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Labor Age

The National Monthly

A LOUD HA! HA!

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2. 54 or 48?
3. To the Negro

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The National Monthly

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The others have contributed frequently to our pages, and our readers know them well.

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

A Loud Ha! Ha!

Laugh at Difficulties—and Triumph



The Criminal

TYRANNY, like hell, is not easily conquered. Thomas Paine wrote that, in the dark days of 1777. Washington's army was fleeing through the Jerseys, before the sweep of Burgoyne. The Tories were rejoicing. It was this meteor spirit of the undying rebel which revived the hopes of those American revolutionists.

"Yet," cried he, "we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives everything its values. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods, and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated."

How well those words fit our day. That movement for New Freedom, the Labor Movement, is bitterly attacked. Anti-union corporations and tyrannical judges join in battering it. Faint hearted men and women fall by the way-side. Lethargy and defeatism are prevalent in many sections of the Movement. Fear and ignorance hamper and chain the unorganized. Company unionism continues to

make progress. Injunctions deprive the unions of effective action.

In Britain the workers face the jail that their forefathers entered, to secure the right of organization. The cartoon above—from the British "New Leader"—tells us that story. In the U. S. A. and Canada, it is much the same.

But we—what shall we do? Cower before these autocrats of the Judiciary? Tremble in our fear of Tyranny? By God, NO! If we have any manhood in us, our answer is that of Paine: "I thank God I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it."

Some of the way out—for us—is seen in the following pages. We must arouse the youth, says Muste. We must organize the Negro, advises Dabney. We must face such situations as that outlined by Collins for Rhode Island—and fight through to victory. Brothers, let us be like the war-horse of the Scriptures. He let out a great "Ha! Ha!" when he scented danger. That is the spirit that will win.

Appeal To Youth!

Arouse and Attract New Blood

By A. J. MUSTE

THERE are many countries in the world today in which one of the most striking and significant developments is a youth movement. In not a few instances this is a labor movement. China, India, Italy, several of the South American countries, Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, England, come to mind in this connection.

In certain spheres of our own American life there is a strong organization and movement of young people, in some cases at any rate, beginning to achieve distinctive and creative expression. Among the younger young people, there are, for example, the various kinds of Scout movements. Among the older young people there are the numerous church organizations and the student movement in the universities and colleges.

The American trade union movement has, according to all available figures, a relatively small proportion of young members and it has no young people's movement to speak of. The only semblance of a youth movement having any connection with American labor is in the extreme left wing movement.

American unions need a steady infusion of young people, need perhaps a youth movement of some sort. That any organization is in constant need of new blood, if it is not to stagnate and die, is so obvious that it is perhaps hardly worth saying it. We may note, however, that there are certain factors in the present situation, such as the steady loss in membership in some trade unions, the falling off in attendance at union meetings, the lack of enthusiasm, which are disturbing our most loyal and most conservative trade unionists.

Not only do our existing unions need young people and the contribution which they can make but it seems likely that we shall have to depend to a very considerable extent upon American labor youth to organize the unorganized. We frequently hear people calling desperately upon the American Federation of Labor to organize the basic industries. Doubtless the A. F. of L. has a responsibility for assisting organization work wherever opportunity may offer and is seeking means to meet that responsibility. We have to bear in mind, however, that the A. F. of L. is not primarily an instrument for organization purposes. Under our American plan, responsibility for organizing is placed primarily upon the international unions. In the case of many of our basic industries today, no international union, however, has clear jurisdiction. In other cases, jurisdictional lines are so hopelessly confused that it seems impossible to solve the difficulty except by some process of cutting the Gordian knot. In any event, every group of workers must in the last analysis organize itself. Nobody else can do the job for them. Organization, like liberty, is something that cannot be handed to people from without or above. It must be fought for and achieved.

If this is in some measure a correct view of the situation, then it would appear that in organizing the un-

organized, we are going to need a good many foot-loose young people who are not yet burdened with heavy personal or family responsibilities, who can afford to travel about, to lose their jobs frequently, as a penalty for attempting organization work, who can carry on various kinds of organizational work at small expense to the bodies that may sponsor their activities, who can afford to take risks, to go to jail, and so on.

The problem of utilizing the energies of our labor youth has to be approached from two angles. There is on the one hand the question of introducing new people from time to time into the leadership of our local, district, state, national and international labor organizations. And there is on the other hand the larger problem of utilizing the energies of the rank and file of our young people as a whole. In connection with the first, much might be learned from the practice of the great modern business enterprises. Not only is big business prepared to spend millions of dollars upon educational enterprises either of a general character or specialized schools of business administration, but there is a deliberate policy of encouraging young people of ability and initiative to rise in business organizations and all possible sources of supply are eagerly searched for such young people. Under our highly competitive modern conditions no big business enterprise would expect to survive on any other basis.

In connection with the second phase of the problem, that of enlisting the energies of the rank and file of young workers, it seems to me that we might profitably consider the possibility of developing something in the nature of a trade union or labor youth league. Religious, charitable and political organizations of all kinds have such auxiliary youth organizations and would not think of carrying on without them. It is true that a special difficulty needs to be guarded against in the case of the trade union since the trade union could not possibly tolerate anything in the nature of a dual organization that might attempt to take over the union's bargaining function. But while this is a danger to be considered, it hardly seems to be an insurmountable one. There is probably no inherent reason why a labor youth organization should displace the union any more than the numerous young peoples' religious organizations have in any sense displaced the churches with which they are affiliated.

In some such youth organization, young people would receive training in running a successful enterprise and might learn to correct many of the mistakes which otherwise they might perpetrate in later years in attempting to administer the affairs of the union itself. It would immensely strengthen the morale of the unions if thru their own organizations young people obtained a great deal of their recreation in connection with the union, instead of obtaining it from the boss through the company union, as is so often the case at the present time.

The workers' education movement would be strengthened and enriched if it were a spontaneous movement, rising from among young people eager for the training that would enable them to function in their own organizations. Furthermore, in connection with organization campaigns, strikes, civil liberties conflicts, there would be numerous practical services to the movement that young people could render.

So soon as we begin to talk about getting new blood into the movement, we encounter a certain resistance among us older people. Young people coming along in the various labor enterprises with which we are connected, often receive a cold reception or a hot one or a lukewarm one, but very seldom a warm and cordial one from us. We are afraid of losing our jobs. We dislike being disturbed in the routine way of doing things which we have developed. We are afraid of the bungling and the haste of young people, remembering the harm we wrought by bungling and haste in our own younger days. We are afraid of that thing in young people to which at the present time we usually apply the term bolshevism. That is to say, afraid of their rebelliousness, their ardor for better things, their willingness even to smash what already exists in order to get at something that seems better. All of these difficulties are perfectly real. Young people do, whether they realize it or not, often want to take older people's jobs away from them. It is human for them to think that they can improve upon their elders. It would be very unfortunate for the world if frequently it were not so. Young people do have a way of wanting to do things differently and so disturbing the routine. They do bungle many times; they are often in too much of a hurry and they are disposed to be rebellious, whether in a particular situation rebellion be needed or not.

Recognizing these difficulties does not, however, solve the problem. The fact remains that the labor movement, like any other movement, must choose one of three possibilities. First, either the movement uses the energies of youth, harnesses them to the work that needs to be done, or, second, the movement fails to attract young people and presently dies of dry rot, or, third, the movement having young people but failing to use them will in some way be rent asunder by the explosive energies of its own youth.

Don'ts for Youth

If, however, we thus encounter a psychological resistance among us older people which makes it difficult to achieve effective use of the energies of youth in the movement, it is also true that young people frequently complicate the problem unnecessarily. At the risk of being didactic and preachy, I venture to set down a few maxims which it seems to me are worthy of some consideration on the part of young people who want to be truly useful in the labor movement.

1. Don't be somebody who is going to do something To the labor movement. Be somebody who is going to be and do something IN the labor movement. In every union there are plenty of humble tasks to be done. Set about doing some of them, get people familiar with you, accustomed to seeing you as a part of the picture, before you put your own pet idea in the front window. Perhaps after you have been in the movement for some time you

may get the opportunity to do something to it if you still want to.

2. Don't get the Messiah or the Moses-lead-the-movement-out-of-the-wilderness complex. That may be all right if you happen to be a Moses, although I think that even Moses got away with it in spite of his complex and not because of it. People under fifty who try to tell people over fifty just how to run the world have simply never been popular.

3. Don't be in a hurry. Don't go off half-cocked. Some things have to grow; they can't be made. There are some things that you will be able to do after you have been in the movement for ten or twelve years that you could not do the first year, even if you were the greatest genius ever born.

4. Don't be a cry baby. A cry baby is anybody who quits trying. A cry baby is anyone who always finds someone else to blame except himself. When things go wrong and even your most honest efforts meet with opposition, don't always blame the A. F. of L. or the labor fakirs; blame yourself once in a while. There is no royal welcome awaiting you in the movement; you are not entitled to it. No seat is worth anything any way that is built for you by somebody else.

5. Don't become the clever fellow who plays the game from the side lines. Young people in the movement usually profess a very great disdain for the intellectual. It might be well to remember that the psychoanalysts tell us that if we develop a very bitter and blind hate for something it usually means that at the bottom of our hearts, we want to be that thing ourselves. Be in the game, take your part in the day to day work of the movement; don't play the game from the side lines.

6. Don't be a nut. A nut is someone who is so obsessed with his own idea that he doesn't see it in relation to other ideas nor in its effect on the people he is dealing with. He is the kind of person who can make a speech, for example, and keep right on talking even when everybody has left the hall. Don't become a nut about anything, not even about workers' education.

7. Don't play for the limelight all the time. There are still somethings that can't be done effectively in the limelight, such as making love or bringing up babies. Much of the important work of the movement, for example, has to be done quietly in committee meetings. There is no more misleading notion than the one a good many young people have, that the success of a cause depends upon the number of vehement speeches you can succeed in making about it.

8. Play for a chance to do work, not for a chance to exercise power, and do not forget that it is human nature many times to be seeking for power, when we think that we are only looking for a chance to work.

9. Don't be afraid of being called names. I don't tell you to be a bolshevik but I do tell you not to be afraid of being called one. On the other hand don't fall a prey to the hypnotism of words. Use your head; let your mind deal with realities, not with slogans. Don't be one of these people who throws a fit every time the A. F. of L. is mentioned or Moscow; every time someone says "class collaboration" or "class struggle."

10. Finally, and most important of all, don't become

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a cynic. Don't grow up; don't get old; don't settle down; don't lose your nerve, your gayety, your willingness to take a risk. People are supposed to acquire wisdom as they grow older. A good many of us acquire precious little wisdom but we do develop a disease which causes our minds to set and our hearts to grow stale, which makes us mental and spiritual skeletons or ghosts, even while we grow fat physically. The worst injury you can possibly do to yourself or to the movement is to let that happen to you. All the mistakes you could possibly make by haste, bungling, irreverence for

your elders and the other supposed shortcomings of youth, could not possibly be as devastating. You should not get fired out of your union if you can help it. You shouldn't get thrown into jail, if you can help it. You shouldn't fail, if you can help it. But it would be infinitely better to be fired out of your union, to be thrown into jail, and to fail in the world's estimation than to lose that burning thing in you which is of the essence of life—your nerve, your gayety, your determination at every cost to build a better movement and a better world than now is.

54 or 48 ?

The Issue in Rhode Island

By GEO. L. COLLINS

"NOTICE

"We are very sorry to be obliged to inform the operatives of the Social Mill that inasmuch as we have apparently failed to get their cooperation in our efforts to improve its operating conditions we are obliged to discontinue operating this mill.

"Manville Jenckes Company.

"By F. J. Jenckes, President."

AS the 1,200 employees of the Social Mill in Woonsocket, R. I., came to work Monday evening, February 21st they were greeted by the above notice and at once went out on strike in protest at the abrupt action of the company.

The firm has cotton mills not only in Woonsocket but in Pawtucket, Manville and Georgiaville, R. I., and in North Carolina. Only the Social Mill and that in Manville had been operating on a 48-hour week. For the others 54 hours was the rule. At the Manville mill in the spring of last year the management labored to convert the workers to the 54-hour week. A committee of operatives was sent to Pawtucket where the longer week was in effect, and the members of this committee were presented with attractive bed covers. The loom fixers who had been organized previously were offered time and a half for the six hours overtime involved in the 54 hour week. But these attractions failed, the shorter schedule was retained and the workers flocked into the United Textile Workers until the mill was solidly organized.

"Selling" the Longer Work-Week

In the early fall at the Social Mill a campaign for union affiliation was not under way. Though it was opposed by the management who discharged some of the leaders, the movement rapidly grew in strength. Here, too, the company sought to sell the 54-hour week to the workers. A manager had been secured who is reported to have said that his especial job was to attain that end. But the men and women in the mill apparently knew all they cared to know about the longer week and the company again was rebuffed. A new tack was then taken. The president of the company came to Woonsocket and asked

the Chamber of Commerce to appoint a committee of citizens to consider the company's problems in relation to the Social Mill. Nine business men were selected who met with a committee of fifty workers appointed by the mill superintendent. As the Chamber of Commerce went into the situation they failed to urge on the operatives the longer week. As presumably that was the goal which the company hoped they would achieve, the president without notice to them or to the workers posted the above notice of shut down, and announced that the mill was for sale.

A week later the employees of the Globe mill, the other local plant operated by the company, went out on strike in sympathy, though but a small proportion were organized and their weekly schedule was 54 hours. In increased numbers they began to affiliate with the United Textile Workers and presented demands for a 12½ per cent increase in wages and the 48-hour week, which the company rejected.

The company justifies its action for the longer week because it claims to be losing money under present circumstances. It, of course, is not hard to show that the market for cotton goods is below normal, both because women are wearing so much other material, and because the total quantity they demand is considerably less than in the past. But company officials also hold that labor has been largely withholding efficiency in the plant recently closed.

