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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Battling Babbitry

1. The Hope of "Sodom"
2. New Slavery in Mass.
3. "Just Folks"

Jonah's Whale at West Lynn

He-Men of the Open Road

Lock-Stepping

Are Women Organizable?

Red, White, Blue Bloods

This Thing "Prosperity"

A Sermon in Steel

The "Virginal" Rockefeller

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

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EDWARD HACHTEL. Who went forth and worked in the Studebaker Auto Works, to get the thrill of being "just folks" with the management.

CHARLES L. REED. Who is showing how to carry on real workers' education with a wallop in it.

(The others are so familiar to our readers that we will not attempt again to detail their many virtues.)

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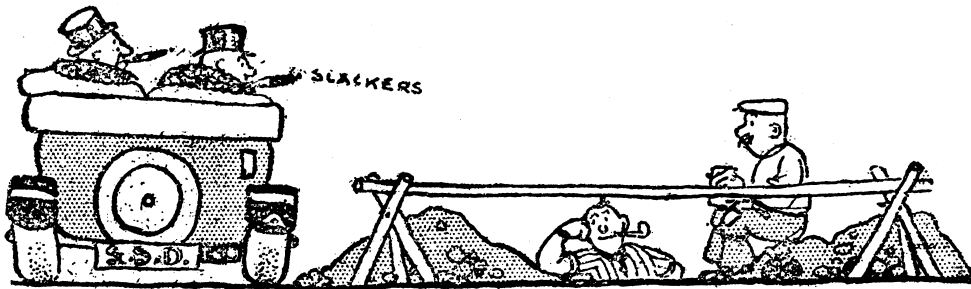
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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Battling Babbitry

IF WAR IS HELL, THEN THIS IS HELL!



The rumous tendency to evade work

(As pictured by our refreshing British contemporary, the London "New Leader.")

BREATHES there a man with soul so dead that he fails to appreciate the magnificence of the above cartoon?

The evasion of work by the "lower classes" is one of the mighty concerns of our Battling Babbitry—big and little. It is a theme on which they harp incessantly, seeking to get it out to the hard-working professional classes. The members of the great Open Shop Conference at Detroit, which preceded the recent American Federation of Labor convention, puckered their noble brows to think of new and telling schemes which would bring the gospel of "freedom" to press and pulpit. (Especially were they anxious to have the ministry well-informed in the lingo of Open Shopper.)

This month, we will spend an hour with Babbitry. In our last issue our friend Harvey O'Connor drew a picture of the unorganized workers of Cleveland. In his article in this number on Mr. Long and his A. P. A., Mr. Dunn presents the employers of Cleveland at work and play. In their phraseology, union organizers are mere "burglars", "dynamiters", and terrorists. A constant stream of publicity informs the "public mind" of the outrageous conduct of the union men. The object: Obviously, to create an anti-union atmosphere in the Fourth City of the land,

and thus open the door wider and wider to thievery.

Likewise, do we find sordid Massachusetts, in the words of Lowell, "standing with the rest" of the Slave States. The "Yellow Dog" or Individual Contract has become the favorite tool of the boot and shoe employers there. To have beaten textile slaves is not enough. The workers on footwear must be put under the same ban.

And lo! to make the tintype of Babbitry complete, we behold the Rotarian spirit of the Studebaker Auto Co. "Just Folks", you understand. All of the workers and bosses, just one happy family. At so much per for the bosses.

This being the month of March, we desire to remind you, appropriately, that St. Patrick wasn't only a gentleman. He also drove the snakes out of Ireland. A little snake driving in America won't hurt. Not merely scab workingmen, but the creators of scabs—the snake Rotarian-Kiwanian glad-hand exploiters of a machine-driven working class, are due for the skids. Whether they salve their exploitation with "just folks" stuff or come out in the "yellow dog" drive, they are warring on us. A little warring back on our part will do no harm. This year of our Lord presents a great opportunity. Who will begin to swat the Open Shoppers with real gusto?

The Hope of "Sodom"

Cleveland's Vigorous Open Shop Apostles

By ROBERT W. DUNN

OUTSIDE of San Francisco the most flourishing, militant, and articulate local employers' organization for the advancement of the non-union shop seems to be the American Plan Association of Cleveland. Its general manager is Mr. William Frew Long. Its offices are palatial, its funds apparently quite adequate, and its social and corporate connections extensive and influential.

Organized in 1920 during the days of the intensive open shop drive, the A. P. A. of Cleveland is a sort of merger of local federations of employers and trade associations for the purpose of fighting the local unions in every industry where they happen to appear threatening. The association looks upon the unionized shop as "subversive of every human right" and upon the non-union shop as "the only just and righteous employment condition." The "industrial liberties of employers must be defended. The A. P. A. is both a defensive and an offensive organization. But up to date it has not been as successful as its prototype, the Industrial Association of San Francisco. (See *LABOR AGE*, Jan. 1927). For in Cleveland the building industry is still nearly 100 per cent union shop in spite of the campaigns conducted against the unions during the last six years by Mr. Long, his backers in the big metal plants, and the recently organized Cleveland Citizens' Committee, which succeeded in killing collective agreements in two building trades unions in 1926. Mr. Long looks upon the unionized Cleveland building trades as extremely baneful to the city's growth. When on top of this the city voted for the "radical" La Follette in the 1924 presidential election, he and his association cried out that other communities would look upon Cleveland as "the industrial Sodom and Gomorrah of American cities."

Although up to date unable to make more than a dent in the solidarity of the building trades unions, the A.P.A. has been successful in other industries. Mr. Long, writing on his achievements, in the *NEW YORK COMMERCIAL*, in 1925, observed:

"The five years that have passed have been years of strenuous activity resulting in the complete destruction of closed shop conditions in all of the industries of the city outside of the building industry."

The Anti-Union Roll Call

Some of the industries in which the complete non-union shop seems to have been achieved may be judged from the names of the firms represented on the association's board of governors during 1923 and 1924: Chandler Motor Co., Peerless Motor Car Co., Columbia Axle Co., National Acme Co., Electric Controller & Manufacturing Co., D. Connelly Boiler Co., Cleveland Twist Drill Co., Acme-Palmers & Demoooy Foundry Co., the Chain Products Co., American Multigraph Co. (one of the foremost exponents of the company union), Electric

Controller & Manufacturing Co., Cleveland Crane and Engineering Co., Ohio Body and Blower Co., West Steel Casting Co., Atlas Car and Manufacturing Co., Columbian Hardware Co., Brown Hoisting Machinery Co., and the National Malleable & Steel Castings Co. In the association's official report covering these two years other firms mentioned as no less active in the open shop movement in Cleveland were the Ward Baking Co., Buckeye Brass Co., Superior Foundry Co., Cleveland Window Cleaning Co., H. J. Hunger Brass Co., Horton Dairy Co., Rickenburg Brass Mfg. Co.

A better picture of the diversity of non-union industry covered by the association may be gained from their "organization chart" which lists some 48 "membership groups" including manufacturers of all the important Cleveland products such as auto bodies, motor cars, bolts and nuts, boilers, brass plumbing supplies, chains, cranes and hoisting machinery, electrical appliances, fibre goods, forging and foundry products, hardware, lumber, machine tools, paints and varnish, paper boxes and bags, rubber goods, store fixtures, stoves, and tools.

The association reports that it is an organization of several hundred employers from all of these industries. The combined payrolls of the affiliated corporations amount to more than \$200,000,000 a year and the investment of these firms in Cleveland industry is claimed to represent more than half a billion dollars. The membership of the association is reported to have increased 32 per cent in 1923-1924.

Before taking up the specific activities of the association, let us note the various committees, departments, and groups included in its organization chart. The committees are the following: advisory, public relations, associate membership, publicity, legislative, civic affairs, and building industry (a special committee is needed here to carry on the disproportionate amount of anti-union activity directed at the building trades unions which, as noted above, have not yet been broken in Cleveland.) The departments listed are employment, confidential information (we shall see below what this means), employee welfare, legal advice, legislative and political activities, library, miscellaneous advice and information, publications, bulletins and addresses, statistics and finally, but not least important, strike management. In addition, there are certain executives' groups covering welfare and medical service, employment and factory executives, inspection and time study.

With this elaborate machinery in mind, we may note some of the reported activities and "services" of the association during 1923-1924:

It sought to crystallize public sentiment for the Open Shop through wide publicity, including full page advertisements in the local press, many of which bore appropriate quotations from former Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty. It also received much "free space" in the news columns of the press, and it issued its own

"publications, bulletins, and addresses." It helped local preachers prepare sermons expounding the principles of the Open Shop and deploring the alleged atrocities of labor union officials.

It spent a good deal of time, as must every organization, whether of capital or labor, drumming up membership. It made special efforts to convince employers that membership in the A. P. A. is "an insurance against labor trouble" and that "all the strikes which this association has handled since its organization have been won by the employer in but a fraction of the time and with but a modicum of the expense which would have been required had no such organization existed." Mr. Long frequently refers to the successful record of the association's strike-breaking work. In one place he writes:

"We have won many strikes, considering the short time our association has been in existence, and we have prevented many more."

Mr. Long further states:

"Again and again international unions have given local unions a 'strike sanction', but when it was found that the plant against which the strike sanction was obtained was a member of this Association, the sanction was never used."

So much for strikes prevented. Mr. Long does not tell us how many strikes were instigated by the association in connection with its policy of bucking up what it calls "lilly-livered employers" to break off relations with the union.

Scabs—From Steeple Jacks to Sewer Men

In connection with strikes in the plants of member corporations the association report deals with a variety of useful services. It raised money for legal expenses incurred by member firms during strikes. In one case the members of the "Foundry Group" of the organization "decided that the Superior Foundry Company should have something more than their 'admiration' and raised a fund of some \$4,000 to defray the legal expenses incurred by the Superior Company in connection with their strike." Guards and watchmen were provided to firms attempting to crush unions and go on the open shop basis. An Employment Department was operated to furnish non-union workers. According to Mr. Long it provided "a class of labor all the way from steeple jack to sewer builders." In this connection the association organized a "Labor Scout Service." Its expressed desire was to become "the labor supply center of Cleveland." The provision of automobiles, transportation surveys, publicity, prompt police attention, and other strike services are likewise provided through the office of the association.

Closely related with these services is the espionage department which is devoted chiefly to discovering what plans the unions are making. "Confidential information" is obtained through under-cover men placed in unions and in plants for the purpose of reporting on union doings or prospective union moves. "We know from information in our possession" is a common phrase used by the association in its reports. It makes no pretense of securing this information through other than its own under-cover channels. Apparently it hires no outside detective agency but has its own organized spy

system, or at least recommends to its members which private spy bureaus are reliable. For it reports that,

"Several members have notified this office of their receipt of letters of solicitation from certain so-called 'secret service' companies. Our Association is in possession of very intimate information concerning such companies which is available to any member interested. One of our members in reply to one of the above mentioned letters, wrote the soliciting company as follows:

"We are in receipt of your letter warning us of the danger of the presence of radical agitators to our plant and thank you for drawing the matter to our attention. With reference to the employment of your Company for the purpose of apprehending such agitators, will say that inasmuch as the American Plan Association, of which we are members, are watching this situation very closely and are in a position to give us the protection offered by your Company, we will not find it necessary to avail ourselves of your service'."

So adequate is this "protection" and cooperation with firms having to deal with strikers that in many instances such commendatory letters as the following have been received after a strike has been broken:

"It is with much pleasure that we have the opportunity of thanking you for your efforts in our behalf during the late strike at our plant.

