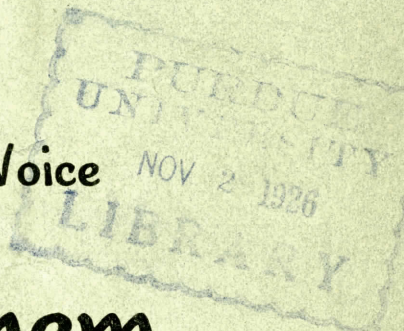


Labor Age

The National Monthly

Answering Open Shopper

1. Wages Are Rotten!
2. Organize!
3. The Open Shoppers' Voice



Stars of Bethlehem

Cap Makers' Victory

Workers' Wives

A. F. of L. at Detroit
The 6-Hour Day

After Five Years
Cloakmakers!

\$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

- CICELY APPELBAUM, Labor publicity woman, covering needle trades situation.
- ERNEST BOHM, Secretary, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union; former Secretary, Central Federated Union of New York.
- FANNIA M. COHN, Secretary, Educational Department, I. L. G. W. U.
- A. J. MUSTE, Chairman, Faculty, Brookwood Workers College.
- ART SHIELDS, New York correspondent, Federated Press.

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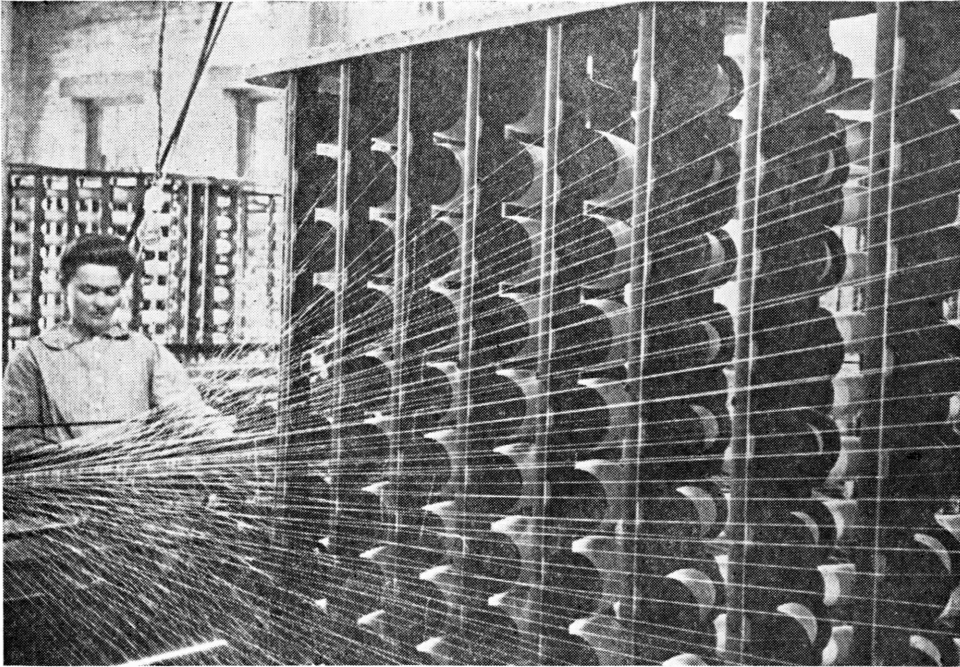
A. J. KENNEDY,
Secy., Amal Litho. No. 1

ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING,
Publicist

Labor Age

The National Monthly

Answering the Open Shoppers



TEXTILES—ONE SEAT OF THE ANTI-UNIONISTS

AUTOMOBILES must be organized. So said the A. F. of L. at Detroit. Steel must follow. Oil must become union, likewise. We must free the workers of our "free land" from the blight of Open Shoppery.

Let us get this Dark Thing out into the light of day. Let us hammer at its long-unanswered torrent of falsehoods. Let us cease to be on the defensive. Attack, attack and again attack!

In every newspaper in the land, we must shout out with the facts: "Wages are Rotten!" If these facts will not be printed—for newspapers, after all, are employers themselves—we must plan demonstrations, bringing out the facts

as we do so. We must attack the anti-union forces at the factory gates, likewise, with the message of organization. We must measure the extent of Open Shoppery, know what we are up against, and show up the sham of its bitter incitations against the workers.

In this issue we have considered these things, in a hurried way. Three very interesting articles give us a glimpse of the facts, of the game we are facing, of the doing of our enemies. This little tale will continue, with more details, month by month—until we have Open Shoppery on the run. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished!—which can come about only when every union man becomes an Apostle of Unionism.

Wages Are Rotten!

Puncturing the Fairy Tale About High Pay

By A. J. MUSTE

EVERYWHERE you hear it. "The American worker gets high wages; he is well off." Propaganda emanating directly or indirectly from employers says so from pulpit, platform and press in a million ways a million times a day. That is to be expected, as also that this amazing prosperity of the American worker should be ascribed to the "American" open shop plan.

Delegations of employers from abroad come to America and go back to report about the high wages of the American worker, his radios, automobiles, and so on. That also is perhaps to be expected.

What is somewhat stranger is the delegations of trade unionists from Europe who come here and are presently singing the same song: "American worker get high wages; they are well off; nothing like it ever before anywhere in the world."

The American worker says it and appears to believe it. Henry Dubb throws out his chest and proclaims: "The American worker gets the highest wages in the world."

What is strangest of all is that many American trade unionists seem to be hypnotized by the monotonous repetition of the refrain and they too are beginning to chant it. "You can't organize because they get such high wages; they are too well off; look at their radios, automobiles. . . ."

A Most Amazing Myth

What are the facts? They are simple and so easy to read that it is amazing that this myth should ever have gotten started.

Compared to the wages paid to European workers, the American worker is getting high wages. What else would you expect in the richest country in all the history of the world? What is there in that to raise all this hullabaloo about?

Compared to the wages he received fifteen or twenty years ago, the American worker is fairly well off; his "real wages", what he can buy for what he gets in his pay envelope, having improved considerably. But Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago, one of the most eminent economists in the country, whom no one will suspect of Bolshevik leanings, has painstakingly demonstrated that production has increased in these fifteen or twenty years much more rapidly than wages, that compared to what he is producing, the American worker is NOT AS WELL OFF, NOT AS WELL PAID, as he was some years ago.

And what about that comparison with the wages of the European worker? Let me cite one instance in point from an unimpeachable authority, Mr. Alfred P. Dennis, Vice Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission. Writing in the *New York Times* for October 10, 1926. Mr. Dennis states: "An American weaver operating

highly efficient automatic looms tends as many as thirty or forty, where the English weaver tends from two to four. The writer has in mind a highly equipped cotton plant in Rhode Island with 2,910 looms under one roof. These looms are all alike, using American cotton and turning out a standardized product that sells on a quality basis. Twenty looms are tended by one girl, or one hundred and fifty weavers all told in contrast to the one thousand or twelve hundred weavers which would be employed in an English establishment turning out an equal amount of finished goods. The flying shuttle in these highly efficient American looms shoots one hundred fifty-eight threads across the cloth per minute. This means an output of twenty-three yards of cloth per loom per day or four hundred sixty yards for each operator. Taking fourteen cents a yard as a fair valuation, the labor cost of cloth bears a proportionately small ratio to the total expense."

There you have it. Considering what the American worker produces as compared with the European worker, the American worker is not well paid.

Take another point. In one breath the American worker is exhorted to save money, to send his children to school and college, to buy a radio set so as to be up to the minute on his news, to purchase an automobile. In the next breath, statistics are launched forth about all the savings in American banks, the increased attendance at college and universities, the number of radio sets and automobiles being purchased, with the implication that the American worker is rolling in wealth and that it is a dirty shame what high wages he gets. Now open shoppers and bankers can't have it both ways. They can't eat their cake and have it too.

Not Better Off

The fact is that the American worker is expected to measure up to certain standards of living or be regarded as a poor citizen. At many points he has to spend more than his father did in order to get the same amount of well being that his father had. Take the one notorious case of all those flivvers standing at the factory gates showing what bloated plutocrats the workers are. Not to mention the fact that there are still a few million workers who don't have flivvers, given the congestion in our industrial centers and given our inadequate transportation systems, how many of these workers could get to the factories situated miles from their homes unless they had these flivvers? How many of them could take their families out of the noise, dirt and heat of our cities for an occasional breath of air and glimpse of sunlight but for these Fords? Twenty-five years ago the American worker lived near enough to the factory so that he could reach it on a five-cent street car fare, and he received enough pay to enable him to do so. Today he lives so far away from the factory that he needs a flivver

PUZZLE: FIND THE HIGH WAGES

IT was only this last month that the PITTSBURGH PRESS devoted an editorial of praise to the faithfulness of the section man, who guards the roadbed for the thoughtless traveler. While those on the whizzing train sleep in peaceful forgetfulness, the maintenance man has prepared the way so that wrecks will not occur.

For this, what reward is his? An average wage for section foremen and section men of \$126.00 a month! High wages are not to be found here.

Then, there is this great automobile industry, whose workers' efficiency has increased over 300 per cent. The Packard Company in Detroit recently cut the wages of its men covering decks or roofs of closed cars from 70 cents per hour to 56 cents per hour. The Fisher Body Co., turning out over 80 per cent of the bodies for autos outside the Ford, has cut its 1920 wages of \$1.10 per hour for woodworkers to from 70 to 85 cents, now. High wages here?

Passing over the frightful textile industry—with its average wage of \$18 per week for the North and \$14 per week for the South—let us get at the much-advertised building trades. Unions here have maintained the wages that are enjoyed. But does anybody mean to say that the \$1.75 per hour of the New York bricklayers—the highest wage received—is an amount of too princely propor-

tions, when unemployment is taken into consideration? In St. Paul, members of the same craft obtain but \$1.25 per hour. Carpenters in New York are getting \$1.50 per hour, for a 44-hour week, with seasonal unemployment to face also. You can read on and on for the various trades, in the September issue of the MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW of the U. S. Department of Labor. There cannot be found any justification for the hymns of joy that go up from the lungs of the high-pressure publicity men of the Employing Interests. We see no particular miracles in these figures—of the "highly paid" organized workers.

Painters in New York City are receiving \$1.50 per hour for a 40-hour week. Investigation will reveal that that by no means satisfies their needs or demands. What they have secured, they have obtained only through strong union organization. But what is this meagre remuneration compared to the years of illness that the painter is in danger of facing, from his trade? Those years of life which he loses, from industrial poisoning are not compensated by a mere \$1.50 per hour.

"High wages, high wages, who's got the high wages?" We demand more than more words from the daily press, standard magazines and employers' organs on this subject. Give us the facts! So-called "high wages" do not exist in this Land of the Millenium.

to reach it and receives enough pay to be able to do so. Just how much better off is he? In view of the standards he is expected to maintain, the American worker is not substantially better off than he was a generation ago.

All reputable economists tell us these days that unless American workers consume the tremendous amount of goods they produce, there will be another cycle of glutted markets, over production, slackening of industry, bankruptcies, unemployment. But the latest figures indicate that the workers as a whole are not as well off as to money wages as they were a couple of years ago. For the time being, the difficulty is being covered up because the big fellows are letting the workers buy everything on the installment plan, but the difficulty is there. Considering what the American worker must consume if a depression is to be avoided, he is not well paid.

Putting aside comparisons for a moment, consider the facts about absolute wages. Not fifteen per cent of the people receiving salaries and wages in this country get as much as two thousand dollars per year. The average weekly wage of an industrial worker in New York State when employment is good is about twenty-seven dollars per week. That means, if employment is better than it usually is the year round, \$1,300 for the year. For textile workers it is not above twenty dollars per week,

\$1,000 per year. Would any of the open shoppers who declaim about the well being of the American worker like to try supporting a family or even his own eloquent self on that wage?

Wages Are Rotten!

But there is the "aristocracy of labor!" Yes, his honor the plumber who makes sixty dollars per week. And if employment is better than it usually is for plumbers the year round, that means about \$3,000 per year. How many employers, bankers, Rotary Club members and open shop propagandists would be willing to stand up in court and swear that they consider that a magnificent wage?

Now there is nothing new in what we have written. Most of my readers probably knew these facts before they saw them on this page. There are plenty more such facts ready to hand for oneyone who is interested in them. That makes it all the more remarkable that this fairy tale about the high wages of the American worker should apparently have us all hypnotized.

Fellow workers, let us snap out of it! In season and out of season, let us puncture this fairy tale. Let one of the slogans that American Labor carries on its banners be: **WAGES ARE ROTTEN!**

Organizing the Unorganized

The Union Label on Ford and Chev

By ART SHIELDS

WHEN there is a union label on every flivver and every steel rail comes from a union mill; when every telephone girl has a union ticket in her vanity case and the convict mines of Alabama have been regenerated by the U. M. W. of A.: when a union blanket tucks the worker in at night and an organized Big Ben buzzes him out in the morning—then the labor movement can be happy that along about 1926 a serious beginning was made to organize the still non union industries of America.

And along with the others the labor reporters will be happy. For with eighty-five per cent of the American workers still unorganized a lot of his news stories have to do with unorganized fields. And coming into a non union town the labor reporter is not exactly made to feel at home by the coal and iron police, Burns detectives and even the company welfare workers.

Not that the welfare worker isn't a nice fellow in his way. But his way is with the masters of the coal and iron police and labor spies and the other welfare workers who are helping him to sugar coat the bitter open shop pill. I had an illuminating experience with one while working for the Shell Oil Co. at Martinez, California, some years ago. I was one of a gang laying foundation for a research laboratory building while another gang was excavating for another building twenty-five yards away. The foreman of the other gang forgot to tell us that he was setting off a powder blast and I was knocked for a goal. As I came to I found the personnel manager picking me up and heard him murmuring: "Don't worry, Arthur, we'll take care of you." Kind words, but no more compensation pay was given me than the law authorized and that was precisely nothing for the first week of the injury which was the only week I was out.

This spring I had another experience in the open shop oil industry. This time on the Atlantic Coast at the Standard Oil gates on the Bayonne "Hook". McAlister Coleman and Sam Friedman and I were watching Louis Budenz, of LABOR AGE, distributing his magazine as the workers rushed through the gates. The magazine went like hot cakes as Louis yelled: "All about the company union." According to the LABOR AGE articles, written by Dunn and Budenz, the Standard Oil company union is the bunk and kids the workers along instead of remedying grievances. And the men, eagerly grabbing the magazine and nodding their heads, confirmed this. But Mr. Coler, general manager for the "Hook" refinery went off into a barking rage when his big car stopped and he saw what was going. He told Louis that he'd be arrested. But Louis kept right on and came back other times, after writing Coler that he was coming.