Workers Indict Management

On the other hand, the workers direct attention to some faults of management. They point out the way the new manager summarily discharged old workers and overseers, no doubt seeking efficiency but undermining the confidence of the workers in the management and seriously damaging the morale of the whole mill. They are convinced that much of the machinery is so ancient that they cannot compete on terms approaching equality with other mills, and that the organization of the plant for production is antiquated and faulty. Their leaders are making them familiar with the report of Hoover's committee on "Waste in Industry", which states that Northern textile mills are achieving only 50 per cent

"VON LINDENBERGH"

Thoughts on the Mob, June 13, 1927

HIS son is received with thundering acclaim. No hero was ever given such triumph by New York as he. Alone, he had conquered the air. Such is the stuff that pioneers are made of.

The father, too, was a pioneer. He fought for the workers and the farmers—for Job's "poor common people." He opposed the letting of the blood of our young men in Morgan's recent war. The same mob who now hail the son, would have torn the father to pieces in New York's streets—had the newspapers demanded it. They taunted him, as it was. They showered him with abuse. They dubbed him "Von Lindenberg" as a term of reproach.

The mob did not applaud the younger Lindbergh for his daring deed. Were that the cause of their enthusiasm, they would long ago have placed on high those heroes from their own ranks who have dared to THINK in a pioneering way. The mob

was there, rejoicing, because the newspapers had commanded them to be there. It was the same mob which had greeted with hymns a Nazarene carpenter one Sunday morning and crucified him before the week was overwith.

The crowd FEELS but does not THINK. That is why we proceed so slowly with moral progress. That is why our great inventions do not mean more for our common good. What more noble, though thorny, way lies ahead for us than the education in thinking of enough alert members of the crowd—to hold it in the way of its own welfare! The education of alert leaders among the mass of the people is the crying need of the hour. Education, in ways of peace as against mass slaughter; in ways of freedom, as against the industrial feudalism which now prevails over the world; in ways of intelligent revolt, in place of the cowardly resignation which now makes the mass the servants and playthings of unscrupulous masters.

of their full possible efficiency and which says definitely that "Management then, appears to be responsible for considerably more than half of all the waste discovered while labor seems to be a contributing factor in approximately a tenth of the total." As evidence in support of these contentions they are able to point to a concern like the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company of Salem, Mass., which after a disastrous fire several years ago installed new machinery, works the 48-hour week (as required by Massachusetts), cooperates cordially with the union, and in times that are not of the best, is thoroughly prosperous.

In the present controversy the union has wasted little breath in calling down imprecations on the Manville Jenckes Company. It has, however, widely broadcast something of its financial history, which, according to an article in the PROVIDENCE NEWS in August 1923 and not denied by the company, is the following story of huge over-capitalization.

The present concern is a consolidation of two companies, the Jenckes Spinning Company and the Manville Company. The former concern in 1917 had outstanding \$3,300,000 in common stock and in that year a stock dividend of \$300,000 was issued. Profits continued to be satisfactory and in 1921 a stock dividend of \$1,800,000 was presented to the stockholders making a total capitalization in common stock of \$5,400,000, with \$3,594,000 of preferred. When the consolidation of 1923 was put through \$6,000,000 of additional stock was given to the shareholders making their holdings of common stock in the new company \$12,000,000 of which something less than \$3,300,000 represented actual investment in the original Jenckes pinning Co.

"Profits" of Consolidation

The stockholders of the Manville Company also fared well in the consolidation. On each share of common stock which they held, in total value about \$9,000,000,

they were given a share and a third each and in addition 59/100 of a share of new preferred. Thus their holdings of \$11,300,000 in common and preferred stock in the Manville Company were transmuted into \$19,594,000 of stock in the new Manville Jenckes Company without the addition of a dollar in actual cash. Before the consolidation, then, the total stock in the two companies was \$20,294,000—a generous proportion of which originally represented nothing but water. Immediately after the profitable union of the two concerns, the stock had expanded to something over \$35,000,000. The company can say that those days of fat profits are behind. But the workers feel keenly that they cannot be expected to labor longer hours at notoriously low wages to make good the dividends on heavily watered stock.

The situation however at present in Woonsocket leaves the workers temporarily defeated. The Social Mill remains closed though the operatives do not believe the company's statement that it is shut down for good. The workers in the Globe Mill have gone back to work driven by hunger and by the conviction that further struggling now is useless. Poverty in Woonsocket is obvious to the casual observer. Ill kept children play on the sidewalks. Dingy gray tenements of antique design crowd around the mills. It is one of those towns where absentee ownership has drained for years a population that is 60 per cent French-Canadian, largely French speaking and divided by racial and religious differences.

But the drive of the Manville Jenckes Company toward longer hours with wage cuts in an already inadequate scale is beginning to force its workers together. They may build a stronger union. If that happens what will the management do—fight the union, reluctantly recognize it, or actively cooperate with it? If the latter is done perhaps the resulting esprit de corps would enable the company to maintain or even increase production with the humanly desirable 48 hour week.

Bringing The Message to The Negro

In The Cradle of Liberty

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

PHILADELPHIA is a notorious open shop city. Both culturally and politically it has fallen far below the level it once held in American history and trade unionism. Having become the center of American democracy (what little we had) in 1776 and the Labor movement in 1827, Philadelphia has in recent years degenerated into the stronghold of conservatism and incompetence in politics and indifference and decadence in trade unionism. Consequently, organizing efforts among all workers are most difficult and unpromising.

So far as organizing work is concerned, Philadelphia is suffering from three general unfavorable conditions: poor industrial conditions, unsatisfactory race relations among the workers, and poor working class leadership. Because the industrial situation is poor there is keen competition among all workers; and as is the general rule this competition tends to head up in group competition along racial lines. Unionizing efforts are made more difficult by the open shop movement sponsored by the employers. The disorganized Negro workers and white workers and, in some cases, the organized white workers and the disorganized Negro workers have opposed each other, the latter playing the role of scabs. On the other hand, white workers have deliberately fostered scabbing among Negro workers by resorting to every trick conceivable to keep Negroes out of the unions and out of certain jobs which they covet for themselves. There are cases where white trade unionists have done everything in their power to oust their Negro brothers from jobs which they wished to preserve for their white brothers!

The War — and After

In Philadelphia, as elsewhere in America, it has been the policy of white workers—particularly those in the unions—to keep Negro workers out of the best paying and skilled trades. White trade unionists have always feared the competition of Negro workers, and they have zealously guarded their privileged position. When the war came, however, conditions were changed, and Philadelphia Negroes secured jobs which only white workers could get before the war. As a result of the war, organizers had a wonderful success in building up trade unions. Negro workers were not only accepted in the unions, but they were urged to join.

Following the war production fell off rapidly, the volume of business decreased, and unemployment ensued. These conditions had a tremendous effect upon race relations in the trade unions and among the workers of both races generally. As there were not enough jobs for trade union members, justice in the matter of placing union members on jobs was often left to the discretion and honesty of trade union officials. In unions with a

mixed membership discrimination against Negro members was almost invariably the rule. The writer secured some information on this point from a reliable source regarding the experience of some of the Negro members of one of the carpenters' locals of Philadelphia. At this particular local white and Negro carpenters used to gather day after day in the hope of getting jobs. Three, four and five white carpenters were sent out on jobs daily, but practically no Negro carpenters got work. From the viewpoint of membership in this local every ten carpenters sent out on jobs should have included one Negro carpenter. The policy of the local, however, was that of placing all of the white carpenters first, if possible, and giving Negro carpenters jobs if any were left. Naturally, such a selfish policy engendered suspicion and distrust among the Negro carpenters.

Anything to Get Jobs

In a certain degree this policy was followed by all unions in Philadelphia with a mixed membership, following the war. Among disorganized workers this attitude took the form of general opposition on the part of white workers against Negro workers. By 1922 Negro workers were forced to follow any policy which would land them jobs. In some cases it was through scabbing, in others by concerted efforts to get into the unions, and lastly by organizing separate Negro unions or locals. In most cases, however, Negro workers promoted their group interests by taking the part of employers. A classical example of this is the incident connected with the construction of the Fox Theatre in 1923. The contractors were rushing the job through so that the scheduled grand opening would not be delayed, when a strike of the dissatisfied white plasterers threatened to hold up the work. The contractors, anxious to finish the job on scheduled time and unwilling to accede to the wage demands of the striking plasterers, went in search for Negro plasterers. Negro plasterers were secured, and they completed the job within the stipulated time. Since that year these contractors have continued to employ some Negro plasterers in addition to white plasterers.

It would be misleading, however, to play up the racial factor as the most fundamental one against successful organizing work among Philadelphia Negro workers. At bottom the poor success of trade unionism among Negro workers in Philadelphia is due to poor industrial conditions. The bosses have the upper hand and they are determined to keep it. Employment is abnormal; business is rotten and competition among the workers is keen and relentless. The morale of the workers is low, hence they are inclined to let conditions remain just as they are. In addition to the general apathy among the workers, many trade union leaders seem to be apathetic and indifferent.

So far as Negro leaders are concerned I do not know one here in Philadelphia who is genuinely interested in the problems of Negro workers. If they know little about trade unionism, they care less. Every effort started in behalf of Negro workers is regarded by many so-called Negro leaders as a bid to Negro workers to embrace communism. Like Calvin Coolidge they lie awake at night finding haunts of the possible spread of red propaganda among the American workers.

Leadership of Own Choosing

Negro workers in Philadelphia are in a rather peculiar situation. With no real leaders among the old line trade unionists, no sympathetic and intelligent leaders in their race, and no competent, militant, and organized comrades among the white workers, Negro workers can rely upon only one hope—the hope of developing among themselves a courageous and intelligent leadership of their own choosing. These leaders will have to build up a strong economic organization to foster unionism among Negro workers, unless Negro workers are satisfied to await the slow development of industrial conditions to the point where the general economic situation will be in their favor as a racial group. Such a procrastinating policy, however, is undesirable. The organizing of the workers and the cooperation of Negro workers with white workers should be consciously and systematically done. Blind and forced action is too costly; it leaves in operation old, narrow, and prejudiced ideas of race and class that militate against real and healthy cooperation between Negro and white workers.

Negro workers of Philadelphia cannot afford to wait for a change of attitude on the part of their white fellow workers. If white workers were class conscious and trade union to the core, they would not be imbued with race hatred and color prejudice as they are. While the situation is so unsatisfactory as regards Negro leaders and white trade union leaders, it is encouraging to note the gradual rise of leaders among the most militant groups of Negro workers in Philadelphia. Brother William N. Jones, financial secretary of Local 1116 of the International Longshoremen's Association, possesses the real qualities of a working class leader. The organizing of Local 1116 was no easy task. Through hard work and determined effort Brother Jones, with the help of the most militant longshoremen, succeeded in reorganizing the local last December. This local has a membership of 2,500, or about 90 per cent of all the longshoremen excepting the 3,000 employed in the coast-wise trade. The Negro members of Local 1116 comprise about 90 per cent of the total membership. Plans are in operation to organize the coast-wise men.

Ladies Garment Workers' Good Work

Another instance of the development of leadership among the working class of Philadelphia is that of the work of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Fortunately, the garment workers were successful in securing a colored organizer who is particularly

qualified to do this work. Mrs. Emma Thompson is proving herself a real leader of the Negro garment workers. When one remembers that about 1,000 colored women are now employed in the garment industry in Philadelphia, one can readily see the need and value of a good colored organizer and leader for these colored women workers. Mrs. Thompson is just the sort of leader that is needed for this work. The organizing of the colored garment workers came about as a by-product of a threatened strike of the garment workers last winter. When the situation between the I. L. G. W. U. and the bosses was about to precipitate a strike, attention was soon focussed on the colored women as possible strike-breakers. The I. L. G. W. U., with the cooperation of Mr. Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association, began a campaign to organize the colored garment workers. A Citizens' Committee, organized by Mr. Washington, gave the campaign its moral support. As a result of this campaign, a great many of the colored workers were organized and the strike averted. Most of the credit for this work is due to Mr. Washington of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and Mrs. Emma Thompson of the I. L. G. W. U.

There are other examples in Philadelphia which show the tendency of Negro workers to develop their own leaders. The Public Waiters' Association, organized in 1903, has a membership of 150. Although this Association has done little to organize all the men, it has been of great economic and financial aid to its members. There is also a colored local of carpenters officered by Negroes. This local has only 150 members. The cement finishers' local has 200 colored members; and its business agent is colored. Some of the Negro unions of Philadelphia are merely associations with a small and well-nigh insignificant membership. They have never been well organized and do not contain a large enough per cent of the men of their trade to give them authority to act for the workers of the trade. This is one of the handicaps of the Red Caps and Railroad Employees' Association, organized in 1921. This Association, headed by Mr. Cornelius Thompson, has a membership of 125, less than one-third of all the red caps and cleaners in Philadelphia. The Association hopes, nevertheless, to organize the workers, especially the red caps, throughout the country when conditions are more favorable for such work.

The time is fast approaching in Philadelphia when Negro workers and white workers must disregard the old, foolish notions of race and color held by their ignorant parents. The greedy bosses are organized; the workers are unorganized. The bosses are realists; they are after profits and they will use either race against the other to make money. The workers are sentimentalists; they fight each other and worship that ethereal, superficial thing called race. It is time for the workers of Philadelphia to face realities. Negro workers are gradually being converted to trade unionism, and they will begin more and more to throw in their lot with the Labor movement. But in this movement they need the good wishes and the cooperation of the white workers. Will the white workers give their moral and financial support toward the organizing of their fellow workers?

The Great Northern Co. Union

Aping Real Unionism

By ROBERT W. DUNN

SOME of the most vigorous company unions—"independent associations", the employers call them—have been created on the Great Northern Railway, particularly among the shop craft employees. The stationary engine employees, mechanics, supervisors, yard masters, telegraph and telephone electricians and dining car workers are also in these "independent associations" which sign agreements with the road. However, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in 1926 blocked an attempt of the company to run that class of workers into a company union formed by some expelled unionists and known during its brief existence as the "System Protective Association of Clerks, Freight Handlers and other Office, Station and Store Employees."