"Throughout all our troubles you stood by us with all the tremendous resources of the American Plan Association and we are very pleased to say that we lost very little time or money and have actually increased our production over fifty per cent with the same number of men, through the unsuccessful effort of the union to unionize our shop—thanks to the American Plan Association."

The Association has resorted to the usual practice of boycotting union shops and encourages its members and the public to do its buying only from non-union firms.

Continued attacks on the labor unions and their practices are, of course, a part of the regular work of the organization. The Cleveland Trade Union Promotional League, "Labor's Reward"—the labor motion picture which advertises the union label, and other union activities come in for their share of the abuse.

Advice for Open Shoppers

In addition to counsel and legal advice on the maintenance of the non-union shop, the association staff provides free consultation and information on such phases of the labor problem as "employee representation" (company unions), "house organs" (employee magazines), "profit sharing plans", "stock ownership by employees," as well as on "detective agencies", "guards" and other strikebreaking facilities mentioned above.

A considerable amount of political work was done by the association in the period under review. Opposition to labor-endorsed ordinances and the bringing of pressure to bear on city councilmen and officers were a part of the program. Such a resolution as that introduced in the city council providing that labor in the service of the city should receive the prevailing trade union rate of wages, received the vigorous opposition of the body. All legislation introduced by labor unions was labeled "socialistic". Referring to the activities of

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the trade unions in the political field, and their advocacy of social legislation, Mr. Long writes, "Unless we counter this move all the work of our Employers' Associations will have been for naught." As we have noted, the association was pained at the Cleveland vote for La Follette in 1924, and shortly after this "disaster" reported gloomily, "It is confidently expected that our manufacturers will, as a matter of course, immediately consider the question of moving their plants elsewhere." And in a speech at the annual banquet of the Associated Building Employers of Detroit shortly after this, he declared, "the fact that La Follette carried Cleveland is due largely to the efforts and leadership of the radicals who are fed and nurtured in our building trades unions."

The library of the association appears to be one of its prize assets as it contains "probably the most complete record of radical and communistic activities to be found in the city." With this information in its library the association carries on aggressive warfare against all "subversive movements" which in its opinion includes third parties, La Follette progressives in Congress, the American Federation of Labor, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Mr. Long is no less feverish and misinformed than other "professional patriots" in his indiscriminate attacks on liberal men and movements. When it is understood that the association secures most of its information on these matters from such organs of reaction as the late lamented NEW YORK COMMERCIAL, and the NATIONAL REPUBLIC, one can enjoy the humor of the following sample statement:

"The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America . . . has published more unfair, biased and untruthful statements about the Open Shop than any other pro-union agency in the country, aside, of course, from the publishers of union and radical papers."

Burglars!

Like the National Association of Manufacturers and other employers' associations, the A. P. A. declares it "does not plan to fight labor unions or members of labor unions." Indeed, it goes so far as to claim that the plan it advocates is "labor's best friend", and that the

association upholds "the principles of Washington, of Patrick Henry, of Thomas Jefferson." After which it hastens to point out that "the labor agitator"—meaning not the "red" but the old-fashioned business agent of building trades tradition—"is as unnecessary to prosperity as a burglar . . . you know the agitator's results are evil."

In addition to professing publicly a desire not to destroy trade unions—even though they may be manned by officials who are in the nature of things (and in Mr. Long's opinion) not only burglars, but dynamiters, terrorists, and subverters of "law and order",—the A. P. A. President, Robert W. Kaltenbach writes,

"We wish . . . to reform them, to make them peaceable and beneficial . . . so that in the end it might even become possible to cooperate with them in intelligently planned efforts for the public welfare."

But under no circumstances would the association countenance entering into any sort of collective bargaining arrangement with a labor union. It would not admit them in any way to the function in industry for which trade unions are organized. The only kind of union it regards with favor is the company union, under the "leadership" of a corporation employment manager or welfare director.

Charged with being a militant organization in its war on union labor, the association argues that it is thus only "when militancy is necessary." But by and large, it contends, it loves peace, which it hopes to attain in the millennial future when the last union in the Cleveland building trades is crushed out of existence. Meanwhile its philosophy may be summed up in Mr. Long's language:

"Preparedness is not the sign of a militaristic spirit. More often it is the sign of a love of peace. Nations build warships mainly for the purpose of discouraging territorial aggression on the part of other countries. The building of an additional war vessel is not made the occasion for a declaration of war."

And then the lesson is applied to industry in Cleveland: "We do not seek to destroy the Unions—we simply seek to prevent the Unions from destroying us."

New Slavery in Massachusetts

Shoe Workers vs. the Individual Contract

By CHARLES L. REED

....., 1926
To Mitchel-Welch Shoe Co.,
163 Commercial St.,
West Lynn, Mass.

I hereby apply for employment as..... and in consideration of employment by you, I agree that:—

1. I will perform all work assigned to me to the best of my ability; and will comply with such rules as you may put into effect for the conduct of your business.
2. I will not take part in any strike or in any concerted cessation of work or in any effort or plan to hinder the

conducting of your factory as an "Open Shop" or as a "Non-Union Shop".

3. My employment may be terminated by you or by me upon and by written notice, (notice to me to be sufficient if mailed to my address given below).

4. In case my employment is terminated, I will for one year thereafter, in no way annoy, molest or interfere, directly or indirectly, with your customers, property, business or employees.

Signed
Address

THE above is a copy of an Individual Contract which shoe workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, are requested to sign in order to obtain a job: For the price of bread and oleomargarine the half-starved shoe maker agrees to such a contract. And as a matter of fact many hundreds of workers have affixed their signatures on the dotted line and many hundreds of these contracts are now in full force and effect.

Such agreements are part of the new slavery and were introduced with the idea of ridding the employer of the terrible and radical trade union and the impossible trade union official. The development of this new unionism can be traced back to six or seven years ago at about the time that the employers had decided to put the unions out of business and establish the so-called Open Shop and American Plan of doing business.

Baptism at Beverly

The Metal Trades industry was the first to be baptised with the ointment and the first large rebellion took place when over four thousand workers walked out of the plant of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation at Beverly, Mass., on March 5, 1920. Prior to the walkout the workers in the plant had been fairly well organized in the metal trades unions and over three thousand had joined the machinists union. The union had secured the forty-four hour week for the workers, secured better wages for most of the workers and adjusted many grievances in less than one year's time. The "United Shoe" did not like this and through its attorneys introduced an Individual Contract that had for its purposes the destruction of the union.

This agreement simply provided that the company would employ a signer of the agreement for the period of one year at a stipulated compensation and under certain factory conditions. There was no mention of the union or as to whether the factory would be run union or non-union. It was simply an agreement and the Supreme Court of Massachusetts held the contract legal and enjoined the union from interfering with the contractual relations between the company and its employees.

Workers were induced and intimidated to sign the agreements and after a nine months battle the employer with the aid of this simple instrument and the Court was able to reduce the power of the Union and gain a victory.

Since that time the Individual Contract has been improved from the employer's point of view and has been introduced into many industries besides the metal industry. The textile and clothing industry have witnessed its introduction and now the shoe industry is cursed with its use.

To give the reader some idea of what I mean by being improved let him read the contract at the beginning of this article and then read the following:

I am employed and work for the.....Company, with the express understanding that I am not a member of the.....Union, and will not become so while I am an employee of the.....Company, and that the.....Company is run non-union, and agrees with

me it will run non-union while I am in its employ. If at any time while I am employed by the.....Company, I want to become a member of the.....Union or any affiliated organization, I agree to withdraw from the employment of said Company, and I agree that while I am an employee of that company I will not make any effort among its employees to bring about the unionizing of that company's plant against that company's wish. I have either read the above or heard the same read.

(Signed).....

So much for the contract and its use. As to its legality, as stated before, the court has ruled that the contract is legal and will be protected. In the case of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation against Fitzgerald (237 Mass. 537) the court held that a strike to compel the employer to withdraw individual contracts which had for their purpose the destruction of the union was illegal. Here the employer was allowed to coerce or compel workers to sign the individual contract as a condition of employment. The union was permanently enjoined from interfering with the contractual relations of the employer.

This decision nullified Section 20 of Chap. 149 of the General Laws of Massachusetts which provided: No person shall, himself or by his agent, coerce or compel a person into a written or oral agreement not to join or become a member of a labor organization as a condition of his securing or continuing in the employment of such person.

Courts Uphold Slavery

The decision of the court was based on the decision in the Hitchman case(Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. vs. Mitchell, 245 U. S. 229). The Hitchman Coal Company operated in West Virginia and in 1907 adopted a closed non-union shop policy and compelled every employee to sign an employment card stating in substance that he understood that the mine was operated on a non-union basis and that he was not a union man, and that while he was at liberty to become a union member he agreed that he would not do so and remain in the employ of the Hitchman company. Subsequently organizers of the United Mine Workers of America secretly persuaded certain employees of the company to agree to join the union with the end in view of securing enough promises to that effect so that when they actually did join and quit their employment such action would compel the company to recognize the union or close the mine. The conclusion of the court was founded on the old Common Law Doctrine that "Any person who knowingly entices away the servant of another and thereby induces him to violate his contract with another and who, thereby deprives the master of the services of one actually in his service, whether under written contract to serve or not, is liable to the master for his actual loss therefrom."

To repeat what we have said before, the individual contract is here, it is being extended and improved or made more vicious and the courts so far have upheld its validity. It is obvious that the position of the trade unions is in jeopardy and to all intents and purposes the American wage earner is being tied to his job and

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enslaved. It seems then that the problem raised by the individual contract is a serious one and worthy of some consideration and study.

The discussion of a solution so far has led to an effort to attack the individual contract on the legislative field and try and enact some measures that would secure some relief for the unions and the worker. The American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of that body have been discussing the subject for the past few years and in 1925 recommended that the executive council study further resolution No. 20, which contained a Bill providing for the enactment of the State Laws declaring the Individual Contract against Public Policy and wholly void.

The bill is as follows:

A Bill

Declaring provisions in contracts of employment whereby either party undertakes not to join, become or remain a member of a labor union or of any organization of employers or undertakes in such event to withdraw from the contract of employment to be against public policy and void.

Section 1. Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, constituting, or contained in, any contract, or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and any employe or prospective employe of the same, whereby (a) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain, a member of any labor organization, or of any organization of employers, or (b) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from the employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, remains, a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, is hereby declared to be contrary to public policy and wholly void.

In 1925 this bill was endorsed by the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor and introduced in the Legislature. A hearing was held on February 2, 1926, before the Joint Committee on Judiciary and the committee gave the proponents of the bill leave to withdraw.

In 1926 the bill was again endorsed by the convention of the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor and again introduced in to the Legislature, and a hearing was held before the Committee on Labor and Industries on February 2nd.

In the meantime the Shoe Workers of Lynn, Massachusetts, who are hard pressed by the Individual Contract introduced another bill dealing on the same subject. A hearing was given to this bill on the same day. This bill was drawn by the counsel for the Shoe Workers and is as follows:

The Bill

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Section 1. Any contract or agreement of employment between an employer or prospective employer and an employee or prospective employee relating to the performance of hand labor and/or machine operation, which contains any provisions other than, or in addition, to wages, length of employment and nature of work or operation to be performed, shall be null and void unless at the time of the making of such contract or agreement, an exact copy is delivered to such employee or prospective employee signed by the employer or prospective employer, or by his or its authorized representative.

Section 2. Any contract or agreement of employment between an employer or prospective employer and an employee or prospective employee relating to the performance of hand labor and/or machine operation in which a condition or a consideration, expressed or implied, in whole or in part, for the acceptance of such contract or agreement by the employer or prospective employer includes the purchase of capital stock of any nature in the business of the employer or prospective employer by the employee or prospective employee shall be null and void.