All the poor Standard Oil manager could do then was to bend a little before the agitation and grant some concessions to the workers. Not much—some extension of

vacation periods—but enough to allay the discontent a little he hoped and avert the danger of the strike that the workers had begun to talk about.

This incident serves to show how fragile the company union and other open shop protective devices are. They can't stand up under intelligent criticism. They are full of holes for the organizer and agitator to put his fingers into.

It is a mistake to underestimate the strength of the open shop employer, but just as great a mistake to hold any superstitious exaggerated opinions of his power. Even such hard-boiled open shop giants as the Standard and Bethlehem Steel have at times been unionized in part. The oil industry has a history showing two Bayonne refinery strikes that indirectly won considerable concessions for the workers and a highly organized and for-a-time effective strike in the California producing fields that failed only because it was too localized and had not extended to the Mid-Continent and Gulf properties of the same corporations.

Get Ready for the Fight

That brings us to the essential task of national planning, of *Surveying the Industry*. The movement has to have all the necessary facts about the industry so that it does not waste energy and lose force by going at things blind. For the oil industry it would mean a survey of the producing field, to begin, a listing of the wells by barrel capacity so the union would know where to put on the screws to make the boss yield. In the refining end it would mean a listing of the oil refineries by location and capacity and nature of product and distance to market. It is, obviously, no use striking one refinery if another can meet the demands of the market without too great freight cost to the employer. In addition the unions must be well posted on such business facts as amount of stocks on hand; the general state of the market and the financial connections of the various corporations in the field. Much of this data can be found in standard reference books of the industry and the rest can be gained from workers in the plants, especially the engineering or technical men, who should be cultivated.

Labor organizations conducting a campaign into a difficult open shop field need to be as fully supplied with the facts about the enemy as any invading army. It is not enough to depend on the general fund of information that individual labor leaders may have. There must be exact and carefully tabulated data that will enable the organization to know what it is doing all the time and never to go at things blindly.

And at the same time there must be accurate knowledge of the grievances of the workers; their wages; their job conditions; the company union and its failure to remedy grievances brought before it. The organizing unions must have these facts so clearly in hand that their litera-

ture and speeches will hit the target. And also the unions entering a new field must know all about the open shop workers who are calling them in:—what languages they read and speak; through what fraternal societies they can be reached when other means fail. And special attention should be paid to interesting, not only the women workers, but the wives of the men in the shops, whose morale will fail if the family at home does not understand what it is about and back them up.

United Action, Central Bodies and Publicity

A hopeful indication of a new efficiency was seen at Detroit in the recommendations that President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department made towards the organization of the automobile industry. O'Connell believes that as far as possible the automobile workers should be organized according to industry and not bound in separate unions by disappearing craft lines. Jurisdictional disputes he says must be waived if the drive is to be united and vigorous. It is hoped that when the conference of interested international union leaders meets to plan the auto drive that O'Connell's recommendations will be followed.

Next in importance to a unified industrial union in organizing the worker is the support of the union men and women of other industries. That support can most logically be given through the central labor unions of each automobile city; the state federations, and the American Federation of Labor itself. What the central labor unions do in a local way, the A. F. of L. can do nationally. The central labor unions of Detroit, Toledo, Indianapolis, Cleveland and the other automobile centers, can raise funds, hold mass meetings and parades and swing community sentiment generally for labor. No one who saw the inspiring giant parade led by the Passaic Central Trades and Labor Assembly, welcoming the woolen strikers into the A. F. of L., can fail to realize what a tower of strength such a central organization can be to strikers. In similar fashion, the Detroit central labor union, with its 20,000 affiliated building tradesmen, printers and so forth can be of vital assistance to the Ford workers when they make their demands.

Publicity has to be well organized to put over the drive. But the last few years have seen so much well directed labor publicity that there is good reason to believe that this bet will not be overlooked. The local capitalist papers can be forced to use a useful amount of news favorable to labor if the unions crack the whip over them. At Passaic, for instance, when the papers found they were losing big gobs of circulation by their extremely unfair strike news they changed their tune somewhat. But dependence on the capitalist papers is a shaky matter and what counts most is a hard hitting local labor press. Detroit and Toledo and Cleveland have

weekly labor papers authorized by the central labor unions that may be expanded into daily papers when the Labor Movement rises to its feet in earnest as it must during an auto drive. In the palmy days of the Seattle labor movement, when the shipyards were going full blast, the circulation of the UNION RECORD peaked up towards a hundred thousand. The exuberant labor spirit brought a rousing sentiment for the workers' daily and the shipyard man who attempted to patronize the "TIMES" or "P.-I." newsboys as he was leaving the gates got cutting looks from his companions.

Union Label on Ford and Chev

The prospect for an automobile drive is the most encouraging news that has come down the pike for a long while. And now that this big prospect is before us, it is pardonable if we dream ahead a little further. When the automobile factories are filled with union men and every Ford and Chev bears the union label it will be illogical to put scab tires on the beasts and to manufacture their engines and bodies out of scab tin and steel. So, "On to Akron" and "On to Pittsburgh" will be the next cry. And then how aggravating to run scabby gasoline through a union carburetor, and so we come to the necessity of unionizing the oil refineries and the drilling crews.

If this is optimistic, let us have more optimism. To the bow wows with the old song that it can't be done. Ford would not have gone on the five-day week if he felt no forebodings of unionism, nor Gary, earlier, have shortened the 12-hour workday. Brother Coler at Bayonne would not have trotted out those vacation concessions to the Standard men if he hadn't felt the open shop crown a little insecure after the way he saw the workers responding to the agitation.

The open shop workers are not prosperous, contented workers. That is the arrant nonsense that is all right for a DAILY MAIL delegation from England to feed to the Rothermere newspapers. But it is a joke as measured by the facts here in America where the Empire State of New York can boast an average weekly factory wage (of fulltime workers) of only \$27 or \$28 a week, with the textile industry batting down to \$18 to \$20. How a family man, or even a live bachelor, can be prosperous on that misses our guess. And even if his wage averaged twice as much what is the satisfaction of being sweated to death by speed engineers and stooped on in shop and at club and home by the Sherman Detective Agency or some other experts on industrial relations?

More of the good things of earth for the workers—not merely for the 15 per cent now organized but for the whole 100 per cent.

A car for every worker and a union car at that!

UNION WATER-MARKED PAPER

All of our readers will note that LABOR AGE is printed on union water-marked paper. This is just as important from a union viewpoint, as that we have the label of the Allied Printing Trades on our publication. It is not generally known, among labor unions, that union water-marked book paper can be obtained at only a slight amount over the cost of non-union paper. Those unions wishing further information, for their publication, can get in touch with the International Papermakers' Union, Albany, New York.

The Voice of Open Shoppery

Publicity and Purposes of Our Enemies

By ROBERT W. DUNN

THE open shop is not dead. Neither are the open shoppers. Let not whistling-to-keep-up-spirits reports from anywhere persuade you to the contrary. Detroit should be sufficient answer to those who blandly inform us that the open shop drive has spent itself.

Let us quote a little from their militant writings, first from *The Detroit*, the official publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce the same organization that issued the famous letter to the "Detroit Church Men" warning them against such outstanding bolsheviks—who are "admittedly attacking our government and our American Plan of employment"—as George L. Berry, Frank Morrison and Hugh Frayne. Referring to James O'Connell's remarks at the Metal Trades Convention dealing with the organization of the automobile workers *The Detroit* inquires: "What will be the method of organization Mr. O'Connell alludes to? If precedent is to be followed you may expect the Federation hirelings to blow up your plant or sack your home."

No, the open shop organ, *The Detroit*, like its brother organ the *Detroit Saturday Night*, is thoroughly alive and kicking. And there is nothing it hates like an organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Indeed it refers to the Detroit representatives of the A. F. of L. as "a group of human parasites whose plan and program includes killing, maiming, grafting and many other applied forms of criminal destruction."

So much for the organizers. Now what did this same highly articulate mouthpiece of the auto manufacturers think of the A. F. of L. Convention. It said some weeks before William Green led his cohorts on the automobile metropolis: "We predict that the Convention will be an immense flop . . . the manufacturers, merchants, professional men and all the rest of the respectable citizens of Detroit owe it to themselves and to their city to stamp out the activities of the labor organizers."

The Detroit, representing the Board of Commerce, is only one of the active agents of the open shop and the anti-union employers in Detroit. We must not forget the Citizens Committee, the Associated Building Employers and the Detroit Employers Association, all of them out to kill labor organizations at sight and united under the banner of the American Plan.

The open shop movement in Detroit—and in America—is by no means buried. It is lively, healthy and robust. It may not appear in certain sections quite so man-eating as its prototype of 1920-21. But it is certainly not a domesticated cat sipping milk on the back porch of organized labor.

In October 1923 a cartoon in "Labor", organ of the railroad organizations, depicted the Open Shop as a pugilist on his knees having just been knocked out by a left uppercut from the fist of Labor with the Public acting as a referee and giving O. S. the count. This interpretation of the tremendous loss to the shop craft and clerks

and maintenance of way unions was, to put it mildly, a bit overoptimistic. Especially in view of the weed-like growth of the company unions and independent associations replacing the standard labor unions on so many of the roads like the P. R. R., the Great Northern, the Union Pacific, the Rock Island and the Santa Fe.

A picture of Labor flooring the O. S. with a mighty blow would be comforting to contemplate in 1926 as in 1923 but it would be no more truthful to the facts. It is true the after-war losses in trade union membership have subsided. (How much they were due to the conscious open shop movement is a matter for speculation.) Labor is apparently holding its own. But it is doing it in the face of a strong and steady propaganda for the open shop, for the American Plan as it has come to be called among the employers. The American Planners have a better developed publicity machine than they had in 1920. They have built up, as in Detroit, local and national organs devoted to nothing but the presentation of their doctrine. Besides they have penetrated without difficulty the popular magazine as well as the so-called class magazines. There is no essential difference in the point of view, and only a slight difference in rendering, of the anti-union blurbs and American Plan blasts that have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *World's Work* and *Colliers* on the one hand and the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *American Mercury* (organ of the American "ineffectuals") on the other. The latter a few months ago carried a particularly distorted and vicious picture of the struggle of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters for union recognition in San Francisco. The cynical H. L. Mencken, who hates all unions as he hates all socialists, pays handsomely for articles that laud the Rotarian patriotism of such anti-labor cliques as the San Francisco Industrial Association, the fire-eating American Plan body of the Pacific Coast.

The results of all this propaganda poured out by the blah-blah publicity boys is of course not measurable in statistical units. Neither is the effect of the millions of gold placed neatly in the lap of the pious back slappers of the Y. M. C. A. We only catch a glimpse of cause and effect in such situations as at Detroit where the churches turned a cold shoulder on William Green and other ex-Sunday School teachers. We can, however, observe the great areas of unorganized workers in autos, tires, steel, textiles, machinery, meat packing and even coal. Yes, even coal, where thanks to exceedingly militant and expensive open-shopping, we find 70% of the bituminous tonnage now being turned out in non-union territory. A few months ago it was only 30%. The extent of the domains of the American Planners are almost limitless. The realization of this fact, it may have been, that produced the sharp anti-company union resolution, introduced by Matthew Woll at the Detroit Convention, as

well as the resolutions for the organization of the auto workers and the textile workers. In Detroit, with every automobile plant wide open, the union leaders must have smarted under the sneers of the open shop association secretaries and the brisk, bustling young American Planners.

The American Plan advocates have not greatly changed their old appeal and argument. The words may be slightly different from those used in 1920—in some instances not quite so hysterical, or so thoroughly soaked in the bogey of bolshevism and confiscation. However, there are still the same oceans of words wept over the “tyranny of unionism”. The unions, it is charged, deny all liberty to the freeborn and independent-spirited American workmen. Liberty, these open shop proclaimers point out, is that freedom one acquires through bargaining *as an individual* with the United States Steel Corporation, the General Motors Corp., the International Harvester Co., the Pennsylvania Railroad or some other “equal before the law” with whom the free worker can make a free contract of employment. That freedom, you understand, is lost the minute the worker permits a trade union to bargain for him and represent him in a collective capacity!

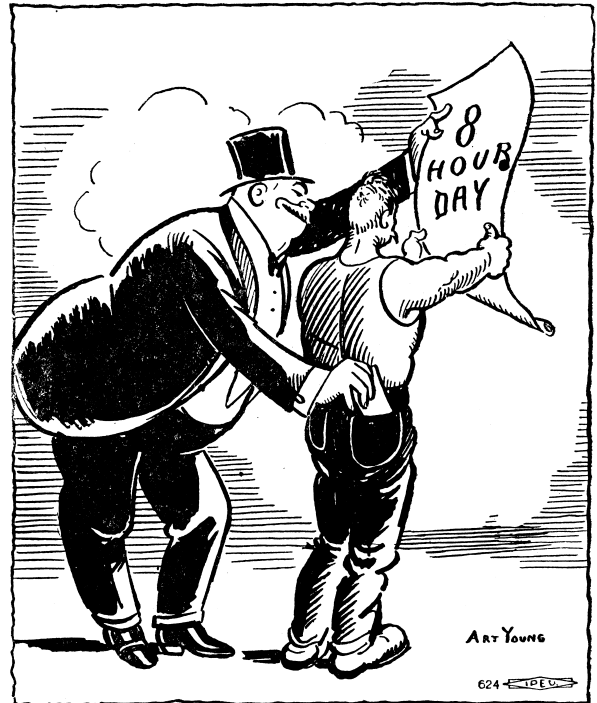
The American Planners are naturally very much concerned about the freedom enjoyed by their workers. The events in Passaic, particularly as they concern Mr. Forstmann's company union (Labor Age, October, 1926) give us a taste of the quality of the freedom which the “industrialists” (never call them “capitalists”; the American Planners don't like that word. It was used by Karl Marx) deem fitting and sufficient for their workers. The same industrialists may perhaps be interested in restricting the bank credit of a competitor or in curtailing his access to building supplies if he doesn't break with the union—as in San Francisco—but that, of course, is no interference with freedom. They may also enter into price-fixing associations to determine how much the public shall pay for a commodity, but that, too, is quite another matter. The precious liberty of the worker to bargain alone with a billion dollar corporation—that is the liberty that is being trampled upon by the vicious union. The American Plan, in the role of Savior, rushes to the defence of this individual bargainer.