The signalmen were also successful in defeating a company union on this road in 1925. In a ballot arranged by the Railroad Labor Board, the trade union secured 78 votes as against 45 cast for the company union. But in 1926 company agents again stirred up the signalmen and they were swept into an "independent" known as the Signalmen's Association of the Great Northern Railway. In the hearings before the Labor Board in 1925 it was admitted by company officials that they had accompanied company union organizers over the lines when they were signing up members in the company association. It was charged at the time by President D. W. Helt of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen that at least minor company officials had expressed their intention "to eliminate all national and international labor organizations on the Great Northern Railroad."

The Associated Organizations of Shop Craft Employees is the liveliest company union on the road. It is about five years old. Its preamble states, "The interest of our members and our employer being mutual, we recognize the necessity of cooperation, and it is the aim of the organization to cultivate a spirit of harmony between them upon a basis of equity and justice."

That Check-Off

The organization has a dues check-off arrangement with the road and members are not permitted to join any other association such as an A. F. of L. union. It is organized on a lodge basis, somewhat similar to that of the regular railroad brotherhoods and has grand lodges, system chairmen, adjustment boards and even "ladies auxiliaries." The social and entertainment side of lodge membership is specially emphasized.

Under the Grand Lodge Constitution the general-secretary-treasurer is authorized at his discretion to issue "a small snappy pamphlet" to be sent to members quarterly. The motto of this periodical, which is more slangy than it is either small or snappy, is, "Boost the Road You are Working for. Work on the Road you are Boosting for." This SHOP CRAFT GOSSIP as it is called is all that the name implies. It carries long reports of the travels of

the company union officials much in the style of a trade union journal. It is full of fight against the A. F. of L. unions. After the convention of the A. F. of L. in 1926 when a national assessment was voted to wage the battle against all company unions, SHOP CRAFT GOSSIP observed in an editorial dealing with the forthcoming shop craft company union elections: "The Old Unions have set aside \$250,000 to break us up. So be sure your vote is for men who are capable of keeping this Association just what it is today." In other words—vote for your present leaders and they will see to it that your company union is preserved from the attacks of the A. F. of L.

The "Spotter"

The secretary-treasurer of the organization, who declares his body is "the best labor organization on any railroad in the United States," has been charged in hearings before the Railroad Labor Board in 1924 with having long been a "spotter" for a detective agency in the employ of the Great Northern. He had also been formerly a local officer of the International Association of Machinists (See LABOR, Sept. 19, 1925), and had returned to work as a strikebreaker before the close of the strike of 1922. The evidence presented to the Labor Board at the time also showed that after the shop craft strike ended on the Great Northern that coercion and intimidation were used in forcing workers to join the company union, and that many who refused were summarily dismissed from the service. It was shown that association officials sent out instructions to their lodges telling them how to bring pressure to make every worker sign up, and thus achieve a closed shop for the company union. A prominent international officer of the International Association of Machinists told the writer, "All the members of the A. F. of L. shop crafts unions who refused to join the company union were discharged."

Fighting the Howell-Barkley Bill

The officials of this Great Northern "independent association" were the leading spirits in a convention of railway company unions held at St. Louis in September, 1925, chiefly to consolidate these independent associations to help the railroad companies in their fight against the Howell-Barkley railroad bill proposed at that time by the A. F. of L. and the standard railroad brotherhoods. Although it was charged at the time that another purpose of the convention was to effect a federation between the various railway company unions, the letter calling the meeting specifically stated, "It's beyond consideration, as the success of our Association lies in the fact that we deal directly between employer and employe and always will." To federate the company unions would be to violate the cardinal principle of these associations, i. e., "independence" from all other bodies of workers. Indeed, an interesting sidelight on this con-

ference call was the fact that certain railroad managements refused to permit their company union officers to attend! At which SHOP CRAFT GOSSIP declared with a superior air: "An Association that can't allow its officers to meet with the officers of other Independent Associations and *openly* discuss any subjects of interest, must have little confidence in their abilities."

The St. Louis conference, it will be remembered, was attended by 52 delegates representing 77,000 shop craft workers, but of these, 30 delegates representing 51,000 shopmen were from the Pennsylvania Lines, where company unions have been flourishing under the iron hand of the railroad Mussolini—W. W. Atterbury.

There seemed to be no agreement among the delegates as to the best form of company union to install among railroad shop workers. The Pennsylvania delegates were continually defending their inside "committee" system while the others including the Great Northern delegates stood by their "direct labor organization" system with lodges and semi-independent treasuries, etc. A resolu-

tion, introduced by the Great Northern delegates, recommending "that all independent associations should be organized along the principles of direct membership representation" had to be withdrawn because of the opposition of the Pennsylvanians. Commenting on this action and the "representation system" in force on the Pennsylvania, the Great Northern secretary-treasurer said: "On the Eastern and Central Section and Altoona shops, they have absolutely no voice in the management and handling of the organization. They hold no meetings, consequently have no lodges and are not in a position to express themselves unitedly at the various points on any subject."

Thus one company union attacks another, declaring its system to be infinitely superior to that on the lines of the other road! The Great Northern Association, incidentally, has shown a great interest in the development of company unions on other roads and has hailed the birth and growth of new "independents" on the Northern Pacific, the Soo Line, the Santa Fe, and the Union Pacific.

How They Do It!

Getting Out Anti-Unionism

By THE SAME AUTHOR

IN connection with their battles against organized labor, the employers' associations have issued a vast amount of pamphlet literature, too extensive to be reviewed or even mentioned in an article of this length. It may be useful, however, to note a few of the periodical publications issued, circulated, or endorsed by some of these associations. Some are official organs; others are private undertakings edited by men who are active in association work. Some have a merely local or trade influence; others are general employers' organs speaking for national industrial and financial interests. Some are circulated privately, or go only to members of associations; others may be purchased on the newsstands all over the country.

A common type of periodical is one heartily endorsed by the late NEW YORK COMMERCIAL when it declared that trade and business organizations, as a whole, "are doing more to carry the message of the need for sound government and sane business methods to the people than are the majority of the newspapers. Most of the trade and business organizations furnish their members a weekly bulletin containing brief data which are both informative and educational." The Commercial refers to the BULLETIN of the Federated Industries of Washington and quotes approvingly one of its editorials; then continues, "When one stops to consider that each trade or business organization has from 200 to 2,000 members . . . the good that is resulting from their weekly bulletins, which reach business men direct, and are carefully read, is apparent."

Some of these bulletins are issued monthly or semi-monthly. One of the monthlies is the EMPLOYERS NEWS of the Employers' Association of Chicago. It runs brief paragraph clippings detailing the iniquities of

trade unions. It usually carries a front page editorial assault on unionism. A similar publication is FREEDOM IN EMPLOYMENT, issued monthly by the Milwaukee Employers' Council, which is organized to combat the Socialists in that city. Another is the ASSOCIATED EMPLOYERS' DICEST of the Associated Employers of Indianapolis. There are also in similar form the BULLETINS of the Citizens' Alliances of St. Paul, Duluth, and Minneapolis. They deal largely with the activities of unions, quotations from Mr. Andrew Mellon, material on the high cost of strikes, membership items, and general anti-union propaganda. The INDUSTRIAL BAROMETER of the Employers' Association of Detroit is particularly vigilant against the organization of the auto workers, while the DETROIT SATURDAY NIGHT is a more general publication edited by a prominent member of the local employers' association and devoting one large issue annually to an exaltation of the open shop.

The Industrial Association of San Francisco issues a small monthly magazine called THE AMERICAN PLAN and also a bulletin, AMERICAN PLAN PROGRESS, devoted to its war on the unions of that city. The AMERICAN PLAN NEWS is the official monthly paper of the Industrial Association of Santa Clara County, Cal., with 3,000 circulation. It carries on its masthead the emblem: "Square Deal to All—Liberty and Justice—Americanism." Below this one finds the usual attacks on union organizers, "don't patronize" paragraphs, and praises of the open shop. This paper is devoted chiefly to attacks on building trades unions.

The annual report of this Industrial Association for 1925, printed in the NEWS, tells us that it has been instrumental in helping "to counteract the influence of the radical weekly paper that the local unions issue, which

constantly advocates governmental ownership of all public utilities and confiscation of all private industry on socialist lines." This broad charge of "radicalism" seems to be frequently brought by employers' associations against local papers issued even by the most conservative unions affiliated to the A. F. of L.!

The Associated Industries of Spokane, Washington, issues one of the weekly bulletins praised by the *NEW YORK COMMERCIAL*. Its economic and political philosophy may be judged by an editorial on "The Right to Work," in which it calls a strike—any regular trade union suspension of work—"a means of coercion contravening the natural order . . . directed, despite protestations, against the public good." Hence it is "thereby against the Government." This Spokane *BULLETIN*, besides directing its fire against the local trade unions, is also accustomed to comment on broader subjects, especially if they remotely concern the hated "reds." On the Sacco-Vanzetti case, it observed:

"They are guilty of murder, and should be punished . . . there has been a free use of the bomb by their defenders . . . and these two men, guilty by every proper angle of court procedure are the two on behalf of whom the American Federation of Labor has passed a resolution urging they be given a new trial."

The *BULLETIN* of the Associated Industries of Kentucky is perhaps a little less vehement in its anti-union pronouncements; but the *INDUSTRIAL DIGEST*, a monthly of the Utah Associated Industries, key organization of the American Plan-Open Shop Conference (See *LABOR AGE*, December, 1926) is all but hysterical in its fear of the union, La Folletism, and other movements which it believes threaten the Federal Constitution. An example of this fear and horror may be found in almost any issue of the *DIGEST*. The employers are cautioned to beware of the "soothing syrup poured out by Mr. Green" of the A. F. of L. They are told that ANY KIND OF UNIONISM "fortifies class consciousness," that employers are, and should be, "the natural leaders of labor," and that "New York is the laughing stock and by-word throughout the country" because the building trades are better organized there than elsewhere—including Utah.

The Associated Industries of Massachusetts issues a milder brand of anti-trade unionism in its weekly, *INDUSTRY*, devoted chiefly to legislative rather than industrial attacks on labor. The *MONITOR*, official monthly of the Associated Industries of New York state, carries the usual attacks on the "red menace" involved in state old age pensions, the minimum wage, health insurance, the shorter hour week, and similar legislation. The Associated Industries of New York are among the most unscrupulous of the employers' associations, working against all humanitarian legislation proposed by labor.

Still other local associations, like the Employers' Association of Kansas City, issue regular mimeographed letters to members. The Kansas City body mails "every two weeks 5,000 two-page letters on general labor conditions and our ideas relative to what should be the conditions between Employer and Employee." This particular association seems to have had less success than some others in influencing the local press to take a firm stand against unionism. In one of its letters, the secretary complains to the membership and asks, "Have our

business men and large advertisers no influence over Editors and Owners of the local press. . . . The writer is thoroughly satisfied that if a few of our leading business men and large advertisers will call upon our Editors in a body, they will not only be given a most respectful audience, but their appeals will be given the greatest and most reasonable consideration." In another letter in 1926, the secretary writes, "If we could only bridle this press and direct its efforts in the interests of 'Freedom in Employment' (the anti-union shop.—Ed.) thousands, yes, millions of dollars could be annually preserved to owners and promoters of construction in this vicinity . . . cannot our large advertisers speak to the Press?"

This somewhat unusual spectacle of an association lamenting the weakness of employers' influence over the local press is probably due to the fact that a "united front" of employers is not yet achieved in Kansas City. The Chamber of Commerce is apparently inclined to be more conciliatory toward organized labor. This lack of harmony in policy between local groups of employers is rare. It is most likely to exist in cities where the building trades unions have come to an understanding with one group or another. In fact, it is not uncommon for two separate associations of employers in the same industry to be working at cross-purposes, one attempting to get an agreement with the unions and the other attempting to establish a completely non-union situation in the trades.

A similar instance of friction has existed in Cleveland between the supermilitant American Plan Association and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Though both are committed to the Open Shop, the former is more aggressive in its advocacy and ruthless in the methods of establishing it. However, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has contributed its quota to the current anti-union literature. It has issued a series of letters addressed to members every week or two. It has also issued pamphlets on the Open Shop. Although not as vehement in its denunciation of unionism as the other Cleveland association, it has agreed that the city's reputation is suffering through the spread of "La Follette radicalism" and "closed shop building trades unionism." The *DETROITER*, published weekly by the Detroit Board of Commerce, is no less violent in its editorials against the American Federation of Labor. Practically every community has one or more of these local association organs devoted primarily to opposing labor unionism even of the most conservative brand.

The national employers' associations also have their publications. For example, the National Founders Association and the National Metal Trades Association publish jointly a monthly magazine called the *OPEN SHOP REVIEW*. Their purpose is to get this journal into the hands of as many workers as possible. Possibly 20,000 have been reached at the circulation high-water mark. The *REVIEW* is full of sermons on the terrors of the union shop, exhortations to work, exposures of radicals, cartoons from reactionary daily papers, such as the *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, editorial comments such as, "Stand by the Open Shop Coal Mines" (March, 1924), and reports of the annual conventions of the two employers' associations responsible for the journal. In one issue,

WILL "POPULAR OWNERSHIP" BECOME UNPOPULAR?

General Motors President Foresees Trouble

IT is President Alfred P. Sloan of the General Motors Corporation who is speaking. It is "popular ownership"—lately so highly touted as a substitute for public-workers ownership—of which he speaks. There is trouble ahead out of the wide diffusion of stocks among the "peepul".

Mr. Sloan's fears are that too many stock-holders will weaken management, and make it less "virile" than it might have been. We see no occasion for such fears. Dr. William Z. Ripley has rather shown that things are shaping up in an opposite direction. Management is so decisively "virile" in its own interest that stock-holders of the "public" and worker variety have no show. They merely put their money in the hands of other men, for them to handle in the welfare of the small management and banking group.

This much can be said: The diffusion of stock

among small holders is ushering in no millenium. It is chaining the workers to their jobs. It is short-circuiting the vigilance of the consumer. There may be a day when it will prove a boomerang. Should "prosperity" cease—as it will gradually—there may develop a rebellion of stock-holders. Their disunity will be a grave handicap, even then. But probably, by that time, the corporation interests will have diverted us into another war. The SATURDAY EVENING POST's heavy play on "patriotism" and Imperialism is paving the way for just such an unhappy conclusion.