Section 3. Any contract or agreement of employment between an employer or prospective employer and an employee or prospective employee relating to the performance of hand labor and/or machine operation, which contains any provision restricting the liberty of action of such employee or prospective employee for any period of time after the termination of said contract or agreement of employment, shall be null and void.

Section 4. Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to apply to contracts or agreements of employment of artists or other persons of peculiar or unique talents.

Section 5. If any part or section of this act shall be declared unconstitutional, the validity of the remaining parts or sections shall not be affected thereby.

At the hearing a large delegation of Trade Unionists voiced their protest of the use of the Individual Contract and the hearing lasted all day. It was testified that the Individual Contract was in use in the Metal Industry, Textile Industry, Shoe Industry, Upholstery Industry and both the men and women's clothing industries. And it was apparent that the use of the Individual Contract is growing and that some drastic steps will have to be taken to counteract its evil effects.

Personally the writer has little faith in the enactment of Legislation curbing this evil. The Legislature in Massachusetts is a reactionary one and little can be expected from it. In other words the Legislative field offers little hope. It does, nevertheless, serve as a publicity and propaganda field.

Wherever the Individual Contract has been defeated, it has been licked by the economic power of workers through their Trade Union. It will be necessary for the Trade Unions to become more militant, to fight harder and to ignore Court orders issued in connection with the Individual Contract.

"Just Folks"

"Cooperation" in the Studebaker Auto Plant

By EDWARD HACHTEL

The writer worked as a machine operator for the Studebaker Corporation during two periods totaling about a year and a half. The following description is the result of his observations and experiences with the principles and plans of this company's schemes of co-operation. As most everyone knows, Detroit, is the "openest" shop city in this country. . . The manufacturers are so supreme in their control of the labor situation that they have not even bothered to hand the workers an opiate in the form of a "company union". Hence it may be interesting to know how they "co-operate."

I. THE PRINCIPLES

(From the abstract of an address of Mr. C. B. Lippincott, head of the Co-operative Department of the Studebaker Corporation, printed in the Journal of the Society of Automotive Engineers for November, 1924.)

1. "Industrial prosperity depends on industrial peace, industrial peace on confidence—confidence of the management in the men, confidence of the men in the management—confidence develops co-operation—co-operation is essential to business—it is based on justice in the distribution of men, management and capital."

2. On this basis "the problems of management remain in the hands of the men who are qualified to solve them and secures the good will of the men by fair treatment."

3. "Give me what is due to me and I will do what I want with it" is the typical attitude of the American worker, says Mr. Lippincott. Hence the Studebaker corporation in its plans for "co-operation" will have nothing to do with "welfare" schemes which will give the workman help he does not want.

II. THE PLANS FOR COOPERATION

To develop this idea of co-operation and "secure the continuous service, loyalty and good will of the employees" the following plans were inaugurated under the administration of the Co-operative Department:

1. The Anniversary Check payment plan whereby the employee receives a check for five per cent of his yearly earnings at the end of each year's service for the first five years and ten per cent thereafter.

2. One week's vacation with pay after two years service.

3. The privilege of purchasing stock in the Corporation at the market rate and receiving in addition to the regular dividends, fifty per cent of the amount of the dividends on the stock owned from the company.

4. A life pension paid to each person over sixty who has been employed by the company for twenty continuous years.

5. Payment of \$500 to the dependents of an employee who dies after five years of continuous employment by the company.

6. The Co-operative Department also publishes an "Employee's Magazine," called The Studebaker Co-operator and having as its motto "Just Folks—Working Together."

III. HOW DO THEY WORK?

Take the magazine. It prints snap shots of the workmen's babies, the baseball and bowling scores of the plant teams, personal items, etc. But, judging from its contents, its chief function seems to be to "Boost Big Business." Some examples "Thirty years ago industrial workers were making twenty cents an hour, a few owned their homes and the men who owned bicycles were considered fortunate . . . Big business has made it possible for workers to own modern homes, automobiles, talking machines and radios . . . The better wages and higher standards of living of the American workman are due in a great extent to American policies and institutions and *not* to policies and programs advocated by certain radical groups today. Radical policies have been tried in Europe. The result has been financial depression, poverty—even starvation. Big business, *lawfully conducted*, is the greatest asset of the nation." Criticism of the Child Labor Amendment on the ground that it will develop young criminals; reprints from a bogus "Labor" paper which repudiates La Follette's candidacy, etc., are other expressions of the voice of labor in this "Employee's Magazine."

How They Let the Workman "Do What He Wants" With His Money

During the fall of 1925, most of the workers were able to get from three to five days work per week. From December 18, 1925 to January 11, 1926, they were given a three weeks vacation, without pay. Shortly after they returned to work, the foreman of the department and a representative of the Co-operative Department began to solicit the workers to get them to buy group accident insurance. A certain amount of money was to be deducted from the weekly checks of the employees and the Corporation was to contribute a certain amount toward the premiums as long as the men were in the employment of the company. Many of the men in my department refused to take it as they needed every cent they could get to make up for lost time. The assistant superintendent was then delegated to speed up the selling campaign. Despite the pressure exerted by the foreman, the representative of the Co-operative Department and the assistant superintendent, about twenty-five per cent of the men refused to take the insurance.

They were all called into the office of the superintendent's office and given a long oration on the many favors the Corporation had bestowed upon them in the past and how this was another effort on the part of the company to demonstrate its solicitation for the well being of its employees. It ended with the remark that we

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would have to take the insurance in any of the plants in the city so we might as well take it here. And furthermore, if we did not like it we could get out. When he finished, all of the men except one were pretty much cowed into accepting the insurance and signed up for it. The man who refused was asked to stay after the others left, and was later told that he would have to take the insurance or get fired. He took the insurance.

How They Get Continuous Service, Loyalty and Good Will of the Employees

The anniversary check does help to keep the employees in continuous service. But what a bitter slavery it is! Time and time again, when the group insurance plan and the group wage payment plan were being forced on them, I would hear a workman say, "Well, my anniversary check is due next month, and when I get it, watch me get out." And then when the incident blows over, they stick. But they are not being deluded about the management's good will. As one worker expressed it "They have us by the seat of the pants and know we can't do anything about it."

A final example of how Studebaker "co-operates" with the men, in regard to wages:

The company replaced the individual piece-work system with the group or "gang" work system. This is a system of wage payment whereby the production of a group or department is totaled and a lump sum is paid to the entire group. It is then divided among its personnel who are arbitrarily divided into four classes by the foreman, on the basis of skill required on the operations performed, the amount produced, etc. Class "A" receives the most wages, class "B" somewhat less and so on down the scale.

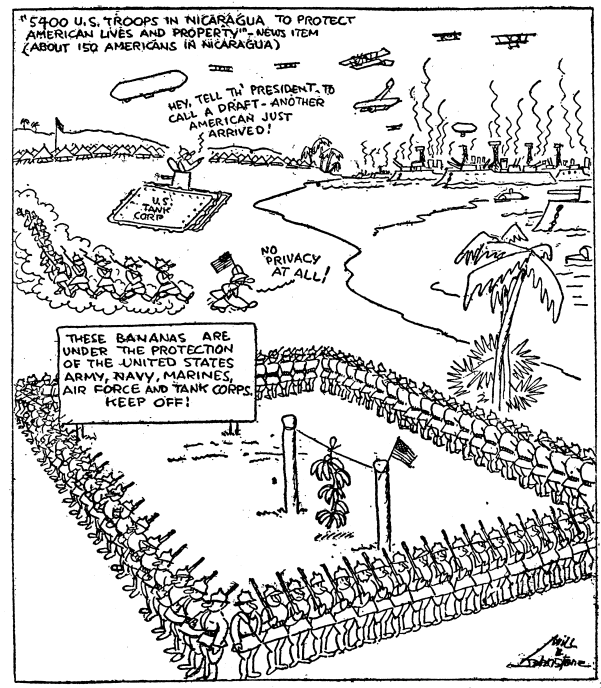
Three or four weeks' experience with the plan demonstrated that the men were losing by it from one to two and half dollars per day, although they maintained they were producing the same amount of work. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed and the foreman called a meeting of the men. He urged the men to "get together and produce," the assumption being that some of them, at least, were "laying down" on the job.

Many suggestions and criticisms were made without anything definite being decided upon. The foreman was asked if the company had any objections to the formation of a committee of the men to investigate the cause of the loss of pay. He said that they had none.

The next morning one of the workers placed a notice on the bulletin board calling a meeting of the men of the department at noon to discuss the group plan of payment and how it affected their earnings. Later in the morning the assistant-superintendent came to him and asked him to bring the men who were most dissatisfied to the superintendent's office to "thrash out the issue before it became serious." About ten or twelve men went to the office and had to listen to a long "spiel" by the superintendent, the sum and substance of which was that there were a hundred men waiting for each one of our jobs, that we could get out if we did not like it—and that there were no meetings to be held or workers' committees formed at the Studebaker plant. His final words

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

WHAT PRICE BANANAS!



New York World

Ah! Ha! The grave menace to these United States is revealed above. Bananas must be protected, at any cost—particularly if they lead to Mexican Oil!

of wisdom were: "When you are in school you have to do what the teacher says, when you are in the army you have to do what the captain says, and when you are in the factory you have to do what the boss says. You are here to produce; we will do the thinking." Surely this is "leaving the problems in the hands of the men who are qualified to solve them!"

IV. AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE A. F. OF L.

This wage payment plan is being rapidly extended in almost all of the automobile plants. It is the cause of much dissatisfaction among the men and should prove a fertile field for unionization if only the A. F. of L. would utilize the opportunity for making good its promise to unionize the automobile industry. It is assuming a large order in attempting such organization, but it is offering the workers one hope of breaking the strangle hold that the employers have on the community. To this task they must bring a clear insight and an understanding of the peculiar structure of the automobile industry, if they are to be successful in freeing men not only from the autocracy of other men, but from what is infinitely more destructive to the human spirit, slavery to the machine, as man is a slave to the machine in an automobile factory.

Lock-Stepping!

Congress Considers Putting on the Screws

By CICELY APPLEBAUM

THE coke ovens of Steeltown are manned by Hunky, Slav, Polack and Eytalian. The open-face miner is no longer John but Giovanni and Jan. In all the basic industries—iron and steel manufacture, slaughtering and meat packing, bituminous coal mining, woolen and worsted manufacturing, cotton goods manufacturing, clothing manufacturing, leather manufacturing, furniture manufacturing and oil refining, foreign born workers form a majority of those at work.

European jealousies are not all left behind and the differences in tongue, in religion, in background form a soil for misunderstanding. Employers use these misunderstandings to keep the workers from uniting. They use the foreign born workers' lack of knowledge of American conditions to keep them from demanding higher wages or better conditions. Americanization is not often one of their purposes—you can't handle American workers so easily.

Evidently, however, all this isn't enough. Foreign born workers are cooperating, standing together against the common antagonist, for better industrial conditions. Wholesome fear must be put into their hearts. And a batch of laws now in Congress seem designed for that purpose. Full of patriotic intentions, we feel sure, are the gentlemen who introduced these bills. Our country must be protected from these foreigners—you never can guess what they'll do.

As might be expected, these proposed laws are entirely alien to American ideals—the American revolutionary fathers, you will remember were rather wild eyed radicals on their own account. If the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in a careful study can call them not in accord with American ideals, consider what Thomas Jefferson or Sam Adams—or even the aristocratic George Washington and John Adams would have thought of proposals so destructive of individual liberties as:

The ASWELL BILL requiring all aliens to register once a year, pay a \$10 registration fee and \$5 a year thereafter, to be fingerprinted and photographed, to report all changes in personal appearance; to exhibit registration certificate upon demand of any federal, state, city, or county official; to report at any time and any place required by the President of the United States when he shall decide it necessary.