Somehow this logic doesn't seem to lodge in the brain of those who have given this open shop kind of freedom any careful study. No wonder Rabbi Wise thundered at the Detroit Convention, attempting to shatter the lying superstition of this freedom:

“The open shop is one that is open to the unorganized until it can be closed to the organized workers. Open shop is a misnomer and a delusion. It is the open door to industrial despotism. ‘Abandon ye all hope who enter here’ might well be written over the door of the open shop. This nation cannot endure half union and half open shop.”

To be sure, the American Planner, in his more guarded moments, will tell you he entertains no antagonism for labor unions as such—“We are distinctly not an anti-labor organization” I heard the President of the National Association of Manufacturers say last week. They would not, they assert, interfere with any worker's right to join a union any more than they would interfere with

WATCH YOUR POCKETS!



In Steel the workers have received the 8-hour day, but not 12-hour pay. Lower hours must be secured, with the pay for the previous former hours. The lower hours always makes for higher production per hour. Workers must secure their share of that increase, despite Open Shoppery.

his right to join a church. But—and this is an important qualification—the worker must not join a union that proposes to function as a trade union, that hopes to gain collective bargaining with the employer. No, that is a naughty union. The worker should avoid such unmitigated bolsheviks. The National Catholic Welfare Council puts the answer neatly to this particular bit of boss hypocrisy when it says:

“Unless the members of a union are permitted to deal with the employer as a body their union membership is futile. An ‘open shop’ which allows the employers to belong to a union, but does not permit the union to deal with the employer as a union is worthless.”

And Father John Ryan, the director of the Social Action Department of that body adds:

“Whenever the open shop has been formally adopted, or rather imposed it has meant no dealing with the union and no adequate collective bargaining. Hence the American Plan is essentially anti-union, anti-labor and anti-social.”

Emphasizing the same point concerning the function of a union and the hypocrisy of the “no-discrimination against union member” claims of the open shoppers Prof. John A. Fitch of the New York School of Social Work observes:

“A man does not join a union as one joins a literary society or a country club. He joins it rather that he may

SAMPLES OF OPEN SHOPPERY Five Day Week and "Anti-American Unions"

It is surprising that Labor, by and large, knows so little of the sentiments of Open Shopper.

Those gentlemen are militants—against the organized workers. They spit fire and volley thunder, in their rage against democracy in industry.

Of many choice quotations that we might make, two are given herewith. Henry Ford was forced to adopt the 5-Day Week, says the National Founders' Association, one of the mightiest of Open Shop conspiracies. Of course, we knew that; but it is interesting to behold how bitter these gentlemen become at any one granting the workers anything. The Bulletin of the Federated Industries of Washington harps upon the old phrase that Unionism is opposed to Americanism.

THE FIVE-DAY WEEK

It did not take the American Federation of Labor long to try and capitalize the popular idea that Henry Ford had reduced the working week to five days with no decrease in wages. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor announced at Detroit where their convention is being held that the 40-hour, five-day week, is part of the policy of the Federation and that it would be persistently advocated until it was accomplished. He took credit for the adoption of the five day week by Henry Ford saying that it was a direct consequence of the foresight shown by the American Federation of Labor at its convention last year when the shorter work week was urged as a means of conserving the energy of the American worker while enhancing production and output by means of

improved machinery and modern scientific management. It is interesting to see a contest between Mr. Green, of the Federation and Henry Ford as to which of them originated the idea. But right there occurs a very serious question. The newspapers carried the fact that Mr. Ford had initiated a new program and he was lauded indiscriminately by the unthinking. It seems, however, that his own workmen are the least enthusiastic concerning this innovation of all the people. Word from Detroit indicates that Mr. Ford publicly inaugurated the five-day week through necessity and that it is no secret that for more than six months the Ford Co. has been operating on a five-day week. That would seem to put a different complexion on the matter.—Bulletin National Founders' Association.

AMERICANISM VS. UNIONISM

If a community wants strikes, unionize your business. If an employer wants to lose control of his business, sign up with organized labor. If one wants some outsider to tell him whom he shall employ and what wages he must pay, just tie up with the unions.

If our citizens want industrial peace, ignore unionism, when it comes to employment. Engage any individual who is qualified to properly serve you. So long as one worships labor unions, just so long can his business be tied up and his employees will strike ad libitum. Be an independent American citizen and operate and control your own business. If our people want freedom in employment, let us get together and have it.—Bulletin of Federated Industries of Washington.

have an instrument for negotiation with his employer. When the union member is employed with the distinct understanding that he is not to make use of this instrument, he comes into the shop on exactly the same basis as the non-union man. He comes divested of the bargaining strength that his union exists to enable him to exercise."

"But," wails the open shopper—with his tongue in his cheek—"the labor union prohibits a man from becoming an apprentice in any craft which he may elect. God, through Nature, says 'this man's vocation shall be that of a plumber.' But the plumbers' union objects." This is the conventional argument about the limitation of apprentices, advanced by the "labor experts" of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. In answer to this oft-repeated charge we have the testimony of Dwight L. Hoopingarner, Director of the American Construction Council and of the New York Building Council, both employers organizations. He has also been the secretary of the Cleveland Building Employers' Association. Yet he says:

"I am in a position to say unqualifiedly that, generally speaking the unions in the building trades permit more apprentices to be trained than the employers are either able to take care of, or, in cases, willing to take."

But when the American Planner is backed into a cor-

ner on his false charges against the unions he protests that he is not against unions "when properly conducted", and admits that there may be one here and there that meets his conditions. When sifted to the bottom, however, it appears that the only union that really suits the American planner is a company union, or a cross between a company benefit association and a fraternal or coffin society, a union that has nothing to say about the conditions under which workers labor, a union without the ability to negotiate and bargain and fight. The open shopper is dead against collective bargaining of any kind except that bogus variety carried on between "works councils, employee representatives"—in a word, company unions—and the managements which completely control them and use them for their own purposes.

In order to gain their ends the American planners throw up the same old hokum to scare the employers and mislead the workers. Witness H. M. Nimmo, the editor of the *Detroit Saturday Night* in his annual Open Shop Number, with a leading article headed "Socialism Follows the Closed Shop". La Follette! The Plumb Plan! All the monsters are arrayed to show the "meaning" and "tendency" of the union shop, which these professional American planners fear and hate.

(Just how these open shoppers are organized we shall discuss in the December issue.)

The Cap Makers' Striking Victory

Forty-Hour Week and Industrial Responsibility

By CICELY APPLEBAUM

EMPLOYERS of labor know all there is to know about industrial organization. "No one can tell them how to run their businesses." Their success is obviously complete—we see workers employed all the year round producing high grade goods to sell at low prices. The complaints of workers that employment is not steady or of consumers that quality and prices do not come up to the representation of them, are only the cries of malcontents who don't understand.

But the workers can't always be convinced that "all is for the best in the best of possible business worlds." One group, at any rate, seeing their trade slide merrily down into chaos decided to take matters into their own hands. And the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union has succeeded in bringing about a reorganization of their industry. Their victory was particularly notable in that it was gained from the merchants who, in this trade, are not directly engaged in manufacture. Until now, these merchants have refused to admit that they are employers of labor or to have any dealings with the union.

Within the past few years, the needle trades have undergone a transformation. The shops manufacturing garments have declined in size and the manufacturers no longer sell the garments they produce to retail stores. Merchandising has passed into the hands of a small number of wholesalers who buy up the output of a great number of manufacturers. These wholesalers frequently buy their own materials and furnish these to the manufacturers producing goods for them. The wholesalers determine the styles, the sizes, the material patterns. They determine, too, the extent of the manufacturer's business for they possess the only outlet for manufactured goods.

Yet the wholesalers have been unwilling to assume responsibility for employment conditions. They have encouraged the establishment of numerous small shops so that they could pit these against each other and thus force down prices. They have distributed contracts among submanufacturers in an arbitrary way so that no manufacturer could know what his future production would be. They have bought goods from non-union manufacturers whenever possible.

Union Opposes Waste

The industry has been brought by their activities into a chaotic condition. The union statement drawn up by J. M. Budish, Secretary of the committee managing the strike describes the situation thus: "There is the greatest waste for all concerned in the outside system of production. Of still greater importance are the numerous trade abuses resulting from this system, such as unfair and cut-throat competition, faulty and shoddy workmanship, skimping in materials, disregard of sizes and other specifications which not merely undermine the confidence of

the general public in the produce of the trade, but also leads to a shrinkage of the market. Last but not least, it causes great distress among the workers through substandard conditions of employment and a tendency to still further shorten the busy season. The checking of these evils has become the most urgent problem for all the interests concerned and for the entire community."

It was to remedy these conditions that 6,000 headgear workers went on strike on July 6 against the jobbers. At the same time they struck against the manufacturers who were demanding the abolition of the unemployment insurance system, the right to discharge 20 per cent of their employees at stated periods of reorganization, and the abolition of pay for legal holidays.

The strike against the manufacturers was settled in short order. In the very first week of the strike, independent firms acceded to the union's terms. By July 29, an agreement had been reached with the Wholesale Hat and Cap Manufacturers' Association which refused all the employers demands and granted some additional demands of the union. Foremost among these was the establishment of the forty-hour week to begin on July 1, 1927. This puts the cap makers among those progressive unions which have secured this latest decrease in hours. In addition, salary increases were granted, raising the minimum wage from \$40 to \$44 for cutters, blockers and operators, \$35 to \$38 for packers, and \$27 to \$30 for lining makers and trimmers. All workers were also given an increase of \$2 weekly now with \$1 to be added on February 1, 1927.

Unemployment Insurance Held

The workers count it a great victory, too, to have kept their unemployment insurance system in its present most progressive form. The manufacturers continue to contribute 3 per cent of their weekly wage bill to an Unemployment Fund which the workers administer. The agreement provides for the establishment of an Advisory Board to the Fund to be composed of two representatives of the Union, two of the Association and an impartial chairman. This Board may in no way interfere with the management of the Fund but it may investigate any complaints that the Fund is being used for purposes other than the payment of unemployment benefits and call these to the attention of the unions.

The agreement provides, further, that every manufacturer must register with the Union the jobbers for whom he is working. He may not sell directly or indirectly any goods to a jobber not under contract to the unions.

It took some time longer for the jobbers to come to terms with the union. They had insisted when the strike began that they were not employers of labor and had no intentions of entering into a contract with the union. But the season arrived, orders began to come in, the

LABOR AGE

ranks of the workers remained unbroken and no work on the orders was being done or seemed about to be done. The situation was a difficult one for the jobbers.

The union continued to maintain, as their statement said: "that by whatever name he may call himself the Wholesaler controls working conditions, he controls employment and that element of control imposes upon him the responsibility that he shall so conduct his business that proper working standards may be upheld instead of undermined, and that employment may be stabilized instead of demoralized."

Union Persuades Wholesalers

The union pointed out that the wholesaler would be benefited by such a change. They insisted that the considerable public demand for hats and caps, with union labels indicating a recognized standard of quality, indicates that any reduction in these standards could only injure the whole headgear industry, the wholesalers along with everyone else. They insisted that both wholesalers and workers would profit from a higher standard of sanitation and quality which could be best maintained by collective relations between them.

And the wholesalers were finally persuaded that the industry was in a sorry state, that they hadn't known everything about industrial organization and could learn much from their workers. "The wholesaler is well satisfied," they admitted, "and in fact, anxious, to see all the manufacturers or contractors unionize so that there will be complete stability and uniformity of working conditions and production in the trade. The association, as such, concedes that there are benefits to be gained from unionism and is willing to cooperate with the union for the betterment, not only of the lot of the workingman, but also that of the business man who is today harassed by a number of trade abuses which could readily be eliminated through cooperation between the wholesaler and the workers."

So on August 11, an agreement was reached between the workers and the merchants. For the first time in the needle trades, the wholesalers who have come to be the most important element in the industry agreed to a regulation of their activities by the union.

It took some time to work out the concrete details of the industry's reorganization. But with workers fully conscious of the necessity of such a reorganization and wholesalers tardily but at last aware that there "is interrelation between these two major elements in the trade" (workers and wholesalers) that "even such conflicting interest as there may be can be best promoted by the collective relationships on the basis of mutual respect and consideration, rather than by the absurd attempt of ignoring one another," a settlement was inevitable.

There were two problems to solve—the complete unionization of the industry which would mean a maintenance of standards of sanitation and quality and a reduction of the insane, cut-throat competition which the jobbers had brought into the trade. To meet the first, the jobbers agreed to deal only with manufacturers employing union headgear workers. The second problem required a cutting down of the number of manufacturers to which each jobber might give out goods. The jobbers agreed that each would limit himself in each season to a

specified number of manufacturers whose names he would register with the union at the beginning of the season. Each jobber will be able to give out work only to these manufacturers except when no one of them is equipped to produce a certain grade of work. In that case, the wholesaler must notify the union of the name and address of any additional manufacturer he may have to employ.

Practical measures for the enforcement of the agreement were taken. A Board of Adjustment composed of three representatives of the Union, three representatives of the Association and an Impartial Chairman was set up to consider any disputes arising between members of the Association and the Union. This Board has the power to compel the party against whom the complaint is made to furnish its investigator with all the necessary facilities for establishing the justice of the complaint.

Power of the Board

The Board is given an even more important power—the power to fine in case of an infraction of the agreement. Any wholesaler found giving work to a non-union manufacturer may be fined a sum large enough to outweigh the advantage he gained by breaking the agreement, plus a penalty payment. To ensure the payment of these fines, the Wholesalers' Association promises to collect a money security from each of its members out of which any fine incurred may be paid.

The wholesalers have been made to realize that the industry will be more profitable to every one engaged in it if it is so organized as to afford the workers a decent living and the opportunity to produce high grade garments. The manufacturers have been saved from cut-throat competition with each other. The consumer may expect standards of quality to be maintained. And all this has been done by a group who are always told that they needn't meddle in the affairs of the business.

Any union might count a strike a success which had won them wage increases and a forty-hour week. The increased leisure which hard-fought strikes bring the workers is something well worth a fight. No longer need the workers wear themselves out in bitter toil while life slips by outside. And the maintenance of the progressive form of unemployment insurance the industry possesses in which the idleness of the worker is a charge on the industry and not on him is also highly to be commended.