So far as workers and public are concerned, there has been no substitute for public ownership of utilities with workers' control. So far as immediate labor relationships go, stock ownership and the other trimmings have proved poor ameliorants for the lack of militant unionism.

Mr. William W. Coleman, president of the National Metal Trades Association, describes the eleven billion dollar investment in the metal industry, the 30,000 plants involved, the 2,000,000 people working in it. He exults in the fact that "it is the one great industry of our country which is operated almost exclusively upon the principle of the Open Shop." To accomplish this it operates an elaborate blacklist and labor spy system.

The OPEN SHOP BULLETIN of the National Association of Manufacturers is issued every two or three months and is circulated only among members. It carries anti-union articles and highly inaccurate reports on such strikes as the one at Passaic in 1926. In spite of the many lies and half-truths contained in this particular article, it was used as an authentic document by the heads of some of the Passaic mills, who recommended it to investigators as containing the employers' side in the strike.

There are, of course, a number of general employers' journals edited privately by the unofficial spokesman for associations and for large corporate interests. Among these are the MANUFACTURERS NEWS, representing the Illinois Manufacturers' Association; the PENNSYLVANIA MANUFACTURERS JOURNAL, which features the anti-red essays of Mr. Joseph Cashman, a professional patriot and head of the Civil Legion. The associate editors of this journal are connected with the Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia, and the Waynesboro Manufacturers' Association. Another important journal, influential chiefly in the South, is the MANUFACTURERS RECORD of Baltimore. It is one of the most militantly reactionary magazines of its kind in the United States. It fights every sort of union and considers the building trades union leaders "radical." It speaks of organized labor as "probably the most aggressive, most oppressive, most dictatorial and most brutal alliance in the land." It is continually attacking the Federal Council of

Churches of Christ in America for "encouraging ministers to preach on everything except the one thing to which the minister's life should be dedicated, and that is the Gospel of Jesus Christ to save men." It is strong for the old-time religion and believes that the pulpit is giving "too much attention to the discussion of economic and political affairs."

Its preachings to labor are contained in a typical article by the director of the U. S. Junior Naval Reserve, entitled, "An American Flag on Every American Factory." The writer declaims:

"Every worker in an American factory must understand that he is as truly a defender of the Republic as ever was the man who fought under the stars and stripes at the battle field. There was no peace for slackers in the camp and trench; there is now no peace for slackers at the lathe and loom. It is time to undertake a crusade to impress on the employees in every branch of our industrial production their vital connection with the enduring prosperity of our country.

The MANUFACTURERS RECORD is undoubtedly one of the most interesting of the class-conscious employers' journals published anywhere in the world today.

A few other employer organs should be included in any list of vigorous defenders of capitalism and the American Plan. Among these are LAW AND LABOR, issued by the League for Industrial Rights, and specializing in the legal war on labor; the NATION'S BUSINESS, popular journal issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; the COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CHRONICLE, a private enterprise which believes that all mining strikes for the last 25 years have been "hold-ups." Besides these there are the scores of special industrial and trade publications, such as COAL AGE and RAILWAY AGE, that speak for the organized employers in their particular fields.

The American Scene IN CARTOON AND POSTER



N. Y. Telegram

Big Special Meeting For All Botany Workers

THERE ARE THREE BIG QUESTIONS

Which all of us **BOTANY WORKERS** Must discuss at once.

Question No. 1

It has come to our notice that some of the Botany bosses are trying to bring back to life that old dead mule—company unionism. Everybody knows what a company union is. It is a **BUNK** union. The company union is a union that teaches you to be satisfied with everything the boss wants. The less wages you get the more you ought to be satisfied—is what the company union says. The company union is for big profits for the stockholders, dry bread for the workers. We must discuss **COMPANY UNIONISM** at this special meeting. In the meantime, do not vote for company union delegates in the mill. Do not go to company unions' meetings.

Question No. 2

How about **OUR OWN UNION**, the United Textile Workers of America? We now have **SIX OF OUR OWN UNIONS**, real workers' unions, in Passaic and vicinity. These **SIX UNIONS** are run by the workers that belong to them, not by the foremen in the mills. The United Textile Workers of America unions are organized to defend the workers, to settle their complaints in the mills, to help them gain better living conditions. All workers who now belong to our unions **WILL STICK WITH THEM**. Do you **BELONG**? Come to the **BIG SPECIAL MEETING AND JOIN**.

Question No. 3

OUT OF WORK! NO JOB! LAID OFF! This is what every worker is afraid of. Because if a worker has no work he can not buy anything to eat. Thousands are out of work in this textile district. And the mills are now laying off workers by the hundreds. What will become of all the workers who are out of work? Where will they get food for their families? How will they pay their rent? All of us workers must get together and talk this over.

COME TO THE BIG SPECIAL MEETING

ROBERT DUNN

Civil Liberties Union

LOUIS BUDENZ

Editor, "Labor Age"

AND OTHERS WILL SPEAK AND GENERAL DISCUSSION WILL FOLLOW.

We challenge any mill foreman or company union expert to debate.

All workers who now work in Botany, all who have recently been laid off,

All who used to work in Botany are invited to come.

UKRAINIAN HALL, 212 President St., Passaic

Thursday April 21 at 7:30 P. M.



Labor Defender

Cal goes West. Our chief strikebreaker knows his onions—and his geography. Western farmers will be as easy to befuddle as Boston policemen were to smash. To the upper left—as the guide says—we behold him on his way, to the shouts of joy of Wall Street.

That is one summer incident. The fight for Sacco and Vanzetti is another. Not only must they not die, but they "Must Be Freed!" There must be no compromise which would confine them to the living Hell where Tom Mooney now "dwells". The action of Gov. Young of California in freeing Charlotte Anita Whitney, just as we go to press, gives a shining example to the chief executive of Massachusetts.

Then, there is Passaic. The United Textile Workers continue the battle there. The meeting noted above, under the auspices of the Passaic local, smashed the company union at the Botany. The company union advocates dared not come out into the light of day. They feared the facts!

FIRST STEPS IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

Making a Local Effort Do Its Job

ONE encouraging thing is to be noted in local workers' educational efforts through the country: They are coming more and more to aid the workers, actually and immediately.

Many educational committees of central bodies are still at sea, however. They do not know how to proceed. It is with them in mind that we venture to make the following suggestions.

Perhaps the first thing to realize is that, nine times out of ten, the man or woman in charge of the effort should be a worker and not an educator. There are splendid exceptions to this rule. John P. Troxell, director of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor's department, is an outstanding one. On the whole, the rule should be observed. Before looking for an educator to take up the task, the central body's committee can best seek to discover if an able Brookwooder is not available or a worker of that type.

The reason for this is obvious. Educators who understand the labor movement are few indeed. The worker of ability has a grasp of that phase of his work—and it is an important item. It gives him the proper slant. If he be equipped with some knowledge of how to do research work and how to go to sources of information, as a graduate of Brookwood should, he can outline an effective program that will go over. He can also give suggestions to those whom he secures to "teach" as to the way their subjects should be handled.

After all, what is most needed in one in charge of a local labor "college" is executive ability and the knowledge of where to go to get lecturers. Also, along with that, there is required a very vivid ability to approach the various local unions and get them genuinely interested in the project and its value. A trade unionist can do that, as no one else can.

It is a mistake, further, to imagine that the greatest part of the "education" should be given through formal "classes". More important, perhaps, is it to pay first and continuing attention to what has been known as "mass education". This is really rank and file education. Lectures should be arranged before local unions; on the value of workers' education; on the industry in which the workers are engaged; on the various new tactics of the employers. These should not be merely dry dissertations on economics. They should rather indicate the romance of the industry, weaving in the facts in a dramatic manner. They should play

up the remarkable history of the labor movement, showing the nobility of its pioneers and the conditions which moved them to revolt. They should take a glimpse at the ideals of the labor movements of the world. In brief, the business should be inspiring as well as informative.

Questions and discussion should be encouraged from the members of the local, wherever possible. Even at times, the entire "lecture" might consist of such. Out of these discussions at the locals an interest would be engendered, which would recruit "students" for any classes that might be set up.

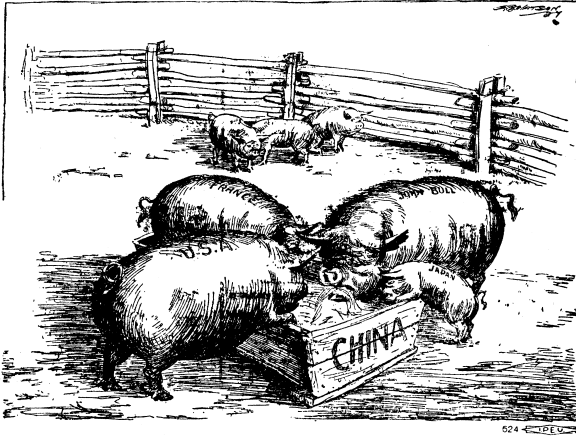
Even then, rather than too much emphasis on "classes", conferences dealing with direct labor problems might be carried through. Israel Mufson, of the Philadelphia Labor College, has just instituted such a conference with success. It dealt with "Waste Elimination". If similar conferences—on "Company Unionism", "New Tactics of the Employers", "Old Age Pensions", "Organizing This Town", etc.—were put on, it would go far toward invigorating local labor movements.

Over in Reading, the Federated Trades Council is considering such a conference, or series of conferences. These, to be carried on with the cooperation of the Education Department of the State Federation and LABOR AGE. It is part of the good work John Edelman is doing there, in conjunction with President J. Henry Stump and the other officers of the council. An address by President Green of the A. F. of L. on organization was one of the features of the Reading program recently. The council has also prepared a chart of wages in Reading, compared to other localities, and is about to give wide publicity to the findings.

It is steps of this sort, which directly stimulate the local labor movement, which are the most valuable contributions of workers' education at this time. Essentially, they are steps to be taken by trade unionists—with the assistance of all the sympathetic outside cooperation that they can receive.

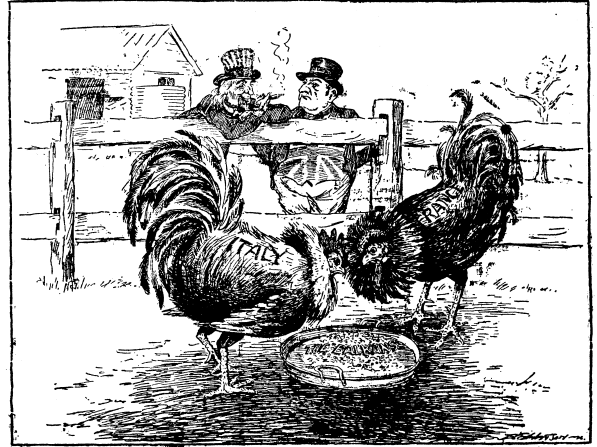
In this entire effort, the young worker must not be forgotten. That seems important. Particular attention must be paid to him. The ideal side of the movement must be presented to him—its glorious achievements—its power-winning future. He must see Labor as more than a day-to-day bargaining force. Otherwise, he will perhaps ask himself, "Why should not I, too, become an exploiter?" He must be set on fire—to fight through to the day when the workers rule the world!

Mischief Abroad



Austrian Worker

WALLOWING IN THE TROUGH



Austrian Worker

ANOTHER BARNYARD BATTLE

YON CASSIUS HATH A LEAN AND HUNGRY LOOK!



Indianapolis Times

The Anglo-Russian Break



Sir William Joynson-Hicks: "Alone I Did It"
British New Leader

"Democracy" a la General Electric

Looking at West Lynn and Schenectady

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

ON THIS June 13th President Gerald Swope of the General Electric Co. was made an honorary Doctor of Science by Colgate University. "Much thought and study has been given, especially in large corporations, to the proper relations between the stockholders, management and labor," he told the graduates in his address to them. Then, he made a plea for the further effectiveness and efficiency of the democratic ideal, as "a means to the happiness of each one of us."

Were democracy not so thoroughly lacking in Mr. Swope's various plants, his expressions on this score would have more weight. As it is, they merely stand out as another exposition of the "new idea in industry": a trimming up of the ancient anti-union shop with the trappings of "better relationship" and "representation."

Touted "Democracy" Lacking

It is precisely on this point that Mr. Robert Bruere finds fault with the West Lynn device. "So far as the essentials of democratic control go, there is little democracy under the plan." Outside advisers are forbidden the workers, he further tells us, while the company uses its "highest paid executives on the most important joint committees without limiting their choice of advisers." Final appeal in all cases is to the manager and to the manager alone. The workers are denied contacts with the labor movement or with workers outside the plant, in other plants, although the corporation makes alliances at will and joins employers' associations which are ever active on its behalf.

We cite this particular criticism, as Mr. Bruere's study as a whole was far from unsympathetic to the General Electric Co.—overlooking many items which we have brought out in our investigation. When our full indictment is considered, it can be said that democracy is unknown in the G. E. works. The use of the term is one to which the management is addicted, in its continuous publicity campaign throughout the country. Mr. Kenneth Bradley, "in charge of the employee representation plan," played heavily on the idea in his talk to the students at the English High School at Lynn on February 8th of this year.

Mr. Stanley Ringer, speaker extraordinary for the "men," pursues a like tack in addressing the students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1925. Mr. Ringer—as reported by the alert B. C. Forbes, financial writer for the Hearst papers—still thought there was some use for a labor union under the company plan. But actually, as he said, "there was a gradual falling off (in union membership) because the average employee began to see that he was getting something with his plan, and saw no use for paying \$1 or \$1.50 per month dues when he can get all the protection he needs

without paying that amount of money." (WASHINGTON HERALD, Oct. 30, 1925).

Now, the average employee saw nothing of the kind. He saw his active representatives compelled to resign from the committees. He heard a campaign of lies against the A. F. of L. unions hurled into his ears on every occasion. He saw Mr. Ringer himself very busy in aiding the company to have the meetings of the works council held within the plant, where the company would have the business under its thumb. He heard the company "stool pigeons" repeating the fiction that union dues were unavailing. He saw some of his "leaders", including Mr. Ringer, parroting the company's own phrases in regard to the plan. Even at that, there was enough spirit in the "average employee" at the time of Wright Greggson's resignation to lead to a movement to strike against Greggson's ill-treatment. It was only Greggson's own caution—in the hope that things might right themselves—that halted such action.