The SOSNOWSKY BILL, requiring the registration of aliens, and their compulsory naturalization.

The HYDEN and TAYLOR BILLS, requiring the imprisonment of all deported aliens returning to the United States.

The MCCLENTICK BILL making naturalization compulsory with deportation as the penalty for failure to become a citizen.

The HOLIDAY BILL which was rushed through the House of Representatives last June and is now in the Immigration Committee for the Senate. It wipes out the clause in

the present deportation bill permitting deportation of aliens who have served a year in prison "for a moral offense" and permits deportation of anyone who has served a year for any offense whatsoever; permits deportation of those who within 7 years of entry develop a fatal disease, not proved to have been developed subsequent to entry, permits the deportation not only of all aliens in this country illegally, but of all those helping or harboring such persons; and the new Holaday Bill calling for voluntary registration—which will undoubtedly be a failure and will then make compulsory registration all the more inevitable.

Mayflowerer and Briton, Too!

Measures of this type seem deliberately planned to crush foreign born workers in the United States. They may eventually serve to bring all of us—native American of Mayflower stock, naturalized Briton, and recently arrived Russian, Pole, Czechoslovak and Italian—to a state of complete regulation by the government. Nor is this merely an academic fear. One of the bills has already passed the House of Representatives. The others, chiefly concerned with the registration of aliens—were favored by Chairman Johnson of the Immigration Committee in the House and Secretary of Labor Davis. Mr. Davis has in the past approved compulsory registration, though the opposition of large groups has made him have a change of heart, so that at present he asks for only voluntary action.

No measure of voluntary registration could be very effective, and there seems reason to believe that it would eventually become compulsory. After that, there would be a clamor to make registration really effective by including all—naturalized and native born citizen as well as foreigner. Congressman Huddleston recognizes that quite plainly. In speaking of the Aswell Bill, he said, it provides for "the registration of aliens only, *since the time is not yet ripe to register citizens.*" As the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, says, in its report on a careful study of these bills—"It would, largely because of ineffectiveness when applied to aliens only, lead to demand for annual registration of all inhabitants of the country."

Of course, in a land where Cabinet members move in terror of Russian gold here, there and everywhere, it might be expected that there would be present a desire to know what every alien is doing every minute of the day. A new moustache is probably intended to mask nefarious activities. A move from the slums to a better neighborhood undoubtedly indicates a desire to spread propaganda among a new group, easily influenced to revolution.

Incidentally, of course, while the law protects the anxious cabinet members, it can at the same time act to restrict the free action of the foreign born worker. There is no need to comment on the provision of the Aswell

A SERMON IN STEEL

DEARLY beloved bretheren of the steel mills: We would sermonize with you today. Be it known, that you are a very important set of gentlemen.

From the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA we quote:

"Iron, the most abundant and the cheapest of the heavy metals, the strongest and the most magnetic of known substances, is perhaps also the most indispensable of all save the air we breathe and the water we drink. For one kind of meat we could substitute another; wool could be replaced by cotton, silk or fur; were our common silicate glass gone, we could probably perfect and cheapen some other of the transparent solids; but even if the earth could be made to yield any substitute for the forty to fifty millions tons of iron which we use each year for rails, wire, machinery, and structural purposes of many kinds, we could not replace either the steel of our cutting tools, or the iron of our magnets, the basis of all commercial electricity."

Taking advantage of this "basis of our modern industrial civilization", "your" corporations are modestly coining neat returns. The United States Steel Corporation announces net earnings of \$199,004,741 for the year 1926. This is a peace-time record. It compares more than favorably with the "meagre" \$165,528,464 made in 1925.

Not to be outdone, Bethlehem follows two days later with a similar peace-time record. Its earnings in 1926 total \$45,405,253. Anticipating still further demands, the Honorable Eugene Grace, President, announces new construction, as follows:

"The most important units of the construction work now in progress are the new pipe plant, twelve additional tin plate mills, a new 21-inch continuous

sheet bar and skelp mill, a 12-inch skelp mill and a new electric power installation at the Maryland plant, an additional new structural mill at the Lackawanna plant and additional by-product coke ovens at the Lackawanna and Cambria plants. All of these new units are expected to go into operation during the current year and should add substantially to earnings."

Now: An actual increase in wages to the steel makers would be a handsome recompense for the cooperation they have given in turning out such record-breaking incomes for their bosses. How much these increases should be, we leave it to expert investigation to disclose. The railroad men at the Bethlehem, for example, seem to be making little headway with the graceful Grace and sleek, slick Charlie—on the matter of a necessary increase.

To make a test of the "democracy" existing at the Bethlehem, as a starter: We challenge that corporation to allow its company unionists to employ the Labor Bureau, Inc., to look into steel profits, steel wages and steel working conditions. Such report to be made to a meeting, outside the steel mills, by representatives of the Labor Bureau themselves. This is a body of expert economists, recognized as such by conservative and ultra-reactionary sources. But these men, at least, are loyal to Labor and will tell it the truth. Will the Bethlehem allow the truth to be brought to light?

To test out the sincerity of the Steel Corporation, in its social welfare blabber and blubbering, we challenge that eminent seat of Purity and Wisdom to do likewise—such report to be made to a meeting of its worker-stockholders, outside the mills.

Bill requiring any alien in the country to report at any time and any place required by the President of the United States when he shall decide it necessary. "It has all the elements of a strike-crushing, union breaking proposal," as President Green of the American Federation of Labor pointed out in a letter which appeared in the Congressional Record for January 7, 1926. An industrial organization affected by a strike in which foreign born workers play a significant part has only to convince the government that an emergency exists to have a troublesome situation off its hands—and at no expense to itself. And the government in the past has not been too difficult to convince that an emergency exists.

Deportation

The Holaday Bill, which has already been passed by the House, presents a number of similar dangers. It provides, for instance, that any alien here for less than 10 years may be deported if he has served a year in prison for any single offense or for an aggregate of eighteen months. Such a provision cannot but affect active trade unionists, who are constantly being arrested during strikes. And, as a result, it must make foreign born

workers more timid in their trade union activities. A foreign worker will think twice before imperilling his position in this country. The provision permitting deportation of those developing a fatal disease within seven years after entry, not able to prove that the disease was contracted here, would inflict great hardship upon workers engaged in hazardous trades who may contract diseases here without being able to prove their sources.

In the fight against the Holaday Bill, the American Federation is not alone. Even the United States Chamber of Commerce, as has been stated, has not been able to stomach the various proposals for lock-stepping the foreign-born, and eventually the native workmen. It is a little too raw. The National Council for the Protection of the Foreign-Born has been conducting a national campaign through the country, with the sole intent of seeing these measures defeated.

That all workingmen should rally to the campaign against the measures goes without saying. Congressmen and Senators should be kept informed of the opposition to these proposals, in order that we may not see in this country the introduction of a registration system which made Prussia odious in the "international conscience."

He-Men of the Open Road

In Which We Look at Fear

By M. H. HEDGES

I. "NO SCISSOR BILLS FOR US"

IN those western communities, where the classes and the masses are not clearly differentiated, the clash arises between the men of the open road and the scissor-bills of the town. Scissor-bill is the migratory worker's term for the white collar worker. The brawny, resourceful, joyous team and cow hand has only contempt for the clerk, the garage man, and the unorganized mechanic of the prairie villages. He sees him as a timid pusillanimous soul, cringing before fortune and fate, slaving in deadly drab routine. All the epical feedings, rovings, fishings, lustings and fightings belong to the open road, and not to the town. And the manly virtues—self-reliance, courage, industry, comradesliness and good humor—only appear—say the pioneers—under the lash and sting of open weather on the out-of-door job.

It is the he-man virtues that we all admire—courage, independence, comradesliness, and good humor. We admire them in women, too. The modern young woman, either has them, or pretends to their assumption. We admire them in our presidents: Roosevelt had them and Coolidge does not. We admire them in labor leaders: Gompers, Morones, and MacDonald. We admire these manly virtues in our epic heroes: in Robin Hood, Paul Bunyan, and D'Artagnan. We admire them in actors. These make Douglas Fairbanks charming; the lack of them makes Charles Chaplin pathetic, and Harold Lloyd ridiculous. We admire them in our athletes and prize-fighters, in Ederle, Young, Tunney, Johnson and Tilden. In fact, Americans, more than others, are incorrigible worshipping of the solitary, defiant, heroic figure. So object are we in our worship that we abort, and often pay homage to criminals who prey on society, simply because they manifest a hardihood and splendid courage in going it alone. Jesse James and Cole Younger are almost national heroes. Many a bandit has been accorded public esteem rather than condemnation because he has outwardly seemed a hero.

We admire courage so blazingly perhaps, because in all of us fear is so instinctive. We are born with fear; we have to learn faith; we have to achieve courage. The infant, newborn, snuggles against the protective side of its mother. Shortly it is trembling with what psychologists have called "racial memories" of dark transactions. The ogre, the dragon, the bogey-man, the dark, the haunting sense of death and impending disaster are but stirrings of racial fears, objectified or only half realized. Ghosts are but shadows of deathly dreams of lost ancestors. So powerful is the grip of fear upon human beings that many persons never rise to any stage of confident action. They grope blindly and trembling in a dark peopled with horrible phantoms. Their lives are but one long anguish of fear.

When we understand this aspect of the human mechanism—we then can understand the hold of religion upon it. Religion is an antidote to fear. It seeks to replace fear with faith. It lets man, groping in darkness, hope for a dawn. And incidentally, social reformers and revolutionists should realize that human beings, constituted as they are, are not likely to surrender easily any belief that will give them a little comfort, by banishing the hold terror has upon them.

II. DEVILS OF THE 20th CENTURY

With the aid of science, many ancient terrors which formerly haunted men—made life a carnival of fear—have been destroyed. Men no longer fear the sea as a place infested by inhuman monsters. Men no longer fear cyclical changes in the stars, the sun and moon, and in the weather as extraordinary manifestations of evil spirits. To most men, a rabbit's foot, a horse-shoe, a bag of asafetida about the neck have no charms to conjure away the devils. The fear of plagues, of disease, of death, have been greatly mitigated by the control science exercises over these black terrors. Indeed the zone of human fear has seemingly been greatly narrowed, and yet, as if in revenge upon men, the black demon of terror, visits them with fiendish and intensive constancy.

Yes, there are devils in the twentieth century, and the biggest particular fiend is economic fear—the fear of loss of job, of financial bankruptcy, of class degradation, of business insecurity. In the face of all the alleged prosperity present in American life, we assert there is more painful sense of economic insecurity in the hearts and minds of more men today than at any time in the past. The serf did not fear hunger, loss of caste, or the terror of joblessness. No periodic tidal wave of business tossed him between agony and joy. The negro slave perhaps was more comfortable as a slave than he is today as an allegedly free workingman. The farmer of yesterday, with only the vagaries of the weather to contend with, had more peace and security than his descendant of today despite the help of labor saving devices, the flivver, the radio, and the agricultural schools.