But this strike was a strike not only for these material gains. The workers in the hat, cap and millinery trades recognized the fact that their industry was slipping down into chaos. They have a stake in that industry—they have invested in it their lives, their training, their skill. Their investment is too large for them to accept the dictum of the wholesalers "None can tell us how to run our business." Since the wholesalers wouldn't run the business so that the public secured garments of a high quality at a reasonable price, so that the workers could gain a decent livelihood from their occupation, the work-had to reorganize the industry so that it would be run that way. Not wages, hours and working conditions alone are the province of the workers—more and more they must occupy themselves with the organization of industry, more and more they must poke their fingers in the affairs of management.

Workers' Wives

Can Be a Force for Labor

By FANNIA M. COHN

IT is extremely unfortunate that the education of the wives of the workers has been so largely neglected. For the power of the women to help or hinder their husbands in their union activities and particularly during strikes cannot be overestimated. And whether women use this power to support their husbands vigorously or by their complaints make the task of the men more difficult depends so largely on their attitude towards the union and its works (an attitude determined by what they know about the union) that the education of women seems a venture of the greatest practical importance.

During a strike it is the woman who suffers most; it is she who must feed her children and provide them with whatever necessities she can manage to procure. It is she who must keep the house running though her husband is on strike and unable to provide her with the funds necessary for it. Yet all the while, she is kept unaware of the details of the struggle which is causing her suffering.

Husband Informed—Not the Wife

Her husband is on strike, thrilled on the picket line, fighting the police; in the meeting hall where the speakers explain to him the problems with which his union is confronted, the aims and objects of the strike; in his contact with his fellow-workers, fighting for the same cause. All this gives him much emotionally as well as in experience; for a person who is alert and capable of living fully through all the events of a strike must be enriched by his activity. He feels constantly the importance of being one of those engaged in the life-long struggle of the workers immediately for their rights as human beings; for a greater share in the goods which their labor produces, for a better life, and ultimately for a finer world, a world in which the masses of the people can live fuller and richer lives in a form of society based on a new conception of right and wrong.

His wife, in the meantime, due to her position in the home, must remain far from the battlefield on which her husband is fighting. She goes on with her drudgery busily engaged in the daily routine tasks of the housewife. Uninformed of the issues of the struggle that led to the strike, it is natural that she should grow impatient as the struggle continues. She begins to annoy her husband when he comes home, exhausted, after a day of exciting toil; she depresses him with questions; she grows "touchy"; she begins to bother him with her domestic problems.

The result is an exchange of unpleasant remarks which cannot lead to a better understanding of the problems with which husband and wife are confronted each day in their separate fields. The husband grows impatient with his wife who, he feels, "even in this great strike continues to be only a woman". He cannot understand why this life and death struggle in which he is engaged, one that

will affect not only his well-being but hers and that of their children, a strike watched by millions of men and women, is of less importance to her than her "home economics" with its petty problems.

Women's Patience of Great Value

Does the husband stop to consider whose fault it is that his wife doesn't take the proper interest in a strike? Women have never been accused of lack of patience, endurance and willingness to suffer for a cause they understood. History records the devotion and the sacrifices they made in every great revolution. All the struggles of the oppressed of the world for freedom were enriched by the martyrdom of women who willingly gave of their best to a cause they desired ardently to succeed. They were aroused to fight not only by the exciting stimulation of the revolution. Long before it came, many of them had been actively engaged in preparing the ground for the great event to come.

Military leaders have recognized that wars could not be successfully carried on without the support of the women of their country. In every war, strenuous efforts have been made to enlist the sympathies of the women. Because: it was realized that soldiers have behind them mothers, sisters, wives or sweethearts who can encourage them in their efforts and make them valiant fighters or by the discouragement of their women weaken their fighting spirits. During the World War, for instance, the governments created agencies to win and maintain the support of the women in their cause.

Women are always ready to give that support to a cause which they understand and of which they approve. And their support is made effective by their practicality and endurance—which all acknowledge them to possess. Women, whose task it has been to bring up children, have acquired in that task infinite patience and willingness to endure. And their daily job as home keeper has also developed in them a profound practicality, a realistic approach to all the problems facing them, for the slightest mistake might be fatal to their dearest—their children, their husbands, their homes.

There is no doubt that women can be convinced of the importance of the labor movement. They can be made to see how the ultimate ideals of the movement may be brought nearer day by day by advances that bring with them immediate advantages. They can be brought to realize when the needs of the worker make a strike necessary.

Cloakmakers' Struggle

The experience of the 40,000 striking cloakmakers of New York City, members of the I. L. G. W. U. in their present struggle, gave practical point to this view. In the seventeenth week of that strike, when no prospect of a speedy termination was in sight, the leaders of the strik-

AFTER THOIRY

Steel Compact Creates Germs of War

SO-CALLED capitalist papers of this country are hailing the new Franco-German steel pact as a guarantee of peace. "Innocence" could go no further. The arrangement is nothing of the kind. Rather is it creating the germs of new international conflict.

Two tendencies are at present at work in Europe. One of them is the effort to weld the chief nations of the old continent together in an alliance against dominant America. The other is the attempt to develop a new "balance of power"—with Germany and France as the fountainheads of one group and England and Italy of the other.

The latter viewpoint was represented in the German-English financial conference at Broadlands (Romsey) last month. The former is expressed bluntly by a staff correspondent in the French paper, *MATIN*: "These two countries (Germany and France) would create a new balance in the world. They could hold their own against any other States, no matter how big they might be." To which he adds, that their alliance would mean "a hundred million men who, as we have seen during the last war, known how to fight."

France finds herself in conflict with Italy in the Mediterranean and Africa. Mussolini has made no secret of his hatred for France. At the same time, Paris also views the break-down of Britain's iron and steel industry with much comfort, and looks with envy upon British dominance in oil. It was France

who played the Standard Oil's game against Britain in the various San Remo, Hague and other conferences.

England and Italy have just divided the spoils in Abyssinia, with the League of Nations helplessly looking on. Where England goes, there must Italy go likewise. Italy has a long seacoast and Great Britain has still a mighty navy. Friendship there is thus born of necessity.

French and German economic imperialism must also march together, in the new day. Their coal and iron are dependent, one on the other, more than ever, with the great American advance in production. At Thoiry, beautiful little village at the foot of the Jura mountains, Briand and Stresemann laid the basis for the "friendship" that blossomed simultaneously in the steel combine.

After Thoiry many strange things will come to pass. A German-French alliance, either with all Europe against the hated Americans, or with each other and dependent nations against Britain and Italy, is in the making. Our newspapers, alternately hoping that the latter will occur and fearing that the former may happen, are alternately whistling to keep up courage and smiling at the prospects of good anti-British friends in the oil game. If the workers do not join hands in international action for "No war", the bloody dreams of Marshal Foch will give the world another destructive nightmare. Steel combination is not breathing "Peace", but "War".

ers turned to their members' wives in a successful effort to win their moral support.

But this enlightenment should not be left for strike time. Women should be interested in the labor movement when the strain on them is not so great. Then they will realize when the strike comes that it is a last resort for the attainment of ends whose importance they will understand.

The education of the wives of workers has another very significant reason to recommend it, the potent influence on children that women possess. A study of the lives of many of the world's great men reveals that almost all of them were inspired by their mothers. Most of them ascribed their achievements to this maternal influence.

As workers, we want our children to understand the problems, the purpose, and aims of the labor movement to which their parents belong. We want them to know the trials and tribulations, the victories and defeats, the joys and despairs their parents experienced in the process of building their unions, the supreme sacrifice many of

them made for the cause of the workers. Who can bring these to the child's consciousness better than the mother?

Mothers a Great Force

We must realize that the better future for humanity, of which we speak, cannot be achieved in the future. Our hopes for success in that great task we have undertaken will be much greater if the mothers are intelligently informed enough to carry it on.

But if the labor movement is to win the fullhearted support and cooperation of the wives of its members, they must be treated as equals. They must be taken into the confidence of the men and inspired to realize their importance as a social force. The men must frankly share with them their experiences and keep them fully informed about the affairs of the organization. So informed they will be willing to place at the disposal of the labor movement their will power, their practicality, their influence to aid their husbands in the struggles of the movement.

FIVE YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT

"Labor Age" Fifth Anniversary An Eventful One

WE have reason to be proud. Five years have rolled round since LABOR AGE unfolded its banner against Black Reaction. On November 1st, 1921 the first issue of the publication appeared. It was a time of triumphant Open Shoppery, when Labor in many quarters was in the Slough of Despond.

Our fifth anniversary marks a new turn in events. Still Reaction goes on its merry way. Still it reigns supreme. But it is not so certain of itself, as in times past. It has prepared sedatives and opiates for the workers, to guard against that new era of organization that may be at hand.

The American Empire does loom large in world affairs, under the control of its anti-Labor rulers. But those workers, contrary to repeated propaganda otherwise, do not yet share even in the crumbs of empire. There are signs that they may resent this, definite signs that revolt—for better conditions and higher remuneration—is in the offing.

LABOR AGE, standing on the principles of the Labor Movement, looking forward to the day of more and more workers' control of industry, out of the trenches of here and now, has brought a real contribution of hope to the sorely-beset unionists—pointing ever to that new period of union action ahead.

It was out of this viewpoint and effort that a record of achievement has been made. Pioneering is not always the easiest of tasks, but when pioneering meets with the success that ours has met with, it is more than worth the difficulties.

Of those things to which we have devoted ourselves, and which have borne definite fruit, we will mention but ten. They are outstanding in the march forward of the organized workers of this country. They are:

1. The promotion of Workers' Education. Among the few voices raised for Workers' Education, ours was one of the first heard prior to the endorsement of this idea by the A. F. of L.

2. The necessity for the pragmatic approach in the workers' educational effort. When the general idea had been established, we emphasized the need for carrying it out in such a way as to be of the maximum value to the Movement, opposing too much emphasis on "cultural" efforts—a task in which we are still engaged and which has contributed to the good work accomplished in a number of places.

3. The need for textile union unity. Our discussion on this score gave rise to the unity conference of textile unions, which brought several thousand workers into the United Textile Workers of America.

4. The new drive for steel organization, the threat of which produced the 8-hour day. Our January, 1923 issue called for the new drive, and aroused comment and fury in the employers' organs. Out of

this drive, which was made, came the surrender by the corporations on the hours issue.

5. The La Follette campaign. To this we pointed as a thing to which Labor would turn, six months before any other publication or group had thought seriously of it as a possibility. We still see in that campaign the breaking of ground which will lead at the next opportune moment, to a new alliance of Labor on the political field.

6. The fight on company unionism and for more effective labor publicity. The adoption of such a policy was the chief event at the Detroit A. F. of L. convention. Many central bodies have also been stimulated by its discussion.

7. The fight against the high wage lie. On this we have just begun our work. But already we see signs of its effectiveness. When local unions, central bodies and individual workers take this up and hammer at it, we will have put to rout that propaganda of the employers most menacing to organized workers.

8. The promotion of effective methods of organization. Also in its infancy, this has attracted much attention among serious workers' educational institutions, and one of the largest has requested that we go into detail, as to how it can be widely discussed for the good of the Movement. The waiver of jurisdiction in the auto drive is a fine evidence that the idea, pointed to by us in times past, is bearing fruit.

9. The fight on the courts. At Detroit, again, we saw the LABOR AGE idea hammered home by men of such standing at Matthew Woll and John Frey. "Law or no law," said the former, Labor must stand up and defy the courts in their usurpation of authority and strike hard for freedom. Otherwise, Labor will perish.

10. The effort for Passaic and other God-forsaken places. We stood by Passaic through thick and thin, as we have said, knowing that those gallant workers out there would become members of the A. F. of L. Today that is a fact. At Lackawanna our publicity has stopped a wage reduction temporarily. At Bayonne our agitation won an extension of vacations with pay for the men. And the end is not yet!

That is a record to which few institutions can point, in so short a period of time. Ever, in our work, we have refrained from personalities in the Movement itself. We have refused to be enmeshed in political maneuverings within the unions, thinking that to be the business of the unions themselves. We have nothing to do with factional tickets or candidates within the Movement. Our concern has been with the discussion of principles, with the promotion of the most effective means to winning further and further victories for the workers.



Drawn by J. F. Anderson for Labor Age.

IN THE LAND OF "HIGH WAGES"

"How much hold have you, Mr. Worker, on your job?" That is an important question, even in this "Land of the Millenium"

Stars of Bethlehem

The Grace-Bent-Larkin-Ludlum Comedy-Tragedy

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

THE BIG BATTLE BEGINS

We hereby serve notice: There shall be no more peace in Bethelhem. The big fight against Bethlehem Bunk is on. It will spread—from Lackawanna to Johnstown, Steelton, and the seat of steel serfdom itself, Bethlehem of the Judases. To each place will we go, with our pen, talking to the men, learning what they are thinking, exposing the facts—laying the foundation for a new day of Hell raising. We have found out that the steel slaves still have souls, that they still propose to be Men, that they mean to map out their own destiny in their own way, not by Grace from above.

By God, it's time that they awaken! It's time that they begin to think about themselves a bit and not as much of the welfare of the company! We have stopped a wage cut at Lackawanna. Where are your friends at times like this, Men of the Bethlehem, except among the ranks of Progressive Organized Labor? Get decent representatives elected, pledged privately to a wage demand, make that demand—and see what the Corporation will do. In the meantime, keep your powder dry! That means—get ready for real union organization!

RED is a color which has played no inconsiderable role in Bethlehem Steel annals. The red night fires of its furnaces blare up perpetually at the sky, making drab and filthy Lackawanna more weird and diabolical than in the day. In the Great 1919 steel strike, it was the "reds" who were advertised throughout the world as the instigators of the walk-out. Red pepper also did its bit, in the hands of Slavish Judiths, to put New York's state constabulary on the run—when they, true to military traditions, rushed to the scene to aid their beleaguered bosses of the Bethlehem. And the red light of commercialized vice hovers, at least figuratively, close to the big mill gates.

