge of the labor movement, may read it and enjoy it. For it is beyond any doubt a book that anyone interested in the labor movement at all, should read.

FIRE! *and* FACTS!



HOSE are the Weapons which will win for Labor. Those are the instruments which will batter the Employing Interests into submission.

LABOR AGE will furnish you and your local with both. We have no fears of the rotten *ugh-and-Mighties* who have tried to cow Labor during the past few years. BECAUSE: We know what pieces of tinsel their supposed power can prove to be—when attacked by determined Militancy.

We have no apologies to offer for Labor in face of the widespread "Open Shop" and Company Union propaganda. BECAUSE: We know that 90 per cent of this propaganda is a tissue of lies. AND WE PROVE IT!

A NEW ERA OF ORGANIZATION IS HERE!

Take advantage of it! Educate the unorganized! Hammer at the Employing Interests! Tell the Facts to Your Newspapers!

Make use of LABOR AGE in this campaign. We furnish the Information and Inspiration for such a Fight.

SUBSCRIBE FOR A YEAR. PASS A COPY ALONG TO YOUR FELLOWS. WATCH THE EFFECT. WE ARE DEDICATED TO A MILITANT AND INTELLIGENT FIGHT FOR THE TRIUMPH OF UNIONISM.

Labor Publication Society, Inc.,
3 West 16th Street,
New York City.

Herewith I enclose \$..... for..... subscription to LABOR AGE, to begin with the.....number.

(Name)

(Address)