The Company Campaign in Schenectady

Where the "average employee" of the G. E. had an opportunity to express himself on the plan, he voted overwhelmingly against it. That was just what happened at Schenectady. The tactics followed by the company in that city throw an interesting side-light on occurrences at West Lynn. In the same way, certain "union men" were weaned away from the group, in pursuit of their own self-interest. Among these was William Hogan, at that time president of the Machinists Union in Schenectady.

The company began its campaign by instructing its foremen to appoint a certain number of men from each department to attend a meeting on the company union question. The sort of men who would be selected by foremen can be well understood. These "representatives" met and appointed a committee to look into the plan at West Lynn. Among the members of this committee was Mr. Hogan. A careful effort was made to get men on the committee who were safe and at the same time would appear to be "active union men."

The committee went down to Boston, were met there by the company limousine and were brought to Lynn. There they were turned over to the mercy of Mr. Ringer and his cohorts. No attempt was made to visit union headquarters in Lynn or to get information from the international union representatives there. Fully fortified with company propaganda, they returned to Schenectady, to report in favor of the adoption of the plan.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Association of Machinists sent representatives to Schenectady to fight the introduction of the plan. Charles D. Keaveney acted in this capacity for the former and George Bowen for the latter. They were able to advise the workers of the real situation at

Lynn. The resultant decision was against the adoption of the plan—by vote of 3549 for and 5704 against. (SCHENECTADY WORKS NEWS—company organ— March 3, 1922.)

Hogan's Confession

After the defeat of the plan, Hogan broke down and confessed to connivance with the company in the effort to put over the plan. He admitted that he had never believed in the idea, but had done as he had had through fear of losing his job. He turned over to the union officials a letter which he had received from Ringer, at that time a supposedly "good union man", in which Ringer had suggested the junketing trip to West Lynn. In this letter the busy Ringer says: "We who have been in the working of the plan at Lynn have watched with a great deal of concern and disgust the development of events as regards the spreading of lying propaganda among you at Schenectady about the workings and results obtained under the Lynn Plan of Representatives."

The only "lying propaganda" to which Ringer could refer were the efforts of the international union representatives to tell what was actually occurring in Mr. Rice's "paradise". For that was the time that Mr. Rice was engaged in weeding out "undesirable representatives" of the type of Greggson and Evets. Of the plan at Lynn, Ringer gives fulsome praise, as follows:

"You should see to it that your industrial representation plan is based on the square deal, without discrimination of any kind. In this respect, the Lynn Plan stands head and shoulders above them all and an investigation by your committee will prove this to be true. When I say that the Lynn Plans is based on the square deal I mean just that, a square deal for the Employees and the Management alike. We, as employees of the Lynn works, are looking for and getting a square deal and no more. The Management of the Lynn works is looking for a square deal and no more. We both get it under the Plan of Representation."

When confronted with the letter in the Lynn Metal Trades Council, Ringer boldly acknowledged he had written it. Most of the delegates doubted that he had the ability to get it up himself. They suspected the hand of the company in its creation. This suspicion is confirmed by Ringer's admission, some years later, that his speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had to be inspected and O. K.'d by a company official before it was delivered. This admission—to two students of the employee representation idea—indicates the amount of "democracy" reigning in the G. E. plants.

How It Works

How the plan works at Schenectady at this moment is illustrated by an article in the SCHENECTADY CITIZEN of May 20, 1927. This is a labor paper liberal enough to allow Mr. Ripley, G. E. "public relations" spokesman, to have a word or two in its columns occasionally on electric advancement, etc. Here is its report on the company union as it works:

"When a meeting is held, only trivial matters are permitted to be considered by the manager who presides. Such things as parking of cars and possible purchases of

gasoline by the company to be sold to the employees, may be considered; but nothing that will increase wages, or cost the company any money, is tolerated. If some unruly delegate does make a motion for anything not desired by the management, the presiding officer will turn to the other bosses and assistants near him, and say: 'What to you think about that?' and the matter will be declared out of order—naturally."

The men show their contempt for the plan whenever they can do so. One of their methods is to make the elections a farce. As reported by the CITIZEN, they act as follows:

"In one case a certain Scotchman—in the good graces of the bosses—went around his shop and button-holed every employee to vote for him. Another man not in such good standing with the higher-ups was nominated against the Scotchman and made no effort to be elected. The Scotchman was defeated by a more than ten-to-one vote. In another case the workers elected an Italian janitor who could not speak English, to represent them, and insisted on his being seated in spite of the objection of the boss. In a third case the workers elected an office boy 14 years old, but he was not permitted to sit, because he was under age."

This, then, is the view of the men concerning the "democracy" presented to them by Mr. Swope's organization. It was installed at Schenectady, a year and a half after its rejection by the workers. The company wanted to let the agitation die down a bit. Then it proceeded again to call together a few picked company henchmen. They set the scheme on foot. It has now come to this low state in the workers' estimation, that they seek to make a joke of it.

Anemia in the Idea

When we consider the superficial character of the schemes, even as they appear on the paper, it is apparent that there could be no other outcome. An alert labor man, writing from Lynn, sums up the anemia in the entire company union idea, when he says:

"There is no such thing as an organization in its true sense in the G. E. at Lynn. There is simply a committee system through which each individual employee has to present his individual grievance in writing. The employees don't have a chance to get together at all to discuss their grievances collectively. A group of employees from a given department may sign a complaint jointly and put it through the committee system but this seldom happens. . . . With no organization backing him, the individual stands alone. The individual or the committeeman has no outside force to fall back on. So, he accepts any old decision that comes out or quits the job as an individual."

It is unionism, of a strong and vigorous sort, that alone can break the back of this vicious system. The gospel of the American Federation of Labor must again be heard within the walls of the G. E. plants. Until that occurs, the individual will remain helpless, with all hope abandoned.

A "Master Mind" on Stock-Selling

Eastman Kodak Benevolence As a "Loyalty" Producer

HERESEY has cropped up in the citadel of stock-selling Big Business. The utility companies, or some of them, are beginning to re-examine wide ownership of their stock by the "public."

The trouble is, most things work both ways. The original idea of presenting stock-buying "opportunities" to the consumers was to bind up their interest in the corporations. Possessing stock, they would be set upon securing returns therefrom. Consequently, they would not object to being bled at the consuming end—in high fares, rates, etc.

However, fares and rates may get so high consumers will not consume. If the return on the stock declines, the managements may find themselves confronted by a doubly irate set of protesters—complaining as consumers and also as stockholders. That is the specter that troubles some managements at present.

Whether employee stock ownership will work out in any similar way remains to be seen. Its chief advantage up to this hour has been in producing "loyalty" in the working forces. It is the opinion of one of the chief of the stock-sellers that it will have that effect indefinitely.

Mr. George Eastman, chairman of the Eastman Kodak Co., is the man with these sanguine views. In the *JUNE MAGAZINE OF BUSINESS* he opens up as to "Why I Turned One-Third of My Stock Over to Employees." Disclaiming any selfish reason for the act, he confesses that it had most self-satisfying results.

"In 1919 several millions dollars' worth of stock were distributed to our workers. One result was that after turning over to the workers one-third of my stock, the value of my remaining holdings soon climbed a third-higher than the previous total. That was not the purpose in distributing the stock, but the result shows the business value of the act."

This stock, since its distribution, has gone up over 150 per cent in value. This increase, in part at least, "unquestionably has been due just to the wide distribution among workers and executives. Stock ownership makes workers even more alert for progress and economy than before. . . . It secures loyalty, too.

Mr. Eastman proceeds to give examples of what stock ownership has meant to his workers. His cases are eloquent as to what stock ownership really brings to the workers, although it is typical of the employer-mind that he did not see this. We quote:

A typical or average payment to a long-term workman is that paid to a man at a \$28 wage already referred to, when he recently retired:

31 shares of Eastman Kodak Common Stock	
Market value	\$4,340
Employees' Association Service Bonus	546
Sick Allowance for Company	728
Plus Wage Dividend Next July, Approximately..	200
Total	\$5,814

Again:

One employee after 30 years, earning recently \$34 a week, took with him into retirement the following stock or money:

60 shares of Eastman Kodak Common Stock,	
Market Value	\$8,400
Employees' Association Service Bonus	1,100
Sick Allowance for Company	728
Estimated Wage Dividend to be Paid Next July..	270
Total	\$10,498

The thing we spot immediately is the wage given these "partners" in industry. A \$28 a week wage and a \$34 a week wage are pretty unhealthy remunerations from a firm as overflowing with prosperity as the Eastman Co. A decent wage would be a much more socially valuable method of "reward" than all the stock issues in the world—no matter how easy they may be made. (The Eastman Co. has made stock purchasing as easy as could possibly be devised.) After 30 years of service, a wage of \$34 per week is rather insulting, to put it mildly.

As an economic measure, a wage high enough to cut into profits would be a much sounder step. According to Mr. Eastman's own testimony, the distribution of stock has merely aided in making his own holdings the more valuable. That is not helping to solve the eternal problem of securing for the consumer enough income to buy the product which he turns out as a producer. It is merely adding its bit to bringing on, eventually, another round of "depression."

Most serious of all, the spirit and manhood of the workers are destroyed at the Eastman works. The term "serf" may become a bit shop-worn by repeated use; and yet, it alone expresses the declining liberty of spirit among our "free" workers. Along with stock-ownership, the company is careful to implant in its workers a fear and hatred of the unions. That seems almost ludicrous when we recall how docile many of these workers have been. The *KODAK MAGAZINE*—organ for the employees—goes to great pains to draw a picture of unionism as an opponent of law and order. "Loyalty" is constantly being drilled into them. It seems that it requires more than a few shares of stock to keep alive the movement for the decline of our liberties.

Mrs. Martin Sees a Light

Concerning Education and Workers' Wives

By FANNIA M. COHN

“WHY weren't you at the Auxiliary meeting last night, Mrs. Martin?”
“Oh, I didn't feel like killing an evening.”

“What makes you say killing,” asks Mrs. Reese. “If you had been there, you wouldn't say that.”

“Oh, don't I know what those Auxiliary meetings are like, Mrs. Reese?” Mrs. Martin asks good-naturedly. “Didn't I go to all our lodge meetings until this winter? Believe me, I've had time enough to find out there's nothing in them.”

“Well, this one was altogether different from the others. I learned more last night about what our Auxiliaries can do than in all the years I've belonged.”

“What happened at it?” Mrs. Martin is unconvinced. “Why the excitement? Who came up to reveal the truth to you?”

“It's no joke. It was a marvelous meeting. You know about the educational program we've started. Well, our lodge had its first educational meeting last night. They had a woman down who teaches in the labor college across the river and you should have heard her talk about what an educational program for an auxiliary should be. You really missed a lot by not being there.”

“I'm sorry,” Mrs. Martin says. “I had a postcard announcing that she was to speak, too, but I thought she'd be like the speakers we always used to get. I used to go to meetings, and one was just like every other. Nothing happened at any of them. So, of course, I stopped going. But that's the way it is—whenever you stay away you're sure to miss something.”

“You're right,” Mrs. Reese says gravely. “That's why you oughtn't to miss a meeting. You can never tell what you'll miss. Now that Miss Manning last night certainly had something to say. She came up to tell us what we women have to know if we're to be of real assistance to our children, our husbands and the community at large.”

“Sounds interesting,” from Mrs. Martin. “What does she think we ought to know?”

“Well,” her companion replies, “she said we're living in a world in which things happen overnight like Lindbergh and Chamberlain and Levine flying to Europe. Who'd have dreamed of that even fifteen years ago? And now people are talking about making large passenger planes to take others to Europe in only a little more than one day. In times like this, Miss Manning said, people think faster than they used to. And they begin to ask questions about the way things have been done in the past. Like our children. She said we all knew that children want to have everything explained to them—things they see in the movies or in the papers, or hear from their teachers in school or from the children on the street. And it's natural for them to turn

to us mothers and we can't fool them into believing we understand things that we really don't understand.”

“Believe me,” Mrs. Martin interrupts, “she was talking sense. You certainly can't get away with things with my youngsters.”

“That's exactly what Mrs. Manning said,” the other woman says eagerly. “And what's more interesting is that she's sure we can learn about the things our children ask us if we only give the time to it and get the right people to help us. There's no reason, she said, why we shouldn't be able to explain to them the importance of the trade union movement to which their fathers belong and the things it stands for. We could even explain to them other things that they read in the papers and show them that unions don't really raise prices by cutting down production, and don't really not care for the rest of the community as long as they get high wages. We could tell them why children shouldn't go to work when they're young if we ourselves knew why there ought to be a National Child Labor Law.”

“Oh, I'm really sorry, Mrs. Reese, I wasn't at that meeting.”

“And that's not all she said,” Mrs. Reese speaks proudly. “She said if we were well informed on all these questions and could answer our children sensibly that would make them respect us more than any thing else. And I was certainly convinced when she said that all of us mothers wanted our children to respect us and have us be their guides and friends.”

“I wish I knew how to get them to be,” Mrs. Martin sighs. “I know from experience how it hurts when my James and Katherine say, ‘Oh, mother, what do you know about things,’ when I can't answer their questions the way they want them answered.”

“That's just the way I feel. And I was even more pleased,” Mrs. Reese continues, “when Miss Manning said that probably our husbands, too, would respect us a great deal more if we were better informed on the questions of the day. After a day's work our husbands like to talk things over with someone, she said; but they know so much more about things that are happening than we wives do that we can't talk to them. She said they'd be glad to talk to us if we only knew enough.”

“Well,” says Mrs. Martin firmly. “You can go back and tell your Miss Manning she doesn't know what she's talking about. Our husbands don't want us to know any more than we do now. Why, my Jim for instance is as good a man as anyone else. And still whenever I try to say something about the union or other things he's interested in, he'll always say, ‘Oh, Kate, what do you know about those things? And what do you have to know about them? You've got enough to do at home without worrying about my affairs.’”