Whether the distinguished officers of this soulful corporation have deliberately encouraged prostitution around their mills can not be charged, in all fairness, without a much deeper and wider investigation than I was privileged to make. That they do little or nothing to discourage it is evident to any man with his eyes about him—not merely in Lackawanna but in Bethlehem, Pa. itself. In both possessions of the corporation—controlled body and soul as they are (at least in time of crisis)—the homes of the scarlet women are in interesting proximity to the mills. That they can serve handily as sources of "amusement" to the shiftless vermin from the outside who serve as strikebreakers, of course, is more than plain.

Be that as it may—and it is something which the very busy social service agencies in Buffalo might look into, with some possible good—there is no doubt that

prostitution of another sort is stamped all over the men who work for the Schwab-Grace combine. What kind of manhood is that, whose almost every step is reported through operatives, to the General Manager's office and to the Employment Department? What brand of freemen are those who must submit even to lying reports on the part of these lice of the social system—the company spies?

"Freedom" of Representatives

Score another marker for hypocrisy when you read in the little gray-backed "Plan of Representation" this further piece of bunk:

"Article X. It is understood and agreed that each representative shall be free to discharge his duties in an independent manner, without fear that his individual relations with the Company may be affected in the least degree by any action taken by him in good faith in his representative capacity.

"To insure to each Representative his right to such independent action, he shall have the right to take the question of an alleged personal discrimination against him, on account of his representative capacity, to any of the Superior Officers; to the General Joint Committee, and to the President of the Company.

"Having exercised this right in the consecutive order indicated and failing a satisfactory remedy within thirty days, a Representative shall have the further right to appeal to the State Department of Labor or the Secretary of Labor of the United States. The Company shall furnish the said State Department of Labor or the said Secretary with every facility for the determination of the facts, and the findings and recommendations of the said State Department of Labor or the said Secretary shall be final and binding."

A fine flow of fair words, we will grant. Designed to confuse some unwary Liberal, seeking the "good, the beautiful and the true." Designed to aid to the Corporation's publicity department, in chanting the merits of the "plan". Side by side with this work of verbal art there lies on my table documentary evidence that it is a creation of humbuggery and lies. Rash representative would he be who would appeal to any outside agency—even granted that he might have some trust in it. Even as it is, these representatives are tracked, watched by the ferret eyes of spies and reported on to the "big bosses". Should the Corporation dare to challenge this statement, I shall be glad to show my proof to persons whom I can trust not to injure the men who have given the information—Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary, Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council, Miss Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation, John A. Fitch of the New York School for Social Work. Although much perturbed by my first

LABOR AGE

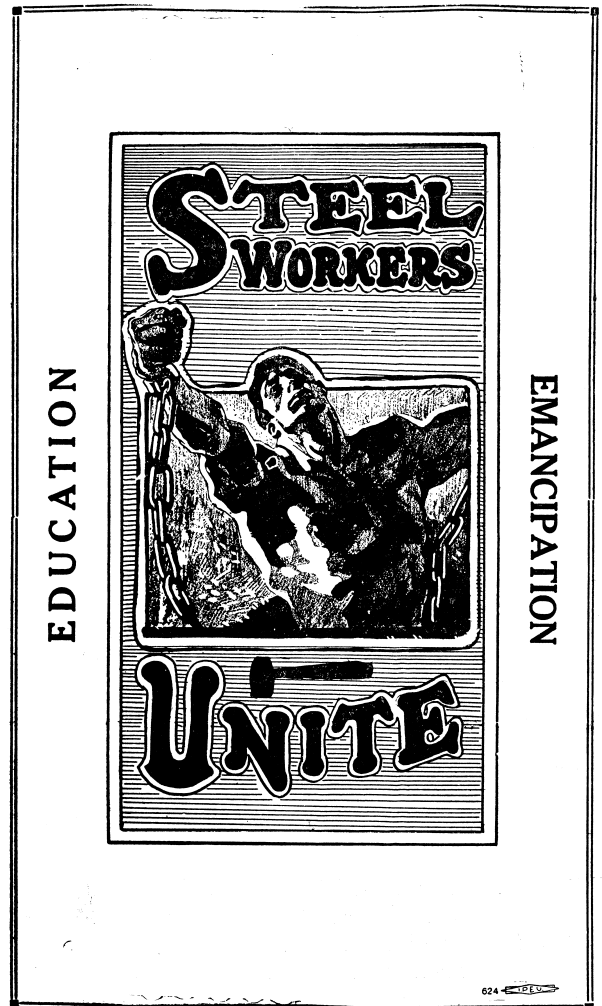
article, the Corporation has not attacked any of its charges—including the direct charge that it makes wide use of labor spies. To clear up the whole matter, I hereby challenge them to deny that labor spying is not an important part of their real labor “plan”. What chance has a “representative” with the cards thus stacked against him?

But let us speed up our imaginations a bit, and fancy that Schwab and Grace some fine morning decided to abolish their spy system. Well might they do so, for some of their spies, at least, are close rivals to old Ananias. As fiction writers a number of them would do a thrilling business. It is not so long ago that a local detective agency distributed “union” leaflets before the Donner Steel Works in Buffalo—the second largest mill in the Buffalo district—and thereupon appeared at the Donner office with a view to getting the job of discovering the leaflet-distributors! That is an old labor spy game. A proficient gentleman of this breed, lately active at Passaic, makes it a practice to carry about with him literature of all sorts—“I. W. W., A. F. of L., Communist, etc.” so that he may be able to distribute it before factories as occasion offers. Before hand, he warns the factory owner or manager that such and such literature will be distributed, or that such and such groups are active—and then, having done the job himself, he can rush in and say to the boss, “I told you so.” Thereby, employment at spying is secured and more shekels gathered in.

Men Do Not Meet

Schwab and Grace, or their subordinates, know of such practices. Suppose they should decide to put an end to the whole leprous business. Would the representatives then be secure? Not by a long shot! Today they cannot even get the men to come out in the open, to back up their own complaints. There is no economic power back of them. Not merely is there no international union. There is not even a plant organization or a departmental organization, to support them in presenting grievances.

It has been a common supposition, as the result of all the public braying favorable to company unionism, that the men actually meet and discuss their problems. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The men of the Bethlehem never meet. Once a year they choose their representatives—trusting to God and the Corporation that the choice will mean nothing. These representatives do meet, with the company representatives always present. In these meetings the “representatives” are as helpless as though they were individual workmen. They cannot even say that such and such a complaint represents the opinion of the majority of the men, except by guess work. They have no united power back of them, and they haven't even the assurance which goes with the fact that a man has been committed in the presence of his followers to a certain complaint. Under the circumstances, they cannot be blamed very much for doing very little. They have to look out for themselves, as several told me. And there you are: Looking out for themselves and not for the group welfare. It is the old story of unorganized workers, completely at the mercy of the



Corporation. The Labor Samson lies prostrate before Delilah Company Unionism.

The Comedy Trio

On men thus Delilah-ized, the gentle reader can judge the effect of such “greetings” each year as those furnished to the assembled representatives by the Grace-Bent-Larkin comedy trio. Says Prince Eugene, with his labor spying system comfortably up his sleeve:

“It is a pleasure to meet with you again this year. It gives us a new viewpoint of our working problems like no other means of communication could. We are dealing with an ever growing and important business and the management wants and needs the help of their employees in the proper direction of it.

“Cooperation among our employees in extending campaigns against waste, in reducing accidents, and in giving careful attention to the quality of the products shipped from our plants will be of further help in building up our future business.”

Vice-President Quincy Bent appeals to the “startling advances in science, industry and social relations” in our generation, adding:

“Of all this progress, to me the most impressive one, and

one in which you and the company have taken an important part, is the closer contact between men in their daily life, the ability to work with and for each other in a constructive way, and the realization in the minds of most of the thinking people of each individual's own responsibility to his community and his fellow man."

For J. M. Larkin, Assistant to the President, it is the "monumental growth" of the company which has its appeals. "Service" is his cry. Both he and Grace end up their greetings with a good stock-selling speech for Bethlehem stock. "Particularly should the Company's action," sayeth Larkin, "in making possible the recently announced Savings and Stock Ownership Plan, hold out to us a method of practicing thrift on a most advantageous basis."

Stock That Grace Votes

It was in the fall of 1924 that this much-mentioned stock jobbing among the workers was inaugurated. Loudly heralded as "participation in ownership", it received a much wider support among the men than either home-buying or the company union. At the end of 1925, the Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Corporation states, 9,398 employes had paid in full—in all Bethlehem plants—for 35,540 shares "of the Seven Per Cent Cumulative Preferred Stock of your Corporation". At the same time, 13,216 employees were paying in installments for an additional 29,581 shares. A third offering was made on February 1, 1926, the price being raised to \$101.00 per share (previous prices had been 94 and 100). Out of 70,000 employees this is not a overwhelmingly good showing—particularly when the constant hammering at the idea among representatives and men is taken into consideration.

Sad disillusionment has set in among the men, as a matter of fact, concerning this new "great idea". A bonus was granted to all holders of stock, of \$1 for the first year, with \$1 extra added for each additional year, until it amounted to \$5 for the fifth year. With the notice of earnings, the men received a small white piece of paper to sign. This is their voting proxy, which Grace and his lieutenants can vote to suit themselves. "We wake up," said one worker to me. "Got no more say as owners than when only workers. No owner at all. Grace, he big boss and owner. Things get worse; not better."

The "worse" part of the business came with the new bosses, which the Bethlehem has made it a practice to introduce at Lackawanna. With those bosses came rigid rules and an extension of petty autocracy. In spite of the fact that the Lackawanna's production was the highest of any Bethlehem plant in 1926, Grace continues to promote men to the foremanship from the Pennsylvania mills. These men are better "slave drivers", as the workers call them. They come from the "two hell holes" (workers words): Johnstown, Pa., the home of Corey of the sable coat fame, and Bethlehem, Pa., the home of poor wages.

A number of workers are withdrawing their investments in the corporation's stock and putting the money in the bank. Judging from the conversations among

the men, others would like to do so, likewise. Among some there is still the fear that such action would work against them. "We want to help company," one man put it cautiously, "but company doesn't help us." Another, however, frankly said: "No more of my money goes to the Bethlehem. I'm saving it for the next big fight. I use money like I used Liberty Bonds in 1919: To fight." By "fight", he explained, he means warfare on the company for the smashing of the company union.

Why We Vote!

Much has been made of the high percentage of workers who vote at the company union elections. Mr. Ernest Richmond Burton, in his new book, EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION, as an example, not only swallows the "freedom" guarantees of the Bethlehem hook, line and sinker—pointing to them admiringly, but never taking the trouble to look for the elaborate activities of the labor spies. He further gives the vote at the Bethlehem plants in detail, as evidence of the employees' favorable attitude to these plans. Certainly, at Lackawanna, 91 per cent of the men voted at the 1925 elections. But why did they vote, Mr. Personnel Man? Had you consulted the workers instead of Mr. J. M. Larkin—to whom you acknowledge indebtedness for his cooperation—you would have learned a new version of the tale. "Foremen make us vote," "Got to go to 'lection," "Boss say, You vote or you no good," "When the election is held, we must vote. Excuses don't go," etc., etc., goes the chorus of the men's voices on this remarkably democratic system. The foremen, in a nutshell, get instructions to go into the mills and yards and make the men cast their ballots. A brave man indeed is he who would refuse. "What difference does it make, anyway?" seems the general conclusion. The compulsion may make for a pretty picture on the outside, but it does not particularly add to the good temper of the men. Almost anyone could go to Lackawanna and get these facts, it seems to me; the men had the least hesitancy of talking about this subject, of all those on which I questioned them.

Real Hope: "The Outside"

It must not be thought, in all fairness, that all the representatives, even at that, are "tools of the company". That would not be correct. Some are conscientiously trying to do something real for the men. But they admit that their task is "hopeless" and "impossible", when talking to one whom they are certain is their friend. They are aware, further, that their real hope of getting any permanent reforms in the mills will have to come "from the outside". It is to the "outside" that both sincere representatives and the alert men themselves are always looking. "It will come," is a common expression. Just when, is a little vague in most minds.

Well, then, to the creators of the great Hocos-Pocus that dwells in the Lackawanna plant, we can say:

1. The whole business of guarantees, of freedom of association among your men, is a lie.
2. The "freedom" of representatives, filling up so much good space in your Plan, is another lie.
3. The scheme of stock-ownership, welcomed at first, is

A CHAMPION OF THE WORKERS LEAVES US



All workers—whatever their views—will mourn the passing of Eugene V. Debs. His life of Love for Labor will become immortal

now seen to be another fraud, so far as bettering the men's control of anything is concerned.

Mr. Charles Schwab, the boss of the bosses of the Bethlehem, has even now regaled the world with the glad good news that Steel is to have another big year in 1927. Said he at Washington on October 18th:

"The steel industry marches steadily on. I expect a production of 50,000,000 tons this year. People used to laugh at me when I predicted a production of only 16,000,000 tons. Now I believe we can even double the estimate I have made for this year without producing too much."

That being the case, as says the brightest Star of Bethlehem, the point then arises: What are the steel makers getting out of all this? What comes to them, from enormous increase in steel production?

From Prince Eugene himself comes the answer, in the SATURDAY EVENING POST of September 4th. At a later day we shall dwell in detail upon this subject and

this article. One paragraph will be enough for present purposes.

"In 1923," says Eugene," we maintained an average force of 62,350 employees. In 1925 our average force dropped to 60,098, but our production was 5,344,625 tons—slightly in excess of the output for 1923. Our pay roll fell from \$111,457,462 in 1923 to \$107,771,949 in 1925."

Increased production, reduced payrolls! Not a pretty picture, Men of Lackawanna, not for you at least! When to that is added the Pennsylvania bosses, the labor spies and the rest of the petty tyranny that has been your lot, you have just cause for complaint. Resistance to all further efforts to "readjust" your conditions unfavorably, election of representatives pledged to increased wages and to meetings without company-representatives present, and preparation for the show-down that must inevitably come—these are the steps that "will hold the fort" for you and lead to a Real Industrial Democracy in the Bethlehem plants some day.

THE A. F. OF L. AT DETROIT

Encouraging Steps Taken By Labor's Congress

By ERNEST BOHM

IT was to Detroit that I went, 29 years ago, to attend my first convention of the American Federation of Labor. The city has changed much in that time. It has grown and waxed large. It covers land that in the period of 30 years ago was mere commons and meadows. Its buildings are becoming the "highest in the world". Its population runs close to two million.

That is the Detroit of 1926, as one sees it "from the outside." It is a fair daughter of Mammon, to use a historic phrase. But its industrial freedom has been bartered for those massive structures that we see. It has passed into control of Tories, who do not understand the basic principles which moved the American people of 30 years ago.