And this all pervading weight of terror, so real, so personal, does not fall upon merely workingmen. It falls on the white collar worker, and it falls on the rich. In the February ATLANTIC MONTHLY, one of the quality group of magazines presumably circulating among the "best" families, John Carter, an editor of the NEW YORK TIMES emits this cry of pain:

Even if we make a lot of money, what can we do with it? Buy a home? Where? Investments fail and purchasing power decreases and taxes rise. Have lots of children? What if our business goes on the rocks or is reorganized by Mr. Dillon? What if our professional skill becomes outmoded? We are now completely at the mercy of the buttons we push. Our young men can no longer

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go West or South with profit—they will only find the same system. No longer are our feet on the solid ground of husbandry, nor is our income derived even indirectly from the soil. What we sell is 'Service' and as soon as our services cease to have value there is no place to which we can retire.

We are facing one of the most serious debacles since the decline of the Roman Empire, and possibly for the same reason. Somehow, somewhere, we have set forces in motion which are driving us to the cities, and once there we remain slaves to that precarious freedom which permits us to work or starve.

Another writer, Allan T. Burns, describes another aspect of the gypsy lives we lead:

The last United States census says that of all the native-born population in the United States about one-fourth live in states in which they were not born. In other words, they are shifters. Here in Rhode Island your percentage is about the average. The percentage in Wyoming runs up to 70.

No one knows whether that is unusual or not compared with other countries, but it reflects a great degree of shifting among our population. It is due primarily to occupation, to our search to find jobs that are more remunerative or more to our taste. There is one indication in the last Massachusetts census of 1915. Here the native-born are usually shifty, for that census showed that twice as many of the native-born were disqualified for voting as the foreign-born because they were not long enough in residence in a given district. We Americans are primarily shifters. If we think of our greatest industry, the largest employer of labor in the country, the United States Steel Corporation, with its over 500,000 employees, we will realize how true it is that industry is no respecter of communities.

Do you realize that during the last few years we have had more immigrants return to the old countries than we have had come into ours, a situation never known before in the world's history? This was due largely to fluctuations in the demand for employment in the United States Steel Corporation and other such great places of employment. It is the coming and going, the ebb and flow of the tide, that make it almost impossible that people shall take root in local communities and the fact that the breaking up of the community has been recognized by such employers as did not wish to have too much of that sort of thing, and they have cultivated such a mixture of people, bringing them from here and there, from across the water, from the rural districts of the United States, that there may not have been long enough continuity of common residence for them to make common cause.

This insecurity of job, this insecurity of place and fortune colors all our lives. We see the effects of insecurity everywhere: in the increase in nervous diseases, in the prevalence of nervous breakdowns, in the increase in suicides, in the quest for forgetfulness in blatant gayety in the rise of religions whose main appeal is the destruc-

tion of fear psychology, in the arrival of pension systems, workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance, and last but far from least in the rise of labor unions.

The labor union is an antidote to economic fear. And for the worker the only successful antidote. It furnishes that order, that stability, that insurance against time and change and insecurity which the soul of every man craves, and which no other agency can offer.

III. A MAIN STREET CONVERSATION

It is a spring day of 1927. A hobo has strolled into a western town, and stands picking his teeth on the grass-grown Main Street. He is a melancholy hobo and laments the passing of the great days.

HOBO: No, times hain't what they used to be. There are no more big jobs. There are no more empty spaces. Even the farm ain't what it used to be. Machines everywhere, and a runt is as good as any he-man.

SCISSOR-BILL: (grinning). Didn't I tell ya' Bo? There's no use fighting 'em. You might as well come into town, get you a good job, and settle down.

HOBO: I'll be damned, if I will. Rot here with you skinny fellers on Main Street. If there's nothing else to do, I'll turn day laborer, join the union, and start building skyscrapers.

SCISSOR-BILL: How's that? I thought you hated the union.

HOBO: I once did. I thought it bossed a man too much. But 'ats the only way out.

SCISSOR-BILL: Company unions?

HOBO: Hell, no! They're the bunk. They exists to take all the life out of a man. You see, it's this way. Before machines, we had skill. With skill, a man could be independent, especially as long as he cut the women out and refused to marry. But with the machines, a man's job is no more than that—a turn of a bolt, or a twist of a screw. Here today, gone tomorrow. Why, bo, machines, are going to make us all scissor-bills. They don't want he-men—they want kids, machines, or dead men to operate 'em.

SCISSOR-BILL: Ah, I heard that before.

HOBO: The hell you have! Anyway the he-men are all in the unions. So long, bo! Now for a rattler, and shy.

IV. HALF FREE

The foregoing diagnosis by the hobo may be crude, but it is founded on sound observation. The disappearance of the manly virtues—the he-men qualities—those traits longest associated with the adventure of democracy—are in danger of destruction. Machines—the domination of social life by corporations—the company union with its soft acceptance of company propaganda—these are the marks of a civilization utterly unlike anything that has gone before. Whether labor unions can exist in a society only half-free adds a touch of doubt and malignancy to the picture. What he-men everywhere want to know is, are we going to become a nation of scissor-bills?

TO FLORIDA—WITH A LABOR SPY

WE don't have to read adventure stories to find adventure. The labor fight is full of it. How George Gendron, striking textile worker of Biddeford, Me., went through a unique experience with a labor spy, will be told in our next number.

RED BLOODS, WHITE BLOODS, BLUE BLOODS

Revel in "Revelry" and Become "Americanized"

By BILL BROWN, Boomer

SOME folks do kick up their heels at the idea that Greatness is only skin deep. Now, that's not nice, Ima telling you. Do they think that a great man has gotta lot of time to spend on being all-around perfect? If he did, he wouldn't be great; he'd be a Rotarian.

There's this here Eddie Guest, popular poet of the pampas. (His "Just Folks" makes many a Rotarian heart beat just a little faster.) On Washington's Birthday, he ups and gets this here stuff out of his system about Father George:

"They would destroy the idols we have raised
And fill with sordid fact fair history's page"

There's as much truth as poetry in that. And the poetry what is in it would make poor Shelley rave and Milton tear his hair. It's what I call doing the Father of his country dirt. Whoever said that the facts about General Washington were "sordid", until Eddie put that bad thought in our minds?

As soon as we sees that, we scratches our head and says—eager-like: "What new scandal could they have raked up about the Father of His Country?" There's none worse than the story of the cherry tree. 'Cause the guy that can't tell a little lie once in a while would be in a fine fix nowadays. What would we tell the installment collector when he comes around? Today we just send out our little Annie and have her tell him, sweetly, "Pa and Ma is not at home."

But what does Eddie want of poor old George anyway? Does he mean to say that none of his Rotarian-Kiwanian-Lionian readers ever take a little nip of poison alcohol, just for the fun, you understand? Does he mean that none of them ever linger longingly over a beautiful eye, or beautiful ankle, or a beautiful—ah, but what's the use? We can't all be as dumb and dull as Calvin, even if he is President.

There was a time—in the good old days—just before Calvin came upon us, when we did have a good fellow for President what did all these bad, bad things. Maybe he did them too blamed well. Yes, he took a nip. Sometimes he got nipped, going beyond himself in drinking capacity. But they do say he did it like a gentleman. He loved the ladies a little. He played cards a little. He went out to the little white house where the gang that had made him played and boozed and spoiled some ladies' self-respect. He was pretty naughty. And he wasn't great.

Red blooded Americans should read that there book, "Revelry" what tells all about this here situation. That there President's cabinet sure did not use classic language, if you know what I mean.

The guy that made him gets this right off at the start, calling another fellow a "nosy bastard". And there's some public cussing when the President, pretty tipsy, escapes them at the little white house and gets away "on his own". He falls clean over—no, not a bramble bush, but a hedge. If he'd fallen into a bramble bush, he'd been a lot sight better off. 'Cause then he might have scratched his eyes back in, to see where his good friends was a-leading him. They led the government to hell. And killed the good fellow President, at the oil scandals and army sales scandals and all kinds of scandals that broke about him, all of a sudden. And the weazen little vice-president—coming on—says he'll follow the dead President's policies—when nobody knew what those policies were. And the public said he was a "great, good man", just because he died.

Well, I laid that book down in Philadelphia, Ima saying, with a feeling that it's good after all that we have that virtuous little Calvin as President now. He couldn't be a good fellow if he had to. And then the first fellow I meets, begins to tell me about this here Vare, what a crook he certainly is, what he did to buy his Senatorship, and what deals with the underworld are made by the good old Republican Party in Pennsylvania. And then I gotta reading about the Daugherty trial for taking a bribe from that there German fellow to give him back his property. And I kinda remembered how Calvin kept keeping him in office—after his little green house was showed up as a booze joint and gambling den, and so weiter.

We gotta lotta guys running around in National Security Leagues and other such stuff talking red-blooded Americanism. Those guys oughta read "Revelry". They'd get a lotta information about the guys what runs this here government. So would the blue bloods, too, what we got sitting up in swell clubs riddling agitators with imaginary bullets, 'cause these here agitators might disturb those guys from doing nothing. And if there's any white bloods around, we tell them to get busy too, on digging into "Revelry". Poor fish! They'll learn a lot.

There's so much arresting these days by this censor and that, that we're liable to hear that this here Boni and Liveright what published this book are arrested for "less majesty" or whatever it is. There's liable to say the picture in that book is too much like a certain President what we did have. But how can they tell it's that President? Was he so much like this, really?

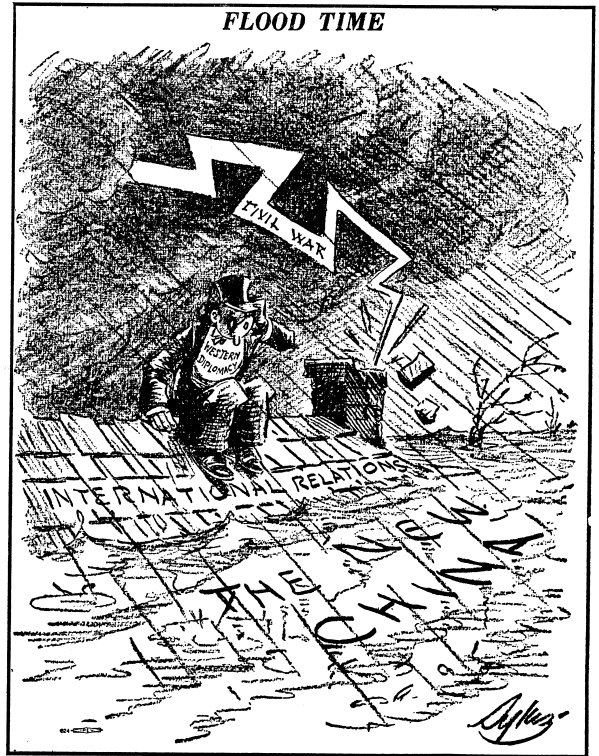
Now, if Eddie had his way, we'd have the W. C. T. U. put up a monument to that there President, as an example of noble temperance!

Concerning China

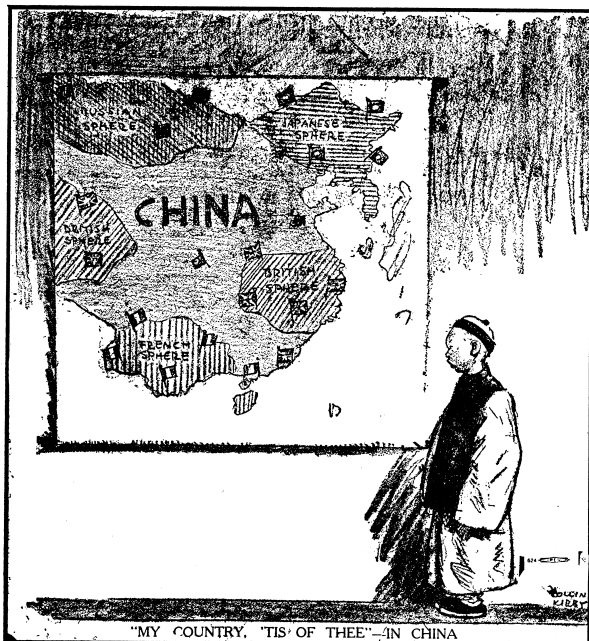


China's Awakening

[Wilson Sigel in "The New Masses"]



N. Y. Evening Post



"MY COUNTRY, 'TIS OF THEE"—IN CHINA

N. Y. World

It is now evident that the "heathen Chinese" are astir. Canton—ally of China's labor unions and champion of republicanism—nears full triumph.