“Well, Miss Manning even talked about that,” Mrs.

ATTRACTING ATTENTION

Women Organization Problem a Vital One

MISS COHN'S articles have been widely reprinted by the labor press. More than one-third of the workers publications of the country have done this. It illustrates the recognition by the unions of the vital need for organization of workingwomen.

Beyond that, the women's auxiliary problem is pressing. Without a live women's auxiliary, a union is handicapped just that much. The woman of the house, the wife of the member, frequently holds the purse strings. She is the one who influences the husband very often toward an anti-union attitude.

Auxiliaries will do much to counter-act this.

Showing the appreciation of these articles is the letter from Fred Barr, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to Mrs. Grace Klueg of the Machinists' Auxiliary. It says:

"Your letter May 18, together with the enclosures, were received by me here in Denver a few days ago, and I think the three lessons which are enclosed, 'Workers' Wives', 'Are Women Just Women?' and 'Husbands and Wives' by Fannia M. Cohn, are a wonderful inspiration to all who have anything to do with the handling of Ladies' Auxiliaries in particular and the problems of the women in general."

Reese says eagerly. "She said it's true our husbands do say things—that we have enough to do in the home to keep us busy all day there. But she said from what she's seen—as soon as a woman does begin to understand the things her husband is interested in and can talk to him about them and even make some suggestions that help him, then it's very different. Then she says husbands are glad to talk things over with their wives."

"I hope she's right," Mrs. Martin is unconvinced. "Still, it's worth trying anyway. That Miss Manning has some interesting ideas."

"Those weren't all, either," Mrs. Reese speaks proudly. "She said a great many other interesting things—about how we could help in organizing women workers into unions, how we can get more leisure by helping to make electricity prices cheaper so that we can use more electric appliances in our houses and how we can use our leisure time to learn about our problems. I was particularly interested in what she said about the public schools. She said the labor movement was proud of the fact that it was responsible for our free public school system, but that we trade unionists weren't taking a hand in continuing the improvement of the schools where our children get their education."

"What's the idea? Aren't the schools good enough?"

"Oh, that's not the idea," Mrs. Reese answers. "They're good enough but they could be better. In the last twenty-five years, she said, the world has been changing all the time, but the school system hasn't changed much at all. Our public schools are pretty nearly the same as they were twenty-five years ago. And it isn't as if people didn't have some ideas about how they could be improved. People have been studying how to teach children for a long time, she said, and lots of them have written interesting books on it, and some have even got together to start schools outside the public school system in which they could try out these ideas and see how they worked. These schools, she said, couldn't take the place of our public schools, but they could give us some hints as to how we could make our schools better. They have found ways there to make children think more for themselves, and do more things by themselves, and be more alive and be able to get out of difficulties more easily. She said these teachers say small classes and more attention paid to getting the child to do things for himself instead of taking things handed out to him by

the teacher, though of course, the teacher always directs whatever goes on, can work wonders."

"Well, it sounds very interesting, but," Mrs. Martin's voice is doubtful. "What can we do about it? We can't send our children to those schools. And I wouldn't want to. I want mine to go to the public schools and not be snobs. What's good enough for everyone ought to be good enough for us all."

Mrs. Reese hastens to explain. "No, Miss Manning didn't mean you. She doesn't think we oughtn't to send our children to the public schools. But she thinks that if we women took a greater interest in the public schools and understood them better we could all get together and have them changed so they'd be as good as these experimental schools."

"Oh, what can we women do?"

"Miss Manning thinks we can do a lot. She says we can get together in our Auxiliary and study all these things, and find out ways to go about changing them. She thinks an educational program like the one our lodge has started can be the greatest help. And she told us that one of the auxiliaries had even started a national educational project."

"Sounds like a good idea," says Mrs. Martin. "I think I'll be there at the meetings after this and see if we can't make our lodge really do something."

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that the labor movement is not realizing the importance of the Auxiliary to the worker's wife. It is in the trade union that the workingman begins to think and act collectively, not alone for the good of his fellow workers but also for the community at large. It is there that he begins to see himself as an important member of society and it is through the trade union that he begins to function on the economic, social, political and intellectual fields.

There is no reason why the woman's auxiliary should not become for the millions of wives of trade unionists the organization through which they function in our modern industrial society as their husbands do. There is no limit to what women can achieve through their Auxiliaries if these are intelligently and planfully directed. Workingmen and women alike will have to realize this fact and make an effort to bring as many women as possible into the Auxiliary and provide them there with the activities they need and desire.

Whom Shall We "Educate"?

By MARGARET DANIELS

IN his stimulating book, "Social Forces in American History," A. M. Simons discussing the first demands of American workers for education, quotes from the "Mechanics' Free Press" of Philadelphia, August 12th, 1829 as follows:

"What do the workingmen expect? What do they wish? I have attended their late meetings in this city generally, and obtained the sentiments of a number of such as take an active part in their business and find the great and primary object to be a general system of education on an independent principle."

"Again and again," says Simons, "this cry for education is reiterated. Nor were the workers content with merely protesting and resolving. They were far in advance of their age in their knowledge of educational methods. One of the most remarkable documents of the time is a report prepared by a committee of Philadelphia workingmen who were appointed to study the educational situation. This report is not only an extremely keen and scholarly criticism of the existing system, but outlines a scheme of education, embracing kindergartens, and a combination of manual training with education. They support their arguments for such a system by illustrations drawn from similar educational establishments in Switzerland, France, Prussia and Great Britain. There were undoubtedly other influences making for education at this time (1824-1836). The factory system requires a certain amount of trained intelligence for its operations, and has always been accompanied by some form of popular education. Yet when this period is examined in detail there is no other single force making for education that can be compared with the working-class movement and there is no escape from the conclusion that to this movement more than to any other single cause, if not more than to all other causes combined, is due the common school system of the United States."

Two Schools of Thought

A long century ago, then, the workers were voicing their demand for education. The public school system was the result and today the sense of the failure of that system to provide the sort of training that the workers want, runs everywhere throughout the rank and file of the organized movement. In other articles I have shown how this dissatisfaction with the regimentation of the public schools, their inadequate staffing, their refusal to keep in step with modern educational methods and finally and most important of all perhaps, their utter lack of any grasp upon the realities of workaday life, has led to the vague beginnings of a new workers' education movement. And I have pointed out how that movement still in its infancy has already developed two separate schools of thought as to the true function of workers education.

I shall never forget the grin on the face of a young

worker friend of mine who had been attending a conference of teachers on the aims of workers' education. "Those are the birds," said he, "who are supposed to be leading the rank and file in this education stuff. And no two of them can agree at the outset what they mean by workers' education."

Which is not perhaps as fatal as my friend would have it. Past the infant gropings of the hit or miss method we can see the gradual emergence of techniques that may be of permanent value. Here and there experiments have been conducted over a long enough period to determine with some degree of accuracy just how much education the adult worker will stand, just how little of the viewpoint of the labor movement our youngsters are receiving in school. A most interesting activity is now being tackled by the Educational Committee of Pioneer Youth in attempting to get together material that shall be fit for the children of workers. Members of that committee report that when they come to tell children about the history of the American labor movement, the significance of labor today, stories of the heroes of peace who have given everything to make the world a better place to live in, the lack of material is startling. They find that they will have to sit down and write brand new histories. Invaluable data is being gathered by such enheartening centers of workers' education as Brookwood, Tom Tippet's classes among the Illinois coal miners, Paul Fuller's activities in Pennsylvania.

Higgledy-Piggledy?

Has not the time come to consider seriously the matter of qualification for those few (necessarily few at the present stage of the movement) who are to be offered the advantages of workers' education? When I hinted at this in my last article in this series, I called down on my head the wrath of several students who seemed to think I was shooting at them when I told the story of a youngster obviously not prepared for any sort of intensive education. It was the story of one who had formed no habits of reading or study, who had come to the workers' education movement as a short-cut to union leadership. It was not built about any particular individual. It is, I am sorry to say a familiar enough story to anyone connected with this movement.

It seems to the writer that we have gone far enough now to make the honest admission that this higgledy-piggledy grouping together of all sorts and conditions of workers who express the faintest interest in education will get us nowhere. I have seen many workers' classes where men and women who had the greatest difficulty in reading and writing were thrown in with other workers who had read widely in economics and history and were forced to sit patiently by while the harassed teacher tried to explain the meaning of the simplest sentences. No other institution that I know of

UNION EDUCATION IN THE OUT-OF-DOORS

Unity House Opens 9th Season



Lecture in the Woodland

IT is in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Pennsylvania. High on a hill, in a dense forest, a large white house stands—surrounded by twelve cottages. This is Unity House—the summer recreation place of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

With 1927, it enters upon its ninth season. Owned and operated by the I. L. G. W. U., it has been conducted on a non-profit-making basis with success. It has afforded an opportunity for the members, young and old, to retire from the heat and dust of the city to a spot of beauty and rest.

In the out-of-doors, lectures are given several

times a week. Persons who have specialized in economics, psychology and sociology, literature, art and the affairs of the day address the union members and their guests.

Recreation of all sorts is also provided. A lake lies in the midst of the Unity property. Swimming, boating, hiking through the hills, concerts, tennis games, etc., are always on the schedule. It is a real tribute to the I. L. G. W. U. that this healthful and beautiful spot has been maintained so long and successfully—to the benefit of the membership.

would think of grouping those of a mental age of twelve or fourteen with mature minds. Let me say right now that I abominate the machine methods of selective entrance examinations now employed by our old-line schools and colleges. But surely we can find some better way of picking those who are to form our workers' classes than the present. All too often, the young man or woman who talks loudest and most frequently at the meetings of the local is chosen to represent his or her group at the labor college.

It is high time that we looked a bit into the backgrounds of those upon whom we are spending so much time, money and patience, to see whether in all justice

both to the student and the institution they are the types who have some chance of making good. The longer we go on with the present sheep and goat methods, the more disappointments will be in store for us. Modern analytic methods, some sincere study of the student's environment before he comes up for admission, some attempt at the understanding of his peculiar psychology

these seem to me to be the way out of a situation that is likely to become tragic if allowed to continue.

If this method cannot be carried out at once, the unions might take steps to be more careful in their own methods of recommending students. Much good would come from such a course.

SILK MEN'S INDISCRETION

Let American Workers Know of Chinese Workers' Charter

WHAT is the world coming to! Some manufacturers are actually aiding workmen to become discontented.

We refer to the Silk Association of America, Inc. On June 6th it surprises us all by releasing to the general public the labor regulations of the Chinese Nationalist Government. This is the Nanking so-called "moderate" government, mind you.

The regulations are so good, we print them in part, as follows:

1. Employers are to recognize labor unions as representative bodies created for the welfare and interests of the laborers, provided such unions are registered with the local government and the Kuomintang Headquarters.

2. A minimum wage-scale to be fixed, based on the current price-index of general commodities.

3. The wage-scale to be adjusted annually in conformity with fluctuations in the cost of living, as indicated by the price-index of commodities.

4. Maximum hours of labor are to be fixed, based on the scale given in the Constitution of the Kuomintang, and with consideration for the actual requirements of old-established and newly-formed factories.

5. The system of contracting for labor through a foreman is to be abolished. In its place, factories are permitted to appoint labor superintendents.

6. Mill regulations and employment conditions are to be improved, and record of such regulations and conditions is to be filed at the Bureau of the Committee of Labor and Capital appointed by the government.

7. Usual wages are to be paid on Sundays and holidays. Double wages for workmen employed on such days.

8. Workmen cannot be dismissed for having gone on strike.

9. Laborers must not be physically ill-treated by violence, nor can they be fined.

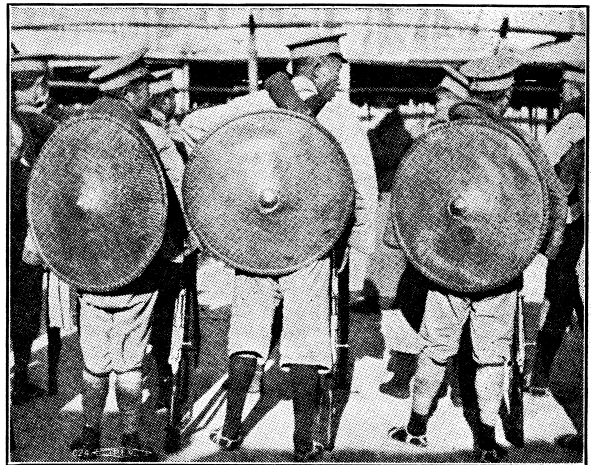
10. Laborers are to be insured and safety devices adopted.

11. Families of laborers killed in the performance of their duties are to be compensated according to a definite scale to be arranged.

12. Employers are responsible for the medical expenses of laborers invalidated as a consequence of their work, and shall pay at least half-wages to them during the illness.

13. Male and female laborers are to be treated equally, and the treatment of female and child labor is to be improved. Six weeks absence on full pay is permitted to female laborers during and after child-birth. No heavy labor is to be given to children.

THE RESTIVE ASIATICS



Chinese Nationalist troops—as they entered Wuchang. Note the great Cantonese sunhats on their backs.



Chinese revolt has caused unrest in Java, under Dutch control. The primitive customs of the workers there are seen in this picture. The women still "grind" meal in this ancient way.

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.

FRUITS OF DOING

"We Point with Pride" to Some Such

FAINT heart never organized anything or anybody.

So said we last month. So do we now repeat. We have a few items in current events to support that view.

Local 33 of the United Textile Workers has made Progress of late with a capital "P". They have signed up the Naumkeag Mill at Salem to a union contract. That means that PEQUOT sheetings are now definitely union—and very much so. Thus encouraged, Secretary John P. O'Connell is pushing the organization work in other sheetings centers. Utica is now the goal of their effort. Organizer Frank Gorman and Miss Josephine Kaczor of Brookwood are driving ahead up there.

The development at Salem is a real step forward. We are pleased to have had some part in it. Secretary O'Connell takes occasion to thank us for our "untiring efforts" for the union, in constantly calling attention in a publicity way to the real issue there. This was not only done in the pages of LABOR ACE. A nation-wide campaign was carried on, through every conceivable channel of information. We look forward to continuing this work of informing the public on conditions in the sheeting industry.