Bitter antagonism to organized labor was to be noted everywhere. The minds of many have been poisoned by a widespread local propaganda. The tendency is to crush the unions as "enemies of the Government" as the ruling Detroit Board of Commerce put it. In walking through the business section, displaying the badge of the American Federation of Labor convention, one was insultingly stared at as though he or she were some curiosity blown in from some wild land, to disturb the equanimity of the Manufacturers Association, Y. M. C. A., and the high officials of the anti-union churches.

It seemed as though Labor was again in the pioneering period when organizers were looked upon as wild agitators, when force and violence were widely used against them, when often they were hunted creatures and social outcasts, for upholding the workers' cause.

Out of such an atmosphere of hostility and hatred, the Federation of Labor emerged with much good work done. There was an initial realization that a new era of organization is coming, for the wage-workers of this country. Automobiles became the first object of consideration. To attack the citadel of the Open Shop, right there in Detroit, was the determination. So, with a number of other things.

Summed up, the high lights and encouraging things done at the Detroit convention were:

1. The decision to organize the auto workers, the internationals involved waiving jurisdiction during the campaign.
2. The affiliation of the Metal Trades Department with the International Metal Trades at Am-

sterdam, in face of the mammoth European Steel Trust.

3. The inauguration of a campaign of publicity against the company unions, recognized as the most serious menace to the legitimate Labor Movement.

4. The determination to fight the courts in their usurpation of the injunction power, by Federal action and by defiance.

By these decisions, the A. F. of L. seemingly made up its mind to go back into the old fighting stage which marked its beginning. Some may object to the stand for Cooperation with Management, as not in line with such militancy. But be that as it may, there was an understanding that Power alone is not enough for Labor. Knowledge of industry is also necessary. Nor is Knowledge of any value unless applied, backed up by Power.

What non-unionism brings, even in so-called "benevolent" institutions, was seen in the Ford works at Detroit. In accordance with the custom for all visitors to the city, the A. F. of L. delegates made a visit to this plant. Division of labor is carried to the nth degree there. Men do only one process all day, one twist of the wrist, one turn of a bolt, as the automobile part moves along the conveyor. The monotony of the job is enough to destroy any worker's brains and soul together.

Unionism would bring some sense of manhood to these pieces of machinery called auto workers. It would give them the status of men once more. Not only would it introduce wages and hours measuring up to their enormously increased production, not only would it prevent exploitation whenever the companies chose to exploit them, but it would give them the tools with which to overcome the deadening effect of monotony on the job.

Henry Ford granted the new schedule of the 5-day week only after great agitation. A little weekly in Detroit for Ford workers has had at least 20,000 readers for some time past. The coming of the A. F. of L. convention might bring this disturbance to a head. Therefore, Mr. Ford hastened to anticipate union action, by his widespread publicity in announcing the new shorter work-week.

It is to be hoped that the new steps by the Federation will stir individual union men to get busy again, to renew the battle against the Open Shop forces and to bring a new period of industrial freedom to our country.

Brookwood's Pages

A Consideration of the Wage Problem

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

This series of notes by Arthur Calhoun on "The Control of Wages" by Hamilton and May are not merely valuable to workers study classes, but also to individual labor men and women. If you have any questions, please send them in to the author at Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., or to LABOR AGE.

III. *The Strategy of the Economic System*

Hamilton & May, chapters VI, VII.

The control of wages includes not merely the ability to bargain effectively against other claimants to income, and not merely the increase of efficiency within the plant or the industry. It includes also the improvement of the whole structure of business and industry, so as to avoid irregularities (such as the business cycle), wasteful duplication of equipment and services, lack of order and system, and the claims of ownership to a share in control and income. It would no doubt be possible if mankind was controlled by intellect, to work out all such problems in a reasonable way, and finally to extinguish the claims of the capitalist by a gradual process of purchase. Indications are, however, that even though we go as far as we can along the line of a logical and rational improvement and settlement, there is small probability of finally avoiding a violent clash between property interests and labor interests. There is little probability of getting a general agreement on what is reasonable and right, and there is consequently little prospect that labor principles will prevail save as Labor is finally able to enforce its demands. Even after the capture of the industrial system by the labor interests, it would take considerable time and trouble to arrive at economic equality as between different labor groups.

IV. *Arrival at a Theory of Wages*

Hamilton & May, chapters VIII, IX, X.

It is necessary for Labor to give attention, also, to the fact that while the wage and price system lasts, fluctuations of prices, whether occasioned by change in the value of the money standard, by business cycles, by international conflicts, or otherwise, are of immediate concern to Labor. Even if it can be assumed that there will work out in the long run a correspondence between wages and prices, Labor's wage battles have to do rather with the short run, and every dislocation of prices makes necessary a wage struggle. Hence Labor should be reasonably interested in the whole question of price stabilization, even though Labor can not do much directly in the matter, and political agencies of price control are still of limited value.

In order to round out the wage analysis, it is neces-

sary also to make allowance for the fact that Labor enjoys certain things, such as schools, parks, health centers, and the like, which the recipients do not pay for out of their wages. These are really a part of "wages" in the broader sense, and in studying the course of wages, it is necessary to observe whether, along with other changes, there has been an increase in the quantity of these free goods at the disposal of the worker, and whether it is desirable that the proportion of labor income that comes in this way should be increased.

The general conclusion arrived at by the foregoing survey is that wages depend on everything that goes on throughout the whole system of business and industry—the whole economic and social system in fact. This statement makes the labor problem look far more complex than commonly appears. It emphasizes the bigness of the job confronting labor organizations in their efforts to master the wage situation and control it, but it suggests that the problem is one that can be analyzed and controlled.

But before the wage doctrine here set forth could be applied to a particular industry, it would be necessary to develop a complete range of exact knowledge about the industry, not merely as much as the employer knows, but more than he knows.

As between groups of workers with different wage scales, there is no presumption that any particular scale or any particular inequality is fair or just. The economic system as a whole and in its details has not been planned and created to be what it is. It is a process of development, and an intelligent and masterly labor policy may make the development go on until the claims of the several elements of Labor are properly met.

V. *An Approach to Policy and Prospects*

Hamilton & May, chapters XI-XV inclusive.

In dealing with actual wage cases, it will not be possible as yet to thrust forward the whole philosophy we have developed. This range of material represents, however, the necessary background with which Labor must be equipped for more effective bargaining in the future, or, indeed, for administering in a balanced way the economic system if it comes into Labor's hands. Of course in order to make effective use of the new weapons, Labor needs to extend and perfect its organization and to develop the spirit of equality and solidarity, as well as to connect in a prudent and guarded way with whatever other social groups or institutions have any influence on Labor's interests.

It is not to be supposed that there is any present reasonable limit to what Labor should want. It is necessary, however, for each group of workers to consider how its demands bear on the interests of other groups of

WORKERS' EDUCATION THAT WORKS

SUGGESTIONS are always in order in a democratic movement. It is out of discussions and suggestions that the strivings of the organized workers for more and more control of industry have met such success as they have.

Many more suggestions are demanded by the crisis of 1926. We cannot blind ourselves to the obvious. And it is sharply obvious that American Labor is largely waging a defensive battle at this hour. All thoughtful men in the movement agree that this tactic must be changed. It must be supplanted by a vigorous offensive—against Open Shoppery, Company Unionism and the piffle which is handed out as gospel truth by the publicity mills of our enemy, the Employers.

In beginning a new drive at the citadels of Reaction, workers education was correctly suggested in our last issue (by Miss Cohn) as the vehicle for affecting the change. "Workers education" is a nebulous phrase in itself, which may mean anything. As the Organized Labor Movement can understand it, it can have but one definition. That is: "That method of information, formal or informal, which equips men and women in the Movement to combat the employers more effectively." If we create any other definition, it is mere namby-pamby.

Namby-pamby may attract to the Movement many good souls who are desirous of "expressing" themselves, and who make great sacrifices for such "expression". But it will not give fire to our fight. It will not give intelligence to our efforts to organize the unorganized.

In local education, Namby-pamby will not work, anyway, in the long run. It was a little over a year ago that the Managing Editor suggested to the Essex County central body that our trade union educational ventures must be pragmatic—must be based on shop economics classes, discussions on how to organize this and that industry in the vicin-

ity, and practical subjects of that sort. It was to be based on the idea that we were in a battle, with the employers informing themselves on these things—and we of necessity, being compelled to do likewise, from our viewpoint. Out of that sort of discussion would come the desire to speak, to write, to study psychology and economics. A man, after all, has a hard time becoming a speaker unless he has something to say; or a writer, unless he has something to write.

This thought was challenged then by Walter J. Bilder, an enthusiastic and progressive lawyer who has given much time to academic education at Newark. But after the passage of a few months, Mr. Bilder admitted that his own efforts had failed. He generously confessed that the only education that will help Labor is that based on Labor's own fight, it is the only sort that works.

For local educational efforts, we suggest: That a beginning be made, in central bodies and local unions by a discussion of: "Who is back of our industry? How have organization drives succeeded in other places and other industries? How can we organize such and such a plant in our industry in this vicinity? How can we hammer Company Unionism?" These discussions can center around a series of lectures, at every third or fourth meeting, by men who have statistics and other facts at their finger tips. There should be one lecture, at some stage, on "Methods of Securing Publicity" and another on "The Glorious History of the World-Wide Labor Struggle". The latter would be inspirational particularly for the younger members, showing them the beautiful and thrilling story of the trade unions from Guilddom to the present day.

We shall be glad to cooperate with central bodies or local unions in arranging such lectures—along these lines, that will be of concrete value to the Labor Fight.

workers. It is to be remembered that mere increase of productivity, moreover, will not of itself guarantee to Labor the fruits of its efforts. Bargaining power must be developed and increased as the only means of making sure that the efficiency policy will duly benefit the workers. The militant functions must be retained and improved side by side with the inventive and constructive functions. It may be necessary at times to stress getting something away from the employer more than to stress mere productivity.

The whole case is complicated by the fact that there is no way of arriving at a generally acceptable standard of justice. It will not do to assume that there can be a final accommodation of the claims of Property to the claims of Labor. No one can tell when the workers may lose patience and insist on an overturning of the system. If such a thing should occur, the road to a **just** social order might not be vastly shortened; but there might be some advantage to Labor from being in official control of the development to that end.

PASSAIC AGAIN!

Still do those 12,000 in Passaic hold their ground against Company Unionism! Under the banner of the United Textile Workers, they have made breach after breach in the employers' wall of camouflage. Help them to hold the fort! Relief Committee address: 743 Main Avenue, Passaic, N. J.

HOW TO SECURE LOCAL PUBLICITY

I. The News Release

INCE we have been saying many things about the need for local labor publicity, it is up to us to suggest ways and means to get the message across.

Let us take the common methods first. There is the matter of the News Release. In no way do the Employers get the best of us so effectively as in winning the good-will of newspaper men by helping them in their jobs. After all, a newspaper reporter or a city editor is a human being. If news is handed up to him prepared for publication, demanding but little labor on his part to whip into final shape—he will give it sympathetic attention. His work must necessarily be rapid. It must be superficial; for he jumps, as a rule, from one thing to another.

The tragic thing about Labor is that often it shuts out the reporter altogether and refuses to explain its acts. Or it takes for granted that he knows all about the points at issue and gives the facts to him in such a way that he cannot make head from tail out of it.

What should be done is this: The Labor statement should be gotten out as are all newspaper news releases, by the high-pressure publicity departments of the Employers, the Red Cross, Associated Charities and sundry and divers other professional "friends of man". The first sentence should be written in objective form, any opinion being expressed in quotation marks (for the newspaper cannot be expected to run our ideas as their own). At the upper left hand corner should run the words placing responsibility for the release, such as:

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12th
IN RE: COMPANY UNIONISM
LABOR AGE

Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone: Watkins 8723

In these few words, in the upper left hand corner, the newspaper reporter has the source of the "story", the man he can call if he wants to check up on it further, and what the whole business is about.

Then, dropping down about five to eight spaces on the typewritten sheet, the "story" should begin: "Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor of LABOR AGE, a national monthly, yesterday attacked the company unions bitterly in addressing the United Textile Workers' convention." A further summary of what was said should follow, very briefly, and then the text of the statement or speech—as much as you think will be published—preceded by the words: "The speech (or statement) in full was as follows:" or "in part was as follows:" as the case may be.

THE "RESPECTABILITY" OF LABOR!

Detroit Churches Exclude A. F. of L. Officers

AFTER all the public braying on the part of our employer "friends", after all the joy of of the Rotarians over the "sanity" of the American Federation of Labor, after all the military trappings put upon the manly shoulders of some of our labor men—at the first test of real action, Labor becomes an outcast from polite society.

What Detroit's churches did to the officers of the A. F. of L. is now common property. The gentle churchmen—or some of them—were raising a big fund. The sources of the fund were disturbed by rumor of action on the part of the Federation against the automobile works. "Organization" of the auto slaves was more than bruted about. It was actually planned and plotted, in the city of Scabbery itself!

Mr. C. M. Van Dusen of the Y. M. C. A. very frankly gave the reason for that body's action, in withdrawing its invitation to President Green. They are raising a \$5,000,000 fund. If the A. F. of L. President were to speak for them, the fund would vanish like smoke. Open Shopper would punish in this fashion.

We know it would come to that. Has not LABOR AGE, in these pages month after month, been referring to the real contempt which Big Business has for us? Has it not been saying that the only "respectability" of Labor is its might? Chambers of Commerce may jolly us along, in the hope of making us impotent. But when we get down to our business of organizing the unorganized, they will hammer hell out of us, if they can, treat us as social outcasts and as the representatives of the "dirty lower classes," which we are.

Labor, if it is on the job, can never be "respectable". It must be an outcast—just as was a St. Francis of Assisi, whose 700th anniversary we now celebrate. He was a fool for God's sake. We must be fools for the workers' sake. We must have our own social standards, based on decency, service to the workers, militant enmity toward our enemies—and not on manicured finger nails, soft words, and the Pharaasaical hypocrisy of Detroit's ministerial Mammon-worshippers.

No doubt many of these soft-voiced and soft-fingered anti-unionists have preached with fiery eye and tremulous accents of the evils of prostitution. Let this be said for the record: That the soul of a fallen woman, who has sold herself in commercialized vice, is as white as the new-fallen snow compared to the shrivelled spirits and impotent manhood of these moral cowards. Shun such "respectable" lepers, Men of Labor! Over their churches should be placed a huge Dollar Sign, for that is their God.