An old story of New York's streets comes to mind, illustrating what is coming to be:

INDIGNANT ANGLO-SAXON (To slow-moving Chinaman): "You Chinese will never be worth a damn."

CHINAMAN (Blandly): "No, mebbe. Not damn. Some-time we be worth goddam."

The old day—of foreign concessions, of gross exploitation of the masses of the people, of the absence of strong unionism—is passing away. No millenium is at hand. But China is to become free, in a very large sense.

These cartoons—from publications of widely differing opinions—reflect that obvious fact. Foreign imperialists, nevertheless, may seek to destroy the Cantonese Republican movement. Such folly must be thwarted, by the unanimous protest of Labor everywhere.

Jonah's Whale at West Lynn

G. E.'s Leviathan Swallows the Real Unions

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

III. FAKERY IN FULL BLOOM

OLD Tyrannicus—poor Fish—faded from the West Lynn scene a few short months after the victory of unionism. It was transparently apparent that his mentality, based on old management models, could not cope with and outwit a democratic organization. Rumor went about among the men that he was let out for his "sympathies with the Germans." In all probability, that was but the folk-storying of his Kaiseristic outlook.

The General Electric, with admirable cunning, was quick to recognize the need for an executive glad-hander, to handle the new development. A Mr. Rice was fitted into Mr. Fish's shoes—and he more than filled them. When he came along, to take up the burden laid down by Old Tyrannicus, the state of affairs was about as follows, as outlined by Mr. Charles D. Keaveney:

"About 12,000 men and women participated in the 1918 strike—about 60 per cent men and 40 per cent women. The women were a big asset and did wonderful work during the strike. During the three weeks that the walk-out lasted, we had perfected about a 95 per cent organization of the workers in that plant, so that when the strike was called off in the early part of August and the case referred to the National War Labor Board, we put the workers back in that plant 95 per cent organized. The Machinists had about 4,000 members, the Electrical Workers about 4,000 and the rest were divided among miscellaneous trades.

"In a few weeks the War Labor Board came to Lynn and heard the case. We received wonderful results at the hands of the Board insofar as wages and working conditions were concerned. Wages and piece prices were raised to nearly equal the wages and prices for similar work in the Schenectady plant, whose workers had been organized for 30 years previously.

"In the case of girls, who prior to the strike were never allowed to earn over \$10 per week on piece work in the factory, an award was made by the Board that the minimum for these girls would be \$15 per week. And most of them, after the strike, earned as high as \$30 to \$35 per week. Girls in the offices, who were working on day work for \$8.50 and \$9 per week prior to the strike, were awarded a minimum rate of \$16.50 per week. After the awards were finally made and put into effect, thousands of dollars were paid to the workers in the form of back pay to cover the period they had to wait to put the award into effect. This was back pay, and does not take into consideration increased wages received afterwards. Many of us figured out since, that many of the workers got enough back pay alone to pay their union dues for the rest of their natural lives. A conservative figure of the award at that time was that it would cost the company over 1¼ millions of dollars.

"The one dark spot of the National War Labor Board award was the committee system laid down by them for handling future grievances in the various departments and the system of electing these committeemen."

Up and Up!

These were the fruits of union action, and this was the situation when that gentleman of the new school of management, Mr. Rice, was ushered into the manager's chair. The committee system, introduced by the War Board, provided for the election of a committeeman or woman for each 200 people. These committee-persons formed shop committees in the various sections from amongst their membership, to meet with an equal number of persons appointed by the management. These joint committees were to hear and adjust grievances. An employe having a grievance which he could not settle with the foreman was obliged, under the plan, to put his complaint in writing and submit it to the joint committee, who sat as a court of law. That is the system still prevailing. The God-forsaken individual must appear before the committee and be cross-examined, and all of his testimony is taken down by the secretary. Intimidated to start with, by this excessive red tape, the woe-begone workman approaches the sacred tribunal with faint heart—knowing his case probably lost in advance. Is there any wonder that the workers, in disgust, have desisted more and more from making use of this court of camouflage?

But that is not all. If the shop committee fails to agree, the case (with all the minutes of the busy committee secretary) is passed on and up to what is known as the General Joint Committee on Adjustment. Here, three men appointed by the management and three men elected by the workers' committeemen sit on the case some more. After they are through, if disagreement again results, up goes the case to the Manager himself—the final and infallible authority. Beyond him you cannot go. So that the innocent workman who trusts his case to the committee system finds himself in the long run, after much delay, facing the manager and the manager alone. The General Electric Company, in other words, is the one and sole master of the situation. This is the system which our good friend, Bob Bruere, lost in the mazes of personnel-production mania, finds to be working so admirably at West Lynn! Any man who has ever organized workers knows well that such a conspiracy against the men "works" only for the corporation, and that by that very token it can never satisfy the men.

Molasses

The wily Rice understood that very well. He set about to undermine the unions by spreading molasses over the rank and file. Touching spectacle it was to behold this master of 12,000 men and women genially walking thru the plant, slapping this "bird" and that on the back,

hailing another by his first name, and halting by still another machine to ask about the home and kiddies. "John" and "Joe", now known as such to the head boss, thought that heaven had come upon them, in contrast to the autocratic rule of the departed Fish. A jolly good fellow was in their midst! (What the good fellow was doing with their honest representatives in the meantime will appear clearer presently.)

While the sugary Rice was thus creating a division of sentiment among the rank and file, a lever was thrust into his hands by the War Labor Board and none other. The first decision of that Board, as has been stated, was to the effect that the workers could elect their committeemen in any manner they chose or in any place they chose. For some reason unknown, the Board suddenly reversed this decision. Out of the blue sky came a telegram from the temporary lords and masters of industry, ruling that these elections would have to take place inside the plant—under joint supervision of a committee made up equally of representatives of the workers and the management. Thereby, the so-called Joint Committee on Routine, Procedure and Elections came into being. Thereby, the committee system became a full-fledged company union, child now of the General Electric. Thereby, the fate of the real unions was sealed. Whether some of the several hip-flask artists of the G. E. had used their powers of eloquence in unknown channels leading to the ears of the War Labor Board has not yet been discovered. Nevertheless, no balder or more brutal betrayal of the unions, which had fought for the workers at Lynn and won for them all they had obtained, could have been devised.

The local unions protested bitterly against this latter action of the War Labor Board. Their protests were of no avail. The king had spoken; so would it have to be. Committeemen and shop committees were elected under the new system. A further spike was driven into the whole business by the company, when it devised the interesting idea of paying committeemen for the time they lost in settling disputes and in sitting on cases. Rivals to the regular trade union officials were thus set up, and the workers worse confused by the dual authority. During the first year, the unions through their Metal Trades Council held fairly good control over the situation and fairly good results were attained for the workers. After that period, the weaning away policy of the company began to have its deadly effect. The unions were gradually swallowed up by the committee system—even as Jonah by the whale.

As Mr. Keaveney puts it, in his statement:

"So-called local leaders, committeemen and adjustment board members, who during the first year sought advice and counsel from the Metal Trades Council on questions arising inside the plant, suddenly started to take the position that they had been elected by the employees in the various departments. That being so, it was their duty to use their own personal judgment in deciding those questions without seeking advice or taking 'dictation' from the union organizations or from the Metal Trades Council. The result was, that as time went on, instead of the committeemen meeting jointly with the Metal Trades Council in an effort to decide on policies, they broke away from meeting with the Council and met by themselves inside the plant, in a meeting room furnished by the company."

Beefsteak!

These noble, independent souls received added incentive to act "on their own" from the juicy beef steak dinners and other diversions which were served up at these meetings in the company room, by the G. E. Esau's betrayal price was a mess of pottage; theirs was a good round steak. The independence which they exercised may be gauged from the fact that the company representatives sat in all these meetings, keeping close tab of the various committeemen. Picture the psychological struggle going on in the soul of an honest committeeman, with beefsteak in front of him, the company agent at his elbow, and his job at stake. If he were a normal individual, he would capitulate to the company, forget the men, and become a moral coward. It is only the abnormally honest who rise in revolt on well-fed stomachs and in the face of all-powerful opposition.

The inevitable occurred—"fatal to the last degree of fatality." Gradually, the benefits gained for the workers by their organizations were taken away. The committee system itself was curtailed by the new joint committee. The question of increases in wages for day workers, as an instance, was declared to be no longer a subject matter for the shop bodies to handle. This was a function for the management alone. Individual bargaining thus began to creep back into the plants.

The Famous Letter 19

While certain local leaders among the men were beginning in this fashion to "fall" for the blandishments of Rice, and division was beginning to bring about the expected results, the Company suddenly thrust home a blow that sent the unions reeling. This was the famous letter 19. It illustrates very clearly the underhanded tactics of the General Electric in the entire situation. Two members of the General Adjustment Committee entered into a secret agreement with the management, providing that no adjustment in the piece prices would be made for the next six months, regardless of the earnings of the piece workers. This agreement, sanctioned by neither the unions nor the men in the various departments, was issued as an order in Letter 19.

The plant was then, as it is now, on about an 80 per cent piece work basis. The real intent of the agreement was to lead the workers to believe that no matter how much they speeded up, the prices would remain the same. Each individual among the thoughtless saw the chance to make "big money". During the six-month period, they drove ahead at their maximum ability, at a rate that they could not possibly keep up for a long period of time. This was just what the company was seeking. The process gave the stop-watch men and time-adjusters the opportunity to discover how much the men and women could actually earn at the then existing prices. With this information in their files, they began a ruthless campaign of price-cutting, first in this department and then in that, after the six months of trial were over. The excuses given for these cuts were varied. In most cases the alibi was offered that certain changes had been made in the plans and specifications for certain work, necessitating slight change in method of operation, and therefore in the price. Frequently, entire blocks of work were moved from one department to another, under new foremen. The men, being unfamiliar with the new work, accepted it at the cut prices.

There was still sufficient indignation and understanding among the mass of the workers to inaugurate a movement for the recall of the two erring members of the Joint Adjustment Committee. These men were Gillen and Doyle, both supposedly good union members. It is generally credited among the men with whom I talked that Gillen was the real black sheep, and that Doyle was imposed upon by him. After the thing was done, Doyle frequently expressed regret for his part in it. Gillen remained adamant, as an out-and-out companyman. He knew on which side his own bread was buttered. Subsequent events proved that he was right in that knowledge, for both he and Doyle now enjoy good semi-executive positions with the company. Their faithlessness, intentional or unintentional, has been well rewarded. Despite that fact, Doyle is still regarded as more sinned against than sinning—and there is probably much truth to that widespread opinion.

This opinion reflected itself in the recall result. Gillen was ousted by the vote of the workers, but Doyle was retained. At the next election, which followed hard on the heels of the recall effort, Doyle refused again to be a candidate. Two members whose courage was unquestioned now took a dominant place on the Adjustment Committee—Hugh Morrison and Wright Greggson. They were to make the final and fatal test of the value of the now-firm-rooted "company union".