That is one fruit of DOING—and not waiting for something to turn up. We will see others in the future, if the determination and intelligence of the past is used in the sheeting battle in the days ahead.

Our good friends, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, are not saying "die", either. They are hammering at the Berkshire Mills in Reading. They are at it, in Boston. The Shaughnessy Mill is now facing a union organization campaign. The management met the union's success in organizing, with a lock-out. That daunts the union not at all. It is prepared for a battle that will lead to victory. The same spirit animates the Federation's attack on Real Silk. They mean business there, that will organize Indianapolis. We are confident enough, to report such a happy outcome in advance.

In Boston, the Neckwear Makers have stepped into a 100 per cent success. It was not so long ago that the union was trying, step by step, to build up an organization. Things did not look so good. There was plenty to worry about. Then, came the electricity—the strike; and with it returned the union conditions to the Bay State capital. Encouraged, the Neckwear Makers are now pushing on to Philadelphia.

Political parties in power generally "point with pride" in their platforms, to their so-called achievements. We can be pardoned for using the phrase in connection with the industrial fight. We do point with pride to that persistent Doing, Doing, Doing which some unions are engaged in—and which brings results, if kept at eternally.

Let us write it down again. This organization business CAN be carried through. The job CAN be done. If we are elastic enough in our views and determined enough in our action, we can re-establish unionism on a big scale in this U. S. A. Who will deny it? We challenge any union man to do so!

We, further, ask every union organizer to consider the meaning of these uncontestable happenings. They must give him new spirit in his efforts. O'Connell and Local 33 could have said: "It Can't Be Done!" They could have found numberless excuses for standing still. They had many problems on their hands, with discouragement in them. But they took the other view. They went ahead—and DID the thing they should have done!

So it was also with the Hosiery Workers. Having a strong union grip on Philadelphia and other points, they could have rested on their laurels. It is not the first time that such has been done. The temptation is there. But they had another idea of the matter. They know full well that any one non-union center, no matter how small, may become a menace to unionism everywhere. Therefore, they go ahead—first, outlining a program and then acting on it. As Bob Bruere has written lately in the LIFE AND LABOR Bulletin they have tackled Company Unionism in the way that wins.

NEW FANGLED "PARTNERSHIP"

CONGRESSMAN Martin L. Davey of Kent, Ohio, knows the value of stock-owning workers. He is the latest employer-convert to this big idea.

The Hon. Davey is President of the Davey Tree Export Co. From the Akron News Service of Akron, Ohio, we learn that he has "devised a new method of selling stock to employees."

This new discovery is as follows:

The employee who subscribes for stock, to be paid for in ten years, need never worry about carrying charges. The company agrees, by contract, that the interest on deferred payments shall never be higher than the dividend rate. If, at any time, the dividend should be passed, no interest will be charged at all during that period.

If the employee should die before the stock is paid for, the company delivers a paid-up certificate to his designated beneficiary. It is possible for a beneficiary to receive \$10,000 worth of stock by the expenditure of \$83.34, the first monthly installment on that amount.

In case of total and permanent disability from any cause, the employee is given a paid-up certificate.

The risks are underwritten by the company itself.

Congressman Davey announced that \$1,400,000 worth of stock has been set aside to be sold under this plan to salesmen and foremen.

Under this plan—no doubt humbly received by the grateful "partners"—the Hon. Davey will expand and wax fat. We congratulate him on his Greek gifts and keen, shrewd foresight in his own interest. It is that sort of self-seeking benevolence which makes for the lord in our new feudalism. The Hon. Davey is well on his way to lordship.

UPWARD, HO!

FEW of us are surprised by anything these days. That is, by anything concerning mechanical progress. With moral progress, we yet have our doubts and hesitations. Were war actually to cease among nations or the Profit System actually to disappear, many of us would no doubt have heart failure. Not so with anything else.

When the U. S. Department of Commerce announces that production per person has increased 50 per cent, between 1899 and 1925, we merely raise our eyebrows a bit. It was to be expected. And yet, there are a number of implications in this statement which should be looked into.

Much of the increase, the Department says, "is due to the shifting of production from industries dependent in a large degree upon labor to industries more susceptible of mechanization and mass production." We see this in the manufacture of automobiles and in the production and refining of petroleum. Then we note the substitution of cement for brick, of cigarettes for cigars, of bakers' bread and factory-canned goods for the housewife's product. In each case the change has meant a substitution of machine operation for man power alone.

It is precisely these machine and mass production industries which are the least organized. They resort to the semi-skilled, comparatively low-paid worker.

High production does not necessarily foreshadow industrial health. There must also be adequate remuneration for the worker-producers. Otherwise they cannot buy back their own product. The sole way to insure anything approaching adequate remuneration for the workers is through the agency of union action. The sole union action that will organize mass production industries is industrial unionism. Therefore—but you know the rest! It is as plain as the answer to: What is one plus one?

STOCK OWNERSHIP FOLLY

YOU will recall the astonishment of some of the Bethlehem workers at Lackawanna, N. Y. As "owners of the company" they found they were in as bad—if not a worse—position than they had been "merely as workers." That was the cause of their puzzlement.

They were only gradually coming to understand that ownership of stock carried with it a serious handicap in the making of real demands. The carpenters of Reading, Pa., have discovered something of the same thing. They are on strike. The wages for which they are striking are those paid to members of their craft in every other city of the same size. But some of their number refused to go out for this demand. They contended that they were "members of the firm" because they owned small blocks of stock, and continued working. Their profits as stockholders were little compared to the wages they would get through union action. And yet, they took that attitude and hampered their brothers in the fight for better conditions.

Stock-ownership is folly for the workers. These are two of the many examples that evidence that fact. It is no wonder that the employers are so eager to pawn off their stock and thus make the men and women working for them "partners in industry."

CONFESSION

CAN we believe our eyes? Yes, it is down there in black and white.

All along the "depressed" textile manufacturers of New England have been singing in one sonorous chorus: "Wages must come down! Hours must go up!" All their ills were due to "high" labor demands. The facts hardly supported them. But what are facts to manufacturers seeking profits, and looking for the easiest way out?

Now comes the miracle. The woolen and worsted manufacturers, gathered in convention in May, have furnished it. Frankly they say:

We have been and are continuing the practice of a ruinous competition to make sales, that bids fair to wipe out a considerable part of our important industry unless measures are instituted to check this course. We must measure our production with a consumptive demand, and in turn base our costs on a 60 to 65 per cent average production at most.—From address of Thomas H. Ball, retiring President, to Natl. Assn. of Woolen and Worsted Spinners, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, May 11, 1927.

If confession is good for the soul, then must these gentlemen feel spiritually cleansed. Costs which will fit with the production they cite can only be costs in over-head—officers' salaries, useless advertising agents, too much machinery, etc., etc. The workers certainly have nothing to do with that sort of a cut, as they take their reduction in the form of out-of-work when production is artificially limited.

Again: it is a great pleasure to note that it is not "high wages" at all which have caused the woolen and worsted difficulties. It is primarily the stupid mismanagement and cut-throating on the part of those in control. They have stated it themselves in this statement to themselves. The sick woolen devil must perforce try to be a monk. The cry about labor helping not at all, these gentlemen must come to an acknowledgement that they are the root of their own troubles. To which we say: Amen.

KANSAS CAN

SIGNS of progress are a joy forever. It is pleasant news, then, that comes out of Kansas.

President G. E. Blakeley of the Kansas State Federation of Labor gives us the information. He has made arrangements with William Allen White, the noted liberal editor of Emporia, to deal with labor problems in his editorial columns.

The first of these deals with the workmen's compensation law. Of this measure, as applied in John Brown's State, Mr. White says:

"The law is full of terrible injustices to labor. For instance, at the option of the employer the compensation awarded may be discounted 20 per cent and the injured workman have no recourse under the law. The law as amended in 1917 certainly was juggled in favor of the employer. It has been estimated that by reason of this law of 1917 the employer and liability insurance companies together have deprived workmen and their dependents of more than 1½ million dollars in Kansas. In the coal fields alone 1 million dollars have been taken from injured workmen since 1917. Not satisfied with gouging this money from injured workmen, certain employers have blacklisted injured workmen who have prosecuted their rights in court."

This situation, with all its serious injustices, can only be remedied by being brought to the attention of the mass of the people. The Federation has taken the right step. If Kansas can do this thing—of "telling it to the newspapers"—other state and city bodies can do likewise. Our message must get out, where organized and unorganized alike can receive it.

STILL AT IT!

JUST to remind you: The next Congress will see new bills introduced for alien registration. American Labor has rightly fought these bills. Applied now to aliens, they can be stretched later to cover native-born workers. We must continue to hammer at our Congressmen! Don't let such bills pass!

A COMPANY UNION SCANDAL

I. R. T. "Brotherhood" Enriches Corporation Officials

PROUD man has invented a world-famous phrase: "We told you so!" So many false prophets have used it that we are most diffident to apply it to our predictions at any time.

In this case, however, we are down in black and white. Our indictment of the I. R. T. "Brotherhood" is signed, sealed and delivered. (It appeared in the August, 1926, issue of LABOR AGE.) This company union of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. was proclaimed to be a fraudulent device of the first magnitude.

Samuel Untermyer has now furnished further and clinching proofs. A "Brotherhood" maintained by a "yellow dog" contract was bad enough. A "Brotherhood" existing to get higher salaries for corporation officials and lower wages for the workers is criminal.

The investigation of the Interborough Company by Mr. Untermyer has brought out just that state of affairs. While getting the men to accept a cut, the corporation officers voted themselves an increase. Again: when a section of the men struck in 1926 for a return to a real wage, the officials not only put the strike down. They also voted themselves a "bonus" for defeating the strike! Irony could not reach lower depths than that.

As a consequence we read this illuminating headline in the NEW YORK TIMES of June 7th: "Untermyer brands I. R. T. Labor Policy As Tyranny to Men." He boldly suggested that the Transit Commission take steps to see that the men were allowed to join a union of their own choosing. It was that eminent and reactionary paper—the TIMES—which devoted so much editorial space at the time of the spontaneous strike to labeling the company union "an experiment in workers' management" and other like blahs. So cold was the TIMES to the company union that it suppressed letters to it which explained the error of its statements. It is in this way that the "brass check" press lends its hand to the maintenance of the company union fiction. Were the persistent propaganda in that quarter to cease, the company unions and corrupt officials of the type of the Interborough officers would much more speedily be brought to time.

Mr. Untermyer's examination also disclosed that the strike had cost the Interborough more than it would have cost to grant the 5 per cent wage return demanded by the men. We hear much of the cost of strikes from the employers' mouthpieces. It is very seldom emphasized that such strikes are not of the workers' making. When the employers refuse all concessions—and only then—do the workers walk out. The high cost of strikes is directly at the employers' doors. Let them meet the workers' requests and there will be no such "costs."

In Other Lands

TORY IMPERIALISM'S MENACE

Signor Nitti Indicts British Government

ALL that we have been saying is confirmed. From a most unexpected source it comes, at that. Ex-Premier Nitti of Italy has taken occasion to expose the grave menace to peace that exists in the present bombastic war-fever of Mussolini. In that connection, he lifts the veil on British Torydom's part in supporting the Mussolini policy. At the present hour, Italy is seeking to enrage Yugoslavia into war or the preparation for future war.

Of the whole business Signor Nitti says:

"The present Italian policy is being helped by the present British Conservative Government, which for some unknown reason helps all reactionary governments in Europe, including Italy, Spain, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

"English governments never used to mix themselves up with European politics so much as now. The present Government actively aids European reaction wherever it appears. It is a pity that the Mother of Parliamentary Governments should work for reaction.

"Italy's natural future lies in democracy, friendship with Yugoslavia, and cooperation with other nations.

"It is a frightful mistake of the present British Government to break away from English traditions of freedom. That signifies its weakness, and all democrats in England will see that the Conservatives do not come in again at the next elections.

"English democrats must arise against Conservatives' luxurious expenditure of money for dictatorships which ruin peoples and keep the whole world in a state of uncertainty."

It is unfortunate that our own Government is pursuing the same policy—in Latin America and in Europe. The Nicaraguan "peace" was a farce. It was made at the point of the gun. As several newspapers have volunteered, it will be interesting to see what will happen in the supervised election of 1928, if an American-backed candidate is defeated. But the marines will probably attend to that. The election will be surrounded with the coercion, it is safe to say, that surrounded the "agreement" between Liberals and Conservatives.

Imperialism—whether British or American—is in our time the most serious danger facing the masses. It will blow them all into smithereens before they are aware of what it is all about. Education against war—for militant unionism—against blind nationalism—these are the remedies against it

ANGLO-RUSSIAN GOOD WILL!

While Tory Britain and Soviet Russia are breaking relations to much talk of war, an agency of good-will reports itself. It is none other than the Cooperative Movement.

The increasing trade between the British Cooperative Wholesale Society and the Russian cooperatives is made the occasion for a special RUSSIAN SUPPLEMENT to the British COOPERATIVE NEWS (May 7, 1927). From this paper we learn that the purchases by the Russian Centrosoyus (Central Cooperative) from the British Wholesale Society amounted to a total of \$2,900,000 for 1927—up to April 25th. Its growth can be judged from the fact that during the entire year 1924 such purchases only amounted to \$1,300,000.

Of the Russian movement, this paper says: "Though in capital and other resources the British movement is still by far the greatest in the world, yet in actual membership, in scale of organization, in its comprehensive handling of the problems not only of supplying but also of marketing for a vast agricultural population, the Russian movement stands pre-eminent."

International cooperation is the one international enterprise in buying and selling that does not depend on guns for its extension. It is based solely on good-will—the good-will, in the main, of the working peoples of the

world. The English and Russian experiences are stimulating the cooperatives of other countries to trade amongst themselves on a large scale.