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.

THE A. F. OF L. DECLARES WAR

ONE decision at Detroit stands out in high lights above all others. It is the decision of the American Federation of Labor to wage a war of publicity—and we hope, also of action—against the rising menace of Company Unionism.

Confronted with the loss of 60,000 members, the convention agreed that a fund must be raised to inform the public of the quackery of these creatures of the Employers. The Executive Council report pledged the Federation to “oppose to the full extent of its power the efforts of employers to compel their employes to join company unions.” Further study is to be made by the Executive Council with a view to “such action as may be deemed advisable.”

It is clear that the hour of action has more than arrived. Company Unionism cannot be destroyed by the defensive tactics of the past few years. It must be met belligerently and smashed into a pulp. Publicity must be employed, vigorous publicity—not merely in statements but in actual organization efforts before the company gates. Defiance must be hurled at those benevolent autocrats who have created these fake institutions. The mass

spirit of rebellion must be appealed to, to pull men out *en masse* in protest against these whited sepulchres.

Facts must guide this militant attack. They must flood the columns of the press. They must be at the finger tips not only of international officers, but of local labor men and women. No lie in the local newspapers concerning Company Unionism must be allowed to remain unanswered. More than that: a constant flood of speeches and letters must inform the unorganized and the “public” through the local press, of the fakery of this particular company union in this particular locality. If the press will not take such stories, then we must resort to sandwich-men, signs carried in public, picketing, every means to get the message across. If the police interfere with such publicity, then we must get arrested and thus make more news.

The A. F. of L. has given a cue to what must be done, with ten thousand times more vigor than at present, in every community. We at LABOR AGE stand ready to help any local union or central body which wants to wage war in this fashion.

For this is a WAR—in which every helpful weapon is needed. It is a War, Brothers, not a petting party!

AGGRESSIVE NON-RESISTANCE The Winning Weapon of the Workers

OPEN Shoppers, smitten with fear at the prospect of new union-organization movements, shouts louder and louder about “labor violence.” Led off by such products of Scabbery as the current INDUSTRIAL DIGEST of Salt Lake City, it bathes its readers in imaginative pools of blood.

Of several evidences of the true methods of Labor, we quote the words of an impartial authority, Mr. Arthur E. Suffern, of the National Institute of Economics, in his new study, THE COAL MINERS’ STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL STATUS. In his introduction he says:

“In the anthracite strike of 1925-6 the Governor of Pennsylvania officially expressed to the miners the ‘thanks of the Commonwealth for the steady support of law and order given both by officers and rank and file’, and indicated his ‘keen gratification that there has been, from the start to the finish of the longest strike in the history of

the anthracite region not a single case of disorder which made it necessary for the Commonwealth to intervene.’ The might of non-resistance is sufficient to require recognition and to force the acceptance of their right to representation and collective dealing.”

Contrast that peaceful picture, where the union was supreme and scabs could not come in, with the massacres in unorganized territory—when the operators are supreme. Contrast it with Latimer in the 90’s, when the deputy sheriffs killed the helpless union anthracite miners, and gave the new-born union its baptism of blood.

But beyond that, Labor has ever understood that its great weapon is non-resistance—aggressive non-resistance, when initial organization is in progress. This shows itself in mass picketing, open defiance of police and politicians, conscious disobedience to anti-union courts. By their mere silent contempt and defiance the workers can rout the tyrants on the benches.

It is the weapon which we must all take up, again,

LABOR AGE

in the huge task of organizing the basic industries of America. Juggling Judgery must be smashed to smithereens by mass might, expressed in aggressive non-resistance.

WHOSE "PROSPERITY"?

Pertinent Points for Publicity Purposes

The average income for two-thirds of the families of the country today will not exceed \$1,500—a total which does not permit much by way of the good life.—"Tragedy of Waste", page 12.

American dividend and interest payments the first half of 1926 were sufficient for a 25 per cent wage increase for more than 12,000,000 wage earners. But this huge total was paid instead to the investing class. It sets a new record in the amount of tribute collected by the country's financial oligarchy.

The total for the six months is \$2,166,262,000.... If continued, the 1926 dividend and interest payments will reach \$4,360,000,000. This will mark a gain of 28 per cent since 1920 and 144 per cent since 1914.—Leland Olds, economist, in "Federated Press Labor Letter," Aug. 4, 1926.

WE put these quotations together, as they reveal without more ado the over-high wage bunk of 1926. The Chicago JOURNAL OF COMMERCE points out that the dividend and interest figures do not tell half the story. In addition, the corporations are "putting aside large reserves against the rainy day" in the form of surpluses. These are to be used for further gigantic mergers.

We advise use of these figures in publicity, either at the time of wage demands or at this moment in your papers, to hit on the head the lies going about so freely concerning the blissful state of the working class. Mr. Chass knocked this gospel of bountiful prosperity on the head in our September issue. Let us bury it, by asking publicly: "Whose Prosperity?" and quoting these facts by way of answer.

A BABE IN THE WOODS

A NEW apologist for Company Unionism has arisen in the land. Ernest Richmond Burton of the Bureau of Personnel Administration admits that he is such in his newly issued book, EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION. Although his work professes to be something more than a study of the mere paper plans of company schemes, we find that Mr. Burton has been walking around in many places with his eyes shut.

Necessarily, any member of the personnel profession must look through the glasses of the employers. And it is largely with the objectives of the corporations and with the success which those objectives have met, that is the concern of the author in this case. But when he discovers "little evidence to substantiate" the charges of the A. F. of L. against Company Unionism, we KNOW that he has not been on the job, among the workers themselves. He has merely obtained his information from such high pressure Soft Soapers as J. M. Larkin, assistant to the President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation—to whom he does acknowledge helpful assistance.

Mr. Larkin did not unfold his super-spy system, un-

doubtedly, to the gaping Burton, lost in contemplation of the beauties of the paper plan of the Bethlehem. The personnel man did not hear from the Standard Oil at Bayonne that the men are forbidden to meet separately, without management representatives being present. He did not learn of the spies at the Passaic mills, enforcing Company Unionism over there—until the strike knocked it in the head. He did not "ferret out" the "yellow dog" contract at the I. R. T., a contract which exists in the broad light of day. Indeed, he is such a little innocent that he sums up the situation on that point, as follows: "The non-discrimination articles of most plans, moreover, are a further guarantee against intimidation or other practices inimical to the interest of employees." How sublime! As though a piece of paper, in the hands of Big Biz, would be of any protection to a worker! How much of a protection it is, we have seen in the examples—Bayonne, Bethlehem, Passaic, New York subways. And that is only the beginning of the list.

After working all around the subject of whether or not Company Unionism has been introduced to destroy Trade Unionism, the author finally settles down to the conclusion that the trade unions are really unnecessary. Hear him and weep:

"Many would still insist that without affiliation with a labor organization composed of workers in the same industry or craft, but outside the single plant, employees of the latter are in an unfavorable position to wage battle in case relations with their employer became so strained as to make contest appear the only expedient. The fact that they are without a weapon to hold threateningly in the background makes them dependent upon their shop committee system, it is said, as virtually the sole means of satisfying their desires. But it should not be overlooked that employees in an unorganized factory may acquire, through their shop committees, a more intelligent understanding of local conditions affecting their prosperity, and in that way offset the lack of power resulting from their being unaffiliated with any outside organization. Plans which make no provision for union affiliation often make available to employees more pertinent facts affecting some of the questions usually subject to negotiation than are ordinarily learned by union representatives."

The information generally obtained is a lot of hocus-pocus—concerning safety, to cut insurance rates; concerning social welfare schemes, to keep a percentage of the men "satisfied"; concerning competition with other firms, to keep production up. But granting that it may be of some help, how the hell are men to apply it without power? How are they to enforce their demands without union war chests, without the consciousness of strong outside support? They simply cannot and do not do it. To such a pass do the Hallelujahs of personnel men, anxious to get on corporation payrolls, come at last!

For Organized Labor there is food for thought here, however. We cannot fight this device by mere old-time methods. We must train men to know industry, to know the minds of their fellows, to understand the conditions of the markets (so that they may realize when the proper time for militant agitation in a particular industry has arrived). We must look into our present form of organization, in unorganized industries, and

COOPERATION OF CENTRAL BODIES

MORE and more central bodies are evidencing an interest in the fight which LABOR AGE is making against Company Unionism and Open Shoppery. Among those which can be particularly mentioned are the following:

Essex Trades and Labor Council, Newark, N. J.; Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa.; Central Labor Union, Lynn, Mass.; Trumbull County Central Labor Union, Niles, Ohio; Central Labor Union, Akron, Ohio; Central Labor Union, Woonsocket, R. I.; Central Labor Union, Harrisburg, Pa.; Central Labor Union, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa.; Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.; Central Labor Union, New Britain, Conn.; Trades Assembly, Bradford, Pa.; Central Labor Union, Salem, Mass.; Central Labor Union, Canton, Ohio.

This is encouraging. We want many more, however, on the list. The battle against Bunk has just begun, and our facts can be of big help in winning it.

discover frankly if that is not much the cause of our slow growth of late. Namby-pamby "workers education" cannot meet this situation. We must have a training under union auspices which equips individuals to FIGHT intelligently, and which educates the rank and file to the need for a religious devotion to the workers' cause.

WORKERS' INCREASED EFFICIENCY, BUT—

IF we were to rely on rope bridges, as do the Tibetans, or on ox and water buffalo transportation as they do in Malaya, or on tools of a thousand years back as they do in Afghanistan, we would without doubt not get very far. The Machine has brought production. It has given us many things that we could not obtain without it, for our comfort and convenience.

And yet, there is today a tendency to overrate the importance of the Machine. There is too much of a tendency to overlook the Man.

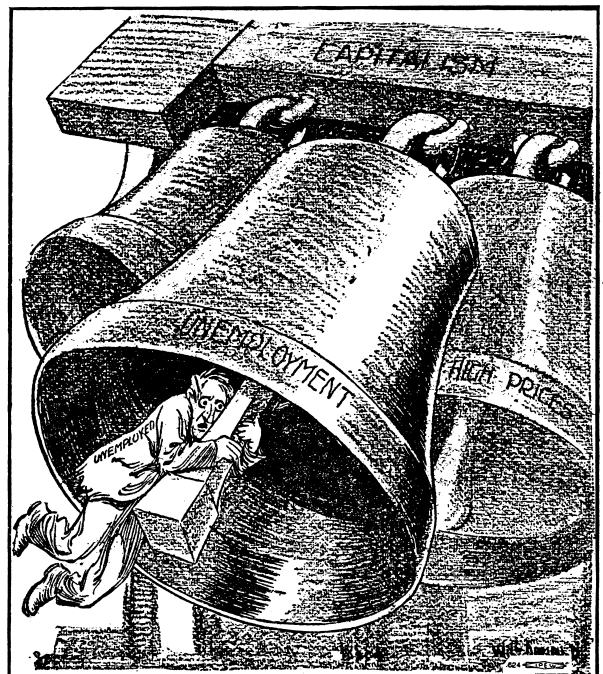
Secretary of Labor Davis just rectified this oversight, in part. On October 19th he called to President Coolidge's attention the increased productivity of American labor during the past decade. Figures quoted to the President show that productivity per man has increased in various industries, all the way from 106 to 310 per cent, from 1914 to 1925.

In specific industries cited, the rate of increase during this period was as follows: Automobiles, 310 per cent; oil refining, 177 per cent; cement manufacture, 158 per cent; iron and steel production, 150 per cent; paper and pulp manufacture, 133 per cent; rubber tires, 114 per cent; lumber and timber products, 106 per cent.

This will be pleasing news to the workers in those industries. How far the figures are right or wrong, we cannot say at this hour. But the Secretary of Labor has no reason to exaggerate in favor of the workers. We can take it for granted that the increased productivity per man was at least what he has reported.

There is a "but" to almost every statement. And the "but" in this case runs like this: But if the workers up at Detroit in automobiles, and the workers over at Bayonne in oil, and the steel workers in Pittsburg and Bethlehem have secured this increased production, how much indeed must be their reward! Increased production must mean increased distribution. Increased distribution must mean better hours and better wages. That is the answer to the facts the Secretary of Labor has produced.

AS AUSTRALIAN WORKERS SEE IT



Australian Worker

Unemployment's menace still stares workers in the face—even in the midst of "Prosperity's" glad bell-ringing.

Vital Issues

CLOAKMAKERS FIGHT ON!

Despite Phoenix the Fire-Eater, They Battle for Victory.

CLOAKMAKERS, twenty thousand strong, are still on strike in New York City. They are waging war for the same ends as those obtained by the Cap-makers.

Injunctions have been hurled at them. Five months of strike has found them militant and determined, despite the antics of the courts. A certain Phoenix, Ingraham his last name, has made a sweeping injunction permanent against them. Doting parents gave him the name of the old Fire-Eater, who renewed things by burning them up. Phoenix's injunction fire apparently has had that effect on the garment workers.

Here is a great crisis in a group who have always stood generously by their battling brothers. President Lewis of the Miners pointed to that in the A. F. of L. convention, in speaking for help for the strikers. The Miners know well of the Ladies Garment Workers' devotion to other groups, when the crucial struggle came.

Some 15,000 of the strikers have won and have returned to their shops. The others must win, also. We are certain that Organized Labor everywhere will assist those who have never failed to assist other unions, when aid was needed.

THE SIX HOUR DAY

STRIKING while the iron is hot is commonly accepted as the act that does the trick. If that be so, then we can profit by a phrase.

The iron of hour reduction is at a white heat in this year of our Lord. Threatened with a revolt in his Detroit plant, Henry Ford has made a new virtue of a new necessity. He has announced the 5-day week. The 6-hour day, rumor has it, will follow hard upon the heels of this announcement.

Philadelphia manufacturers tell their newspapers that Henry Ford's move is a good idea, but that it is "impractical" in other industries. Just why, we are at a loss to learn. It is just four years ago that the Federated Engineering Societies issued a report on "The Twelve Hour Shift in Industry", in which Steel was conspicuously mentioned as the 12-hour work industry. Shorter hours were more or less considered "impractical" in "continuous" industries at that time. And yet, under the pressure of a new union drive, the entire steel industry suddenly accepted the 8-hour shift. (At that time, incidentally, LABOR AGE was "exposed" by the RAILWAY REVIEW, in a series of articles, as leading in the drive for steel unionization—which indeed was the truth.)