It was so rooted, not because of any overwhelming sentiment in its favor among the workers, but by reason of the confusion which the company had thrown into their ranks. The old policy of anti-union lying was resorted to, on a large scale. Propaganda was circulated throughout the plant that outside agitators were trying to "assassinate" the reputations of Gillen and Doyle. Swarms of stool pigeons were busy with gossip—about the A. F. of L., against the internationals, against the "folly" of the workers in sending their money in per capita tax to a far-away city for far-away purposes. The minds of the workers were thus diverted from the real issue of the harmful agreement to petty personalities and cheap suspicion.

Morrison and Greggson

It was in this demoralized atmosphere that Morrison and Greggson made their heroic try at salvaging the committee system. It will be borne in mind that the management had promised in their famous note 19 that there would be no reductions, by reason of the increased earnings of the workers. They were now, by their actions, showing that they had deliberately lied in making this promise. Wright Greggson, of the Machinists' Union, a man of fearless convictions and then the employee representative on the Adjustment Committee, called this unjust course to the attention of Manager Rice. What did that suave gentleman do? First, he attempted to "get" Greggson. He took advantage of the fact that Greggson, in his effort to keep in touch with all elements among the men, had attended a meeting of the Socialist Labor Party although he was not a member of that organization. Immediately the office accused him of being a "red", and called in the State Police to cross-question him. But they could find nothing wrong with the man, and told him and the management of their opinion. Rice was not to be forestalled by such a back-

set. He was determined to remove Greggson from his conspicuous place. Accordingly, the ticklish I-14 Meter case was referred to him alone, a most extraordinary procedure. This case dealt with the girls in one department in the Federal Street establishment. The base rate guaranteed to these girls was 42 cents per hour. The company, however, had manipulated its prices so that they only were actually receiving 39 cents an hour. Superintendent Cox, of the Federal Street place, refused point-blank to make the change requested by Greggson. When the latter insisted, Cox accused him of "thinking only of the men" and of being "a source of discontent and dissatisfaction." Greggson replied that his first duty was to the workers and not to the company.

That was the last straw. Rice grew indignant. He demanded that Greggson resign from the Adjustment Committee. The union men in the plants threatened to strike, if this demand were insisted upon. But Greggson realized what had happened before when personalities were the issue, in controversies with the company. He hoped to keep the discussion down to the question of conditions and principles. The Schenectady situation, as we shall see in the next chapter, had also complicated things immensely. Greggson, accordingly did resign, retaining for a time his position at the plant. This, also, was not to last long. He was transferred from pillar to post. He was "framed" and irritated at its work. In disgust, he anticipated Rice's action by resigning his job and leaving the company for good.

Morrison was an older man, and Greggson persuaded him for his own safety, to desist from further activity, and not to take up this case or side with "the culprit". As a matter of truth, and for his continued welfare, I wish to state that I have not talked to Mr. Morrison or made any attempt to see him. Nevertheless, I have real admiration for his stand for his fellow-workers. The fact that he is silenced is a mute evidence that the policy of Rice is still the policy of Darling, his successor.

For in the course of time Mr. Rice died, as even personnel men and managers of the new school of management must inevitably do. He gave way to Mr. Darling, son of the Treasurer of the company and another of the pleased-to-meet-you salve artists who now adorn the pay-rolls of the G. E. so extensively.

Under the rule of Darling things have gone from bad to worse. This situation, which we challenge the G. E. to deny with the facts, can be summed up thusly:

1. The committee system is looked upon as a joke. The large majority of the workers will not think of availing themselves of it. "We simply have to smile and take our medicine and hope for a better day," is their outlook, as one worker put it.
2. Reduction in prices in all departments is the order of the day. Piece work adjusters with stop watches in hand hold undisputed sway. They stand over the workers in the various departments, discovering how fast these men and women can do the job.
3. The speed-up slogan has pitted one worker against the other. A mad race is on, to see who can do the job the fastest and for the lowest price. The wages and working conditions, despite "prosperity", are drifting back to those prevailing before the 1918 strike. In some cases, they have hit the bottom, below those pre-strike conditions.

Are Women Organizable?

By FANNIA M. COHN

IN the organization of women workers, the first appeal must be made to the union. For trade unions are, as a result of their historic development, men's organizations. They were brought to being by men, who gave greatly of time and effort. Men have led them and still continue, to a very great extent, to lead them; their policies, principles and purposes are shaped by masculine attitudes. So men must be convinced of the desirability and possibility of organizing women, if the ranks of trades unions are to be opened to women, and their institution shaped to the interests of this new industrial group.

Fortunately, men are coming more and more to recognize the fact that the problems faced by women are similar to their own, that only by working together can they be solved. More, they are coming to understand the power women workers possess to maintain or break down standards hard won by organization.

The number of women in industry increases each year. Some indication of this is given by the United States Census figures for women over 16 gainfully employed. In 1880, there were 2,647,157; in 1890, 4,005,532; in 1900, 5,319,397; in 1910, 8,075,772; in 1920, 8,549,511. The comparatively slight increase in the last decade can be attributed to two causes. In the first place the date of the census was changed from July—the height of the agricultural season—to January—its lowest ebb. More important, the Census of 1920 was taken during a business depression when the number of women employed was naturally reduced by hard times. There is good reason to believe that the number of women actually engaged in industry is much greater than the figures of the 1920 Census show.

The number of women remaining permanently in industry is similarly increasing—more and more remain in industry even after they are married. But even those individuals who remain only temporarily create a permanent labor force which comes into competition with masculine labor and forces down the earnings of the men.

Thus, self-preservation alone gives warrant enough to the labor movement to spare no effort, time or money in the great task of organizing women workers. More and more trade unionists are coming to see this, to recognize the fact that they must help women to grow economically powerful enough to demand equal pay for equal work, to assist them in their struggles for higher wages. To leave the workingwoman at the mercy of her employer, they see, may be as bad for men as for women, since the employers will use women to batter down men's wages. Women's present low wages are due largely to their lack of organization. Where they are organized, their wages rise. Men trade unionists, increasingly aware of this, are rallying to the cause of organization for women.

But not alone on grounds of self-preservation can the organization of women be urged on men workers.

Not only because women are workers and present a claim to organization equal to that of any other group must men rouse themselves. Women have much to contribute. They can bring to the labor movement, the freshness, earnestness and optimism which mark the entrance of any new group into a social movement.

The organization of women workers may have even more far-reaching results which the labor movement should be farsighted enough to discern. The influence of women extends beyond the mill, factory or office into the home. The working woman becomes in most cases the mother of future workers. She will be able to create in her children an attitude either friendly or antagonistic to the labor movement. Her power for good or harm to the movement in this way cannot be overestimated. If during her years in industry she has created in her an understanding of and a sympathy with the movement, she is more likely to throw her influence on its side.

Honest and well meaning men and women, however, still feel that women are not organizable. Women, they say, stay in industry only a short time and never look forward to remaining in it. Their confinement to the home and their limited experience in the social world have made them more individualistic and self-centered. For both these reasons, the task cannot be accomplished.

Such reasoning seems outworn to many of us, eager to see women organized. It makes no attempt to get at the root of the problem and consequently can contribute little to its solution. We regard the organization of women of such importance to all workers that we feel it deserves a closer analysis.

During the last few years, the labor movement has come into closer sympathy with our position. It has realized what a profound effect the organization of women would have. It has shown its interest in the problem by calling several conferences since 1924. These conferences, the subsequent decisions of the A. F. of L. Conventions, and the first steps made towards organizing—the issuance of leaflets, folders and pamphlets for women, the special appeals made to them are a promising step in the direction in which we should go.

While engaged in this task, we are sure that the labor movement will come to regard the organization of millions of women workers as feasible—convinced that failure in the past does not prove success in the future unattainable. They will remember how success followed failure in our organization campaigns with working men, when the hardship of the task did not deter us from making ever new efforts.

And all this work will help to develop a method for organizing women, to establish machinery for it and to render it easier. Many unions, in fact, already depend upon the membership of women, have continuous existence through these temporary members. They have realized that human nature is human nature—that what can be done with one group, the men, can, with slightly

BRITISH LABOR'S VIEW

different methods, be done with another. And the other trade unions are coming to see this.

We in the labor movement have found great difficulty in organizing women, because, like other human beings, we have an unfortunate tendency to be too greatly influenced by the past. We are all readier to change our clothes and our way of living than our prejudices and platitudes. We examine our households from time to time to make changes; we watch our clothes carefully to keep them in style. But we forget the necessity of keeping our minds and ideas abreast of changing conditions.

In organizing women, the labor movement has been too much influenced by the past, particularly by past failures. Such failures should have had small influence for they are not even well established. Women are such newcomers to industry that no time for a fair test has been given. By continuing to think of them as unorganizable, in spite of the fact that men have made such scant efforts to organize them, they create one of the greatest obstacles to organization. Women already lack self-confidence. They think themselves of small importance. Men should rather be striving to develop self confidence among them, than assuring them that they cannot be organized.

Failure in organizing women in the past has been due in large part to historic reasons. When the Industrial Revolution freed women from some of their home duties and made it possible for them to enter industry, few of them became craftsmen. Usually they were unskilled workers, subordinates of the skilled men workers. Working men looked on them with suspicion; they saw in this invading army of working women a danger to their own position in the industries upon which they depended for livelihood. They defended this position either by trying to shut women out of industry altogether, or by giving them subordinate positions and permitting their exploitation by employers.

In time, however, working men learned that trying to keep working women in subordinate positions in factories and outside unions, could not keep women out of industry. The exclusion instead of solving the problem made conditions worse by increasing the number of unorganized workers. Had working men realized at the beginning that the problem of all wage-earners is the same, they would have shared their experience with these newcomers and urged them to join the labor movement.

But not alone for these historic reasons have women remained outside the labor movement. Trade unions have not been exempt from the prejudice against the participation of women which exists in every social institution where men dominate. Although consciously, we all believe in social and economic justice and equality for both sexes, nevertheless, like people in other organizations, we are subject to the limitations of the human mind—we change more slowly than the institutions we are changing.

Until recently only those unions possessed an important woman membership which were in industries where women had a dominant position, and thus had to be taken into consideration. Naturally in such industries, the organization of women was essential if proper conditions among workmen were to be brought about.



A RUPTURE WITH RUSSIA?

Thus the British New Leader gives warning of the Tory Government's designs—on its very front cover. War on China and Russia is still a thought, dear to the Tory heart.

Our past failures in organization have had one other cause—our inexperience in handling these newcomers. We have not known what kind of tactics to use in attempting to organize them. Our organizers were without knowledge of women's psychology. Their pessimism threw doubt into the minds of women workers as to their organizability—a very dangerous state of affairs. For victory is impossible with an army that doubts its ability to win. Ninety per cent of the success of a movement depends upon how strongly the men and women who sponsor it believe in it.

So we feel that the organization of women has never been given a fair trial and that whatever failures have occurred have been due to various causes not inherent in the women themselves. It is essential to the labor movement that women be organized. A better understanding of how to approach women will render it less difficult. Men trade unionists are coming to realize this more and more, are coming to wish to bring it about. They can help personally by using their influence with the women with whom they come in contact, many of whom do not belong to any trade union. They can help as trade unionists by opening their ranks to women and making active efforts to draw them in.

The Drama of American History

A New Series of "Brookwood Pages"

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

IV. Hogging the Inheritance

ALTHOUGH greedy men with a nose for plunder had got in on the ground floor and clinched their claim to a sufficiency of the natural resources of America, the wealth of the continent was so vast that plenty remained at the beginning of the nineteenth century,—plenty to endow the nation and the states for all time to come with the basis for universal prosperity. If the federal government and the states could have been induced to keep in their own hands and administer for the common good the vast stretches of fertile soil and the measureless deposits of mineral wealth, the welfare of the American people could have been assured.