GERMAN SOCIALIST PROGRESS

During the latter part of May the Social Democratic (Socialist) Party of Germany met in annual convention at Kiel. The party is now the strongest in the Reichstag, with 131 representatives. It bids fair to become even stronger, as the past year was one of steady progress for it. The dues paying members rose in 1926 to almost 825,000—a gain of over 17,000 for the year. The party owns 184 daily papers, 104 printing plants, 27 publishing concerns and 13 other business establishments.

In addition to its 131 members of the Reichstag, of whom 16 are women, the Party has 468 members, including 49 women, in the various State Legislatures; 482 including 20 women, in the Provincial Diets; 3,146, including 47 women, in the county legislative bodies; 6,773, including 295 women, in City Councils, and 30,090, including 452 women, in the town and village councils. It also has 24 Deputies in the Prussian Council of State, 708 Mayors of cities and towns, 637 heads of local administrations and 340 salaried City Councilors.

It won the recent elections for the Mecklenburg Diet, and has also just captured the highest number of seats in the City Council of Brandenburg.

NIGHT TIME IN ITALY

Despite his bombastic utterance of May 26th, Mussolini is still riding on choppy seas. He may prophecy an Italian army of 5,000,000 by 1935, as he did. He may foretell that the "proper hour" will then have come for another blood-bath for Europe. He may issue edicts cutting wages, as a supplement to his "Charter of Labor"—in reality a Charter of Scabbery. These measures and speeches cannot halt, however, the growing depression and unemployment.

Last year the Fascist State was showing signs of industrial revival. Production began to hit a high gait. The Dictator seized the opportunity to introduce his 9-hour decree, to speed it up all the faster. He also began the electrification of the railroads and other extensive "improvements". In spite of all this, the grave crisis of 1927 has come on—due in part to the rise in value of the lira. Unemployment has stolen up from 60,000 last year to 190,000. The 200,000 members of the Fascist militia would make this greater, were they not now supported by the State. All industries have been hard hit. Compared to 1925, the export of cotton goods has fallen to the amount of 200,000,000 lira. Spain is cutting into this market. Steel was injured by the English coal strike. The shipping at Italian ports has taken a tumble. With seas on three sides of her, Italy must even import a large portion of her fish!

How the situation can be remedied by cutting the workers' purchasing power still lower is a deep-dyed economic mystery. Yet, that is Mussolini's program. Meanwhile, he proclaims the continued prohibition of anti-Fascist newspapers and organizations and proclaims the immediate arrest of any individual dissenting from Fascist principles. This is not "terrorism", he states, but the "rigor" which will uproot the remnants of decaying democracy. If a popular song be correct, it must be "Wednesday" over here. Night time has certainly fallen on Italy—a dark, dank night time of terror and reaction.

EXAMINING ITSELF

International Capital looked itself in the face at the Economic Conference at Geneva in May. It did not see an entirely pretty picture. While the total world production and trade are about on a pre-war level, in particular industries and certain countries the situation is far from rosy. In Europe, industry finds itself in a peculiarly sharp dilemma. As the Conference itself declared, Asiatic countries are beginning to trade more among themselves and with America. The United States is getting in good licks in Latin America. In those quarters, Europe feels that it is being frozen out.

The two big items before the conference were Tariffs and Trusts. Little was done about either. Great Britain, gradually becoming a high-tariff country, was very much disturbed by the American bankers' talk of free trade in Europe. Trustification was looked upon as a good thing, as it constantly increases profits. The recent British chemical combine—which is now making overtures to the Germans, with a view to an international amalgamation—points the way that industry is going. The Russian delegates were there for loans on the one hand, and the pushing of their viewpoint on the other. They recommended the cancelling of all war debts and complete and

effective disarmament, increase of workers' wages and the re-establishment of the 8-hour day. But neither their loan effort nor their industrial program got very far. The Conference did pass a resolution welcoming cooperation with Russia, "regardless of differences in economic systems".

This 1927 conference is probably a prelude to other like meetings.

PROGRESS AND PERSECUTION

Belgian workers are confronting the problem of the entrance of women into industry. Textiles and diamond finishing are being invaded, and the National Association of Employers are taking advantage of this new labor force to break down former working conditions. The Belgian textile workers, in their congress last month, did not deride this new development, but set about to meet it. They have begun a nation-wide drive to organize the women workers!

In Brazil the employers are seeking to destroy the law of 1926, entitling manual and non-manual workers to 15 days' holiday with pay, after one year of employment for the same employer. Far up in Norway, the workers in the metal, mining, textile and other industries have been locked out, to the number of 15,000. They have held out with an unexpected vigor. The employers have countered with a parliamentary act, providing for compulsory arbitration. As good news, the International Federation of Employees in Public Services, branch of the I. F. T. U., reports that its membership now totals 500,000 workers. The French Employees in Public Services and the Norwegian Municipal Workers recently affiliated, as also the Irish municipal workers.

Persecutions of trade unionists continue. Secretary Danoff of the Bulgarian trade union center, affiliated with the I. F. T. U., was arrested in May. Twenty-three other trade union leaders were taken into custody by the Government. The mass meeting of the unionists in Sofia was broken up by the police and the trade union buildings attacked and entered.

Argentina has a Sacco-Vanzetti case of its own. Eusebio Manasco, a hard-working trade union leader, has been sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for the "murder" of a British manager of a rural estate. Manasco has been diligently organizing the "Menzus" or unfortunate Creole workers who are employed in the rural districts. They are terribly exploited, particularly by the British. Tuberculosis and other industrial diseases are rampant among them. Manasco rallied them to demands for the 8-hour day, adequate wages and decent labor conditions. The frame-up of police and British representatives was the result.

Thus, out of pain and persecution the Labor Movement of the world stumbles on toward Progress.

HOW THE REAL SILK SPIRIT WORKETH

OUR next installment on Real Silk will appear in the August issue. It will give a further picture of Company Unionism in the textile industry. We will examine the workings of the Real Silk spirit—with the inculcations of "loyalty" and subservience.



"Say It With Books"



OIL!

Upton Sinclair Produces a Great Novel

ARNOLD ROSS, Jr., is known as "Bunny" Ross. He is the son of J. Arnold Ross, Californian oil magnate.

Fortune comes to "Bunny"—from his millionaire father, who dotes on him and counts on him to carry on the Ross Consolidated interests. Sexual seduction claims him, temporarily—through Eunice Hoyt, high school class-mate and daughter of "Tommy" Hoyt, investment broker. Such seduction beckons him again—through "Juno" Goodrich and Mrs. August Norman of Occidental Steel; but he has "sworn to himself that he would not go in for this again."

Radicalism comes to him—from his instructor at Southern Pacific University, Daniel Webster Irving and his friend, Paul Watkins, head carpenter for his father's early oil ventures. It is confirmed in him—by the Jewish Socialist student, Rachel Menzies, and by the world of plenty and poverty which he sees about him.

It is around these adventures of this scion of the oilocracy that Upton Sinclair weaves the many vivid events of his new novel, OIL! With a skillful hand, he takes historic happenings of the sordid years of Harding-Coolidge Oil Imperialism and works them back and forth in the shuttle of his fantasy. The result is more than propaganda for radical ideals and action. It is a piece of art, free from the hurry that marks some of Upton's later works.

From the ride of father and son over the California highway to the oil land, in the first chapter, to the death of Paul, in the latter part, the book grips the reader's interest. The interplay of radio jazz and announcements of LaFollette's overwhelming defeat with Paul's dying gasps of revolutionary hope make that final scene a splendid piece of emotional writing.

The "busy lives" of our upper classes are thus depicted, on the yacht "Siren"; "Here was the 'Siren', a floating mansion, all white paint and shining brass, finished in hand-carved mahogany, and upholstered in hand-painted silk. The sailors who shined and polished, and the Filipino boys who flitted here and there with trays full of glasses, were spick and span enough for the vaudeville stage. The party of guests would step into the launch, and from that into several motor-cars, and be transported to a golf-links, and from there to a country club for luncheon; they would dance for an hour or two, and then be whirled away to a bathing-beach, and then to a tennis court, and then back to the 'Siren' to dress for dinner, which was served with all the style you would

have expected at an ambassador's banquet. There would be many colored electric lights on the deck, and an orchestra, and friends would come out in launches, and dance until dawn, while the waves lapped softly against the sides of the vessel, and the tangle of lights along the shore made dim the stars."

In the midst of such scenes naturally fitted the Occidental Steel widow. "She had a faint elusive perfume (as they danced), and he might have learned about that also from Aunt Emma, but he had the vague impression that women somehow naturally smelled that way; and it was very sweet of them. The steel-widow's bosom was bare most of the way, and her back was bare all the way, down to where he put his hand."

In contrast with this life of golf and tennis and hidden seduction and ennui, running all through the book, there runs also the drab, clouded story of the workers. It is to the author's credit that he has made his characters humanly understandable. The happy device of making the oil magnate and briber of the Presidential convention so intimate with his radical son and of creating Eli Watkins, male edition of Aimie McPherson, and Paul Watkins the "red" in the role of brothers, aids to bring about this effect. It only heightens the indictment of Oil Imperialism which is the theme of the work.

Those who turn to the pages of "Oil!" for amusement and instruction these coming summer days will not be disappointed.

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THE TRAGEDY OF OLGA BASSARAB

The Price of Dissent in Pilsudski's Poland

MRS. Olga Bassarab was last seen on Feb. 9, 1924. Police were then escorting her to the jail in Jachowics Street, in the city of Lwow, Poland.

She had been treasurer of the League of Ukrainian Women. This is one of the many organizations for the rights of minority races which have filled the Polish prisons under Pilsudski.

With her arrest she disappeared as thoroughly as though she had been swallowed up by an earthquake. No information could be obtained of her. The police would give no sign or trace of her whereabouts.

Then, it was learned that on February 15th one Julia Barawska had committed suicide in a cell in the prison. The local newspapers carried that news. But soon the rumor spread that the reputed Barawska was in reality Mrs. Bassarab. Indignation became so great that the police finally admitted on February 18th that she had killed herself on February 12th and had been buried in the paupers' burial ground. This merely aroused further comment, as for five days after the 12th the police had received meals for the prisoner. Moreover, they refused to show her brother the spot at which she was buried.

The body was exhumed on February 26th in the presence of an official commission. The two doctors present and a university medical authority confirmed the fact that she had been beaten to death in the most horrible manner.

She is but one of the many victims, in one way or another, of the religious-political-industrial persecution now raging in Poland. Complete details of the absence of freedom of speech, press and assemblage are given in a pamphlet just issued by the International Committee for Political Prisoners, 2 West 13th Street, New York City.

Despite the assurances in the Polish Constitution that all of these rights would be safeguarded, the committee report discloses:

1. That all religious groups but those officially sanctioned by the State are subject to persecution.
2. That all minority groups and "radical" industrial movements are suppressed with a fierce hatred and vigor.

3. That newspapers representing groups under the displeasure of the Dictator are speedily snuffed out.

The pamphlet, page by page, is a damning indictment of things as they are in Poland. The purpose of its publication is to interest Americans in providing for the relief of the political and industrial prisoners there. It may be added—and that is the farcial part of this tragedy—that Poland is virtually a province of Britain, which in turn is upheld by the Wall Street Government of our own country.

MAPS THAT MEAN SOMETHING

The Plebs Atlas Shows World in New Light

WE always have a good word for the Plebs League of England. It is a movement which is attempting to make workers' education actually serve the workers.

A new proof of this determination is seen in the Atlas prepared for workers by the League. It gives the economic resources and economic control of the various nations of the world at a glance. Thus, it reveals the real background of geography today and the real motive of the making of present-day world history.

The new map of Europe discloses the workings of Imperialism. "The Big Powers have reduced the smaller, nominally independent States to the status of colonies or spheres of influence. The map shows the countries under French, British or Franco-British-American control." We see that Holland, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Esthonia, Latvia, Portugal and Greece are practically British colonies. Belgium, Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia and Turkey are under the dominance of French capital. Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria are under joint outside control. Much of the current trouble between France and Italy can be understood when we know that it is precisely in these French "provinces" in the Balkans that Italy is making headway. A fight is developing over the spoils.

The dominant and conflicting interests in China, Persia, Mesopotamia and South America are revealed in the same manner. All in all, there are 58 maps, giving to the worker facts with which Employerdom is well equipped. To say that J. F. Horrabin, who drew the illustrations in Wells' *OUTLINE OF HISTORY*, is the artist who created these maps, is to say enough. Workers' educational classes in America could well afford to equip themselves with this source of information.

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Honor Roll

In the Labor Age Crusade

S. PERLMAN, the well-known Associate Professor of Economics, the University of Wisconsin, writes: "In my humble opinion, your magazine is absolutely the liveliest and most useful publication in our American Labor literature. . . . No one who purports to keep in touch with Organized Labor in America can afford to neglect reading its issues."

Such splendid tribute should spur our LABOR AGE CRUSADERS on, in the job of extending the field of our influence.

Among those who realize that, too, and who have come forward to cooperate with us, are:

LOCAL 33, UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS,
(John P. O'Connell, Secretary.) Have splendidly engaged in securing subscriptions for membership.

L. U. 892, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, ETC., New York City
(J. J. Connell, Fin. Secy.) Continuing their interest of past years in our work.

L. U. 12, AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS, Toronto, Canada
(John G. Buchanan, President.) Have kept up the good work monthly.

L. U. 12646, BOOKKEEPERS, STENOGRAPHERS AND ACCOUNTANTS, New York City
(Ernest Bohm, Secy.) Subscriptions for members engaged in organization work.

L. U. 32, HOSIERY WORKERS, Hartford, Conn.
(Clarence Rohrback, Secy.) Subs. secured for active members.

L. U. 8, HOSIERY WORKERS, Paterson, N. J.
(Carl Holderman, Secy.) Also engaged in active sub getting.

L. U. 22, HOSIERY WORKERS, Northampton, Mass.
(Wm. J. Young, Fin. Secy.) Did a fine job in sub getting.

AND THE FOLLOWING CENTRAL BODIES:

Bay City, Mich., Federation of Labor
(Otto Post, Secretary).

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union (Wm. H. Pote, Secretary).

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(M. L. Wolfskill, Secretary).

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THIS LIST WILL BE CONTINUED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE. DO NOT BE HESITANT IN ADDING TO IT!

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