As we can modestly claim our share of credit for pushing to completion the 8-hour day in Steel (beginning with our crusade in the January, 1923 issue), so now we wish to unfurl the banner of the 6-hour day. President Green has indicated that it is the new objective of Labor. We wish to hail it as such, and to point to some of the reasons which call for its adoption in many industries. Briefly, these reasons are:

1. The new processes in production make it imperative. One need merely go into a Fall River textile mill to see the effects of machinery on men and women. It strikes at their individuality and mental alertness. Out of that eternal grind of monotony comes mental and physical fatigue. A Hungarian chess book, recently picked up, is right in stating that the Machine destroys the thinking processes of the workers, unless they guard against it. Whether chess aids to offset that effect, as the book contends, we are not prepared to

state! But the six-hour day will do it, and must be introduced—games of skill or no games of skill—as a social necessity.

2. Unemployment makes it imperative. Mr. Stuart Chase sums up our out-of-work problem in his thorough way when he tells us that 6,000,000 workers face unemployment always in this country. (THE TRAGEDY OF WASTE, p. 144.) That much of this unemployment will not be destroyed by the shorter work-day, we will all agree. The history of shortened hours is largely a record of increased production per hour, thus making up for the reduced work-time. But seasonal unemployment will be hit hard by it, and its tendency will be to cut down other forms of out-of-work rather than to increase them.

3. Increased production per man makes it imperative. We need no figures to advise us of the increased production of the American workers per man. The July MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW of the U. S. Department of Labor, however, gives us some precise facts. It says: "We are at the present time experiencing what is perhaps the most remarkable advance in productive efficiency in the history of the modern industrial system. In the automobile industry the output per man in 1926 was three times as great as it was in 1914, an almost incredible increase in productivity in an industry which had attained, even before 1914, a high state of efficiency. Taking the output per man in 1914 as a base of 100, we find that the output in 1925 was for the iron and steel industry nearly 150 and for the boot and shoe industry 117; while on the 1917 base the output per man in the paper and pulp industry was 134. And these figures, surprising as they are, cover only about a decade." Such increased production must be answered not merely by wage rises but by hour cuts.

We are pleased to state that the Lathers convention last month at Atlantic City, considered this matter of a 6-hour demand—at the suggestion of Walter Frank of Minneapolis. We were able to be of some service to Brother Frank in gathering data on the subject. Other labor organizations will make it the fixed objective of their policies. Our 1927 slogan should be: "Increased Production Demands the Six-Hour Day!"

In Other Lands

STEELING THEMSELVES

While the gloomy and reactionary Dean Inge is predicting the doom of England, the economic overlords of that country are busily engaged in breaking into the European economic combine. Walter Layton, Editor of the London *ECONOMIST*, sees definite signs of the final inclusion of the British interests in the German-French-Belgium steel bloc. A conference of the leading financiers of Britain and of Germany, held quietly in the former country this last month, adds color to that prediction.

No sooner had the big continental steel agreement been announced, than Austen Chamberlain, Tory Minister, rushed into secret conference with Mussolini. We have noted from time to time the growing unity of action between the Fascist and Tory Governments, with Spain as their "ally". Spain is now demanding control of the international port of Tangier, contrary to French interests; and the *MANUFACTURERS' RECORD* of this country has explained in detail that it is the ore of Morocco which is the object of the demand. The English-Italian-Spanish group are determined to secure a place in the continental economic combine or raise hob about it.

Were that to go through, they would all have then "steeled" themselves for a real battle with U. S. Steel, which threatens them as much as Standard Oil does in the other imperialist game. The seeds of American-European warfare, or of inter-European conflict, are thus being prepared—even as they were before the last international show-down. It is a sorry business, which only workers' advance can halt.

A CAUTIOUS CONGRESS

That "after the battle" feeling seemed to dominate the 1926 British Trades Union Congress, held at Bournemouth in September. Arthur Pugh, as President, did look forward to further use of the General Strike weapon in his opening address. The Congress, in general, made no motion to deny any such intent. But the expected strengthening of the General Council, in preparation for such an event, did not develop—through the action of that Council itself. Under agreement, the General Strike was not discussed, the General Council taking the position that its only report must be to the various unions which called the strike. The proposal to take over Easton Lodge from Countess Warwick for a Labor College and maintain it through a per capita levy was defeated. The suggestion that a levy be made for the Miners was not even considered. Although the body went on record for a "Hands off China" and "Hands off Russia" policy, it refused to go further along the road of the last Congress of Scarborough—when numerous revolutionary resolutions and proposals were adopted. Even Purcell, champion of unity with Russian unionism, led the opposition to the resolution for an international conference of the Amsterdam and Red Internationals—which was defeated by a vote of 2,416,000 to 1,237,000.

Tomsky, the Russian, was not allowed to attend, by action of the Tory Government, and the British Commu-

nists were in jail. But the result would have been no different, otherwise. The British leaders were tired, and consequently cautious.

CANTON CONTROLS CENTRAL CHINA

Wuchang has followed Hankow. Both cities are in the hands of the "Red" Cantonese army—which now controls Central China. As Bertrand Russell says, the Canton Government is about as "red" in reality as David Lloyd-George. It is the only expression of popular and democratic government in the whole country. Unfortunately, the Great Powers, headed by Great Britain, have preferred to encourage the militarists and adventurers who are stalking through China, and whom Canton is determined to put to rout. Recently, the militarist General Yang clashed with the British destroyers sent up the Yangtse River. The British retaliated—by bombarding the unprotected city of Wahnsien! It is the evident desire of the British to taunt the Chinese into some rash action against foreigners in general, in order to secure the invasion of the Republic by all the Powers. Meanwhile, the only present hope of the Chinese workers lies in the eventual triumph of the Cantonese People's Army.

(Incidentally, the Canton Government has now lifted its boycott of British Hong-Kong, probably as a sign of goodwill. English-made goods are again flooding into South China.)

PAN-EUROPEAN ALLIANCE?

Three things are to be observed, bobbing about on the political and economic horizon of Europe: The steel com-

"PEACEFUL PENETRATION"



New Leader (London)

LABOR AGE

bine having got itself fused (for Belgium, France, Luxembourg and Germany) there is now talk of the British being taken in, and the oncoming Eastern European steel trust as well. The Anglo-German industrial conference at Romsey, England, these fall days is followed by a statement by Sir Alfred Mond, leading British financier, that England must end her "isolation or her trade will end." And an all-European pool is bruted about, notably in the "Geneva Tribune" (of Geneva, Switzerland), whereby all European countries would jointly defend themselves from American exactions.

Where there is smoke, there is some fire. Beneath the surface of intrigues and maneuverings, there is going on an attempt at uniting Europe for economic struggle with America. Out of such struggle much else may come. International unity of the workers, and advance of the workers cause toward the capture of governments, appear the only way to stop it from becoming the impelling reason for another armed conflict. The A. F. of L. gave some thought to this, in its move to have the metal trades department affiliate with the Amsterdam International.

FRENCH WINTER OF MISERY

Poincare setting about his job of "stabilizing" the franc at the expense of the workers, France must look forward to a winter of misery. The whole political struggle there—reported on this side as the confusion of bloc government—was in reality a tussle to determine who would pay for the war: the leisured and moneyed class or the masses of the people. The loser must always pay, and the masses have lost. Five hundred thousand men face unemployment this winter in Paris and vicinity, as the result. Not much is being said in our papers concerning this coming crisis, now, but we shall hear more of it anon. The thousands of Polish and Italian immigrants—brought in by French capitalists to beat down French labor—as we have

long ago pointed out, will add to the difficulties of the situation.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN SWEDEN

Despite industrial slump and unemployment, the trade unions of Europe are bravely carrying on. Swedish trade unionism, taking stock at its congress in September, found that it had gained 360,000 men and 37,000 women workers as members since 1922. Its fight for its wage level had been successful, real wages in 1925 being 22 per cent higher than in 1913. Industrial unionism was the leading subject of discussion. The last congress of 1922 had resolved that all craft unions should be converted into industrial unions. This, it was impossible to carry out by 1926. It was therefore determined, after much debate, that the executive body should cooperate in each case in hastening the process. The question as to whether craft unions, refusing to join with others, should be expelled from the general body was put over to the next Congress.

ROTTEN ROUMANIA AND ITS "ROBOTRY"

While American "democrats" are slobbering all over the Queen of Roumania, the workers in that God-forsaken land are in a brutal state of terror and misery. Trade union freedom of association is unknown. Thousands of labor men are rotting in Roumanian jails. The average wage per hour for skilled workers is between 7 and 8 cents. This is 46 per cent of the pre-war level. Such has been the price of "victory" to the toilers there. In defiance of this situation, the organized workers met in Congress recently, determining to assert their right of association, to organize craft groups into national unions, to demand a state employment fund and improved labor legislation, and to endeavor to establish a labor bank. That is partial answer to the attempt to make of the Roumanians a race of robots.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1926, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

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

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

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 West 16th St., New York City.

Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

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

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with

approximately 300 members); James H. Maurer, President, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

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

4. The two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1926.

(Seal)

ERNEST BOHM,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1927).

At the Library Table

THE MENACE OF NATIONALISM

THEODORE Dreiser, the American novelist, has warned European nations—while visiting abroad—of their insane nationalisms. Whether he included America or not in his censures, we have no means of knowing; but the shoe would apply here as well.

That the religion of Nationalism is something rather new and that it has made astonishing headway are facts brought home to us by a book just issued by the Macmillan Company from the pen of Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University. ("Essays on Nationalism"). "The most significant emotional factor in public life today," he advises us in opening his study, "is enthusiasm."

"Perceive in the United States," he says, after reviewing its evidences in other lands, "the pursuit of a policy of national isolation, the heightening tariff, the increasing restrictions on foreign immigration, the picturesque activities of citizens in masks and nightgowns, the vogue of Americanism and Americanization."

How men of the professional classes and indeed of all groups have fallen into this whirlpool of a narrow, sectarian religion, is described with fine sarcasm. "To preside over a patriotic society, to deliver an address at the unveiling of a monument to a national hero, to march be-ribboned and be-medalled at the head of a patriotic procession, is calculated to feed one's self-esteem and at the same time to increase one's respect for that which has enabled one to be so conspicuous and so important. Vanity may be a fault, but if so it is a broadly human fault. It crops out in clergyman, in nobleman, in businessman, in professor. It has given us of late from every class many spectacular propagandists of nationalism."

This new phenomenon, developing only during the 19th and 20th centuries, is an emotional fusion of a nationality and patriotism. Its two-fold doctrine is: "1. That each nationality should constitute a united independent sovereign state, and 2. That every national state should expect and require of its citizens not only unquestioning

obedience and supreme loyalty, not only an exclusive patriotism, but also unshakable faith in its surpassing excellence over all other nationalities and lofty pride in its peculiarities and its destiny."

How Nationalism breeds intolerance, how it breeds Militarism, how it breeds War, are all told in pages of ironic biting criticism. It is an accumulation of evidence which cannot be successfully denied. To seek to curb Nationalism, urges the professor, is to "purify and exalt true patriotism." Against the "patriotic snobbery" of Nationalism, he recommends: "We should be so intent upon improving our country, spiritually, intellectually, and physically, and upon making it a fit habitation for our fellow human beings that we shall not have the time or inclination to attack other countries or other peoples in thought, word or deed."

Here is a volume that ought to be in every trade union library. Its wide reading would do much to further one of those two great objects of a real Labor Movement: Peace and Freedom.

THE MIND OF THE MILLIONAIRE

POLOGIES for the rich are rather risky things to venture upon, from a moral viewpoint, however profitable they may prove financially. Too many mystic thinkers are on the other side. Too many voices have thundered out the edict: "You cannot serve God and Mammon." With this severe handicap, Albert A. Atwood of the "Saturday Evening Post" has done as good a job as might be expected. His "Mind of the Millionaire", however, produces no new or startling information. His effort to show that the possession of wealth is not the aim of most of them is pretty weak, when we consider that none of them have put their money in trust for their workers and just gone on, working, for the fun of it. The chapter on the "Rockefeller Fortune" is slobbery, omitting the long record of crime upon which that fortune is built.

OUR PERSECUTED ROUMANIAN BROTHERS

IT must have been an edifying picture. The stern, unbending steel kings—headed by Charlie Schwab and Elbert Gary, kissing the hands of the royal harlequin, Marie of Roumania. It was a beautiful love feast of labor hatred.

Those hands of Marie have blood on them, Roumanian workers' blood. As the DETROIT FREE PRESS enthusiastically declares, she has taken an active part—through subterranean methods and bedroom intrigues—in the government of her country. What have we as a result? The news service of the Amsterdam International gives us a glimpse, from which we can piece out this information:

1. The skilled Roumanian worker obtains the gorgeous average wage of 7 to 8 cents per hour.

2. Trade Unionism is a crime. If any man dare raise his voice for the workers, he is clapped

into jails which are really torture chambers.

3. Not merely trade unionists, but Magyars, Jews and Bessarabians feel the lash of the foulest government on the face of the globe today—not barring Fascist Italy.

4. "Agitators" are shot without mercy, and the army rules the land. Freedom of election is unknown. Terror and misery are the common lot.

America once welcomed real men and women to our shores—men with prices on their heads, like Louis Kossuth. He was given a royal welcome, this enemy of kings. Today, some of us fawn and gibber before a slayer of the people; while we bar out the man who stands for an American form of government for Hungary, Michael Karolyi. Such is the fate of those who do or do not serve the House of Morgan.

MORE TRIUMPHS *for the* Labor Age Idea

At Detroit—in the Heart of Open Shoppery—the American Federation of Labor decided:

1. To wage war for the organization of the automobile workers, unions affected to waive all jurisdiction.
2. To carry on a widespread, vigorous campaign of publicity against Company Unionism.
3. To battle against the usurpation of the courts in the use of the Injunction.
4. To meet the International Steel Combine by affiliation of the Metal Trades Department with the Amsterdam International.

These are steps to which "Labor Age" has been pointing, in a constructive way, for months and years past.

FOLLOW THE FIGHT WITH "LABOR AGE"

Every local union should have this inspiration and information, month by month. The time for action is here! Let us be prepared for a militant advance of Unionism!

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