It may be argued, of course, that the greatness of America was built on the indomitable energy of the individual pioneer and that his vigor depended on the prospect of a free homestead. There is something in that argument, for one great incentive to settlement was the prospect of a great increase in land values as new settlers thronged on the heels of the pioneers; but it is very doubtful whether the rapid boom of settlement by the lure of the unearned increment in the worth of real estate had a beneficial effect. Certainly it overdid agriculture at times and bankrupted the farmers, who were unable to find a market for the crops raised far beyond the power of the small industrial centers to consume. If the governments, state and national, had held on to the land values, merely giving the settlers permanent leases at rentals periodically adjusted and taking the place of taxes, settlement would have occurred fast enough, agriculture would have proceeded on its own feet without becoming a hybrid of farming and land speculation, and the unearned yield produced by the growth of population sending prices of food products and raw materials up would have poured into the public treasury to cover the expense of government and to support all manner of educational agencies and social services. That is what might have been if the American people had had sense enough to hold on to the inheritance instead of letting a part of their number hog it all.

This argument applies not merely to the soil and its product; it covers also the mineral wealth. Not only was it not necessary to bribe people to pioneer by giving away to them the future increase in land values, but it was still less sensible to give with the surface the mineral rights below. The governments could have kept all coal, oil, gas, metals, and other useful underground deposits, giving the pioneers merely the use of the surface, and pioneering would not have lagged a bit; for the pioneers were thinking about soil and farming, not about minerals and mining. When the mineral wealth did turn up, it was a godsend to the cultivators or the speculators in farm lands,—not something that they had as a rule

counted; not one of the incentives that had produced settlement and development of the land.

Thus our forefathers were twice fools: they gave away the underground wealth to no purpose, at a time when a grant of the surface would have been enough; and in their granting of the surface they held out a bait for land speculators by granting complete title to future increases in value to all eternity, whereas a permanent leasehold of the surface at an adjustable rent would have promoted agriculture as rapidly as was healthy.

The unsoundness of the whole prodigal procedure is demonstrated by the fact that it has not brought sound prosperity to the farmers, but has merely given the speculators and manipulators a lever wherewith to pry out of our hands most of the wealth created since by human effort. The fallacy of the early land policy was amply illustrated in short order. The farmers had to turn over to railroad speculators what cash they could spare in order to get a promise of transportation, and if the roads were actually built, they were so crookedly financial and so ruthlessly manipulated that a burden of capital obligations were piled up on which the people of the country are doomed to pay tribute for all time to come unless they rise up in rage and stop it all. The farmers never became the real owners of the farms. The real owners are railroad companies that control the material channels to market, the bankers that control the streams of credit and fix interest rates, the machinery companies that sit afar and levy tribute on the farmers, the marketing agencies that take lavish toll as the crops pass through their hands. All these necessary services might easily have been provided at cost by a wise government with sense enough to retain and invest the rental value of the soil and of all mineral deposits, thereby setting up public services for the common good.

But what is the use of dealing in historical "ifs" and conjectural "might-have-beens"? To be sure there were men a century ago who sensed something of the problem and felt dimly after a policy, but the riot of competitive individualism was too much for them and for their schemes. John Quincy Adams soon after entering the Senate in 1803 came to Washington's conclusion that it was necessary to have a sound system of highways built by the government as contrasted with a private system for private profit. But when Adams became president in 1825 the game of grab was already beyond power of control. In a letter of 1837 he said:

"The great effort of my administration was to mature into a permanent and regular system the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement which at this day would have afforded high wages and constant employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, and in which every dollar expended would have repaid itself fourfold in the enhanced value of the public lands. With this system in ten years from

THE "VIRGINAL" ROCKEFELLER

Church Commissions Lift Veil of the Undefined

WHAT consternation, think you, must reign in the Personnel Men's Paradise? The veil has again been lifted on their Great God Rockefeller. He who was heralded as the pure and undefiled comes forth as mottled as Jacob's lambs.

The joint report of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, on the Western Maryland strike, gives us this new insight into Rockefellerian hypocrisy. The strike was in reality a lockout of the men, forced by the management, with the intent and purpose of instituting non-union conditions. The company posted a notice, without warning, demanding that the men sign that badge of slavery, the individual or "yellow-dog" contract. The road, the report finds, was prevailing on all other Class I roads. But the little lap-dog of the Rockefellers, Maxwell C. Byers, president of the road, thought otherwise and acted otherwise. He set out to crush the rail brotherhoods, in the manner aforesaid.

Here is where the "virginal" Rockefeller steps into the picture. He, who has the blood of Ludlow on his hands

and the starving of union miners in West Virginia by his deliberate smashing of contracts, professes to be dissatisfied with the policy of the road. Owning one third of the stock, the most influential stockholder in the whole concern, he made a weak plea to the management to act "fairly" by the men. Such slimy hypocrisy is worthy of the rouse of the system that he is. It is the same false plea that he made in Central Pennsylvania, when his Consolidated Coal Co. was involved. "I," quoth he, "am only a minority stockholder." This minority stockholder, who with a word could kick all the officials of the Consolidated and the Western Maryland out their jobs in thirty minutes, is powerless in a matter of social justice.

Further evidence of his down-right rottenness is seen in this: The Davis Coal and Coke Co. is the chief subsidiary of the Western Maryland. It likewise is one of those coal companies which have made free use of scabs, under the cover of Company Unionism. The Rockefeller record everywhere is one of exploitation of the workers, from Pueblo to Bayonne and down into the hills of West Virginia. God pity him, when the working population of this country rise up to demand their full union rights! He deserves no quarter.

this day the surface of the whole Union would have been checkered over with railroads and canals. It may still be done half a century later and with the limping gait of State legislation and private adventure, I would have done it in the administration of the affairs of the nation. . . . It fell and with me fell, I fear never to rise again . . . the system of internal improvement by means of national energies . . . cast away instead of using for the improvement of its own condition, the bounties of [Nature]."

Thus was rejected an economic opportunity that "would have raised the people of this country beyond the danger of severe economic competition, practically, forever." In an address made in 1842, Adams, speaking of the giving away of the public lands, said:

"The public lands are the richest inheritance ever bestowed by a bountiful Creator upon any national community. . . . Ages upon ages of continual progressive improvement, physical, moral, political in the condition of the whole people of this union, were stored up on the possession and disposal of these lands. . . . I had long entertained and cherished the hope that these public lands were among the chosen instruments of Almighty power . . . of improving the condition of man, by establishing the practical, self-evident truth of the natural equality and brotherhood of all mankind, as the foundation of all human government, and by banishing slavery and war from the earth."

Adams' schemes depended on the scientific development of internal resources economically utilized. He would "willingly have given his life to save" the public lands; but by a bargain of the southern planters with western promoters, the heritage of the nation was bartered away. "It was all the logical result of competition,

of applied science, and of education as stimulating social ambition, and therefore greed." Adams had been attempting an impossible combination. Conservation was contrary to the scrambling greed of the individualistic spirit of the day, and it was impossible to make a competitive era combine for the general good. Capitalistic and speculative interests prevailed and the interest of the whole was thrown away. The early ventures that governmental bodies did make in the field of transportation were generally so bungled that public opinion jumped to the conclusion that the principle of public ownership was unsound, and by the forties the United States had definitely settled back on the foundations of competitive individualistic capitalism.

The whole gigantic program of exploitation thus definitely triumphant was, to be sure, a normal part of the childhood of modern industrialism; but that does not mean that it proceeded on suave and dignified lines. Its path had been strewn with the wreckage of hearts and homes shattered by the overmastering power of financial greed. Bona fide settlers had been driven by land speculators from the farms they had hewn out of the wilderness, and after spending years in making improvements had to relinquish all to the land gamblers and move on into the wilderness. Honest land agents of the government were in danger of their lives at the hands of swindlers and grafters. In short, the whole episode of pillage was so marked by conscienceless force and fraud and corruption that the property system that it foisted upon us has no moral claim to recognition. A revolution of the workers with absolute confiscation of all capitalist property would be just as moral as the process by which that capitalist property was brought into being, yes infinitely more so, for it would register the claims of the whole against the greed of the few.

THIS THING "PROSPERITY"

No Such Animal, Says Mr. Chass

BENJAMIN CHASS, whose article on "Prosperity" in our pages aroused so much interest, adds this further valuable information:

How has the worker been able, with his own wages, to "keep the home fires burning?" This has been made possible by putting off marriage, sending the children to work, and also by the women, wives, and mothers, assisting in raising the family budget. We have close to 6,000,000 children between the ages of 5 to 18 who are not registered at school. Nigh nine million women are today engaged in some gainful occupation, of which almost two million are married. These numbers are increasing with each census. In this manner, by all "pitching in" the American family of wage earners have been able to make both ends meet.

In 1923 a study was made in Philadelphia to ascertain the minimum amount necessary to maintain a family of five. This minimum amount was found to be \$1,854.28. Various other studies have been made in various other cities and the results have been around the same amount. That the average wage earner does not receive this necessary minimum wage has been noted frequently. It is thus apparent that the assistance of the children and the wives and mothers become an absolute necessity.

Yet certain groups of people persist in telling us that the American worker is receiving high wages and riding to work in automobiles. The average worker who owns a machine (all paid up) either has cut down on his food and clothing or has sold or increased his mortgage on his home. The man who owns an automobile does not need as good clothes as the man who rides in the public street car. Hence he spends less on clothing, likewise the women and children. In fact the clothing manufacturers have often called our attention to this truth during the last few years, since automobile production has increased so tremendously.

During the last 30 years the proportion of rented homes has increased from 52.2 per cent in 1890 to 54.4 per cent in 1920. Owned homes have decreased from 47.8 per cent in 1890 to 45.6 per cent in 1920. Those homes which are owned free have decreased from 34.4 per cent in 1890 to 28.2 per cent in 1920, while those owned and encumbered have increased from 13.4 per cent in 1890 to 17.5 per cent in 1920. Once more we see that the result of these "high wages" and "great prosperity" are not to be seen. To own one's home is the first step and the most important step towards economic independence; in truth, this may be called a genuine sign of prosperity, but instead of growing better in this respect, the situation has been growing worse.

EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

New York's Left-Handed 48-Hour Law

WITH a majority of reactionaries on its membership, the State Industrial Survey Commission of New York has bowed in part to the workers' demand for a 48-hour law for women workers. The law is weak. It will be unenforceable. The loop-hole which allows extra hours of overtime during a year foredooms it in advance. The bosses, when the few and poorly paid inspectors come around, can plead that these particular extra hours that the women may be working are the hours allowed by the legislation. Nevertheless, it recognizes by lip service, the principle of the 48-hour week by legislation. The comments of the NEW YORK WORLD, prior to the exact provisions of the proposal being known, are therefore appropriate:

PROGRESS TOWARD THE 48-HOUR WEEK
(New York World, Feb. 14)

An evident effort to bring about a compromise on forty-eight hour-week legislation is under way at Albany. Apparently authentic reports give the provisions of a bill which it is said the Industrial Survey Commission will support. It calls for an eight-hour day when women employees work six days weekly; a nine-hour day when a weekly half-holiday is given; and permits seventy-eight hours of overtime, which the employer may distribute evenly over the year or may use for a fifty-four-hour week during a thirteen-week rush period.

This bill is obviously a marked gain over the present statute permitting a fifty-four-hour week the year round. It writes the words "forty-eight hours" into the law; it gives legal recognition to the weekly half-holiday. The most regrettable feature is the seventy-eight hours of permissory overtime, but it must be remembered that last year's Forty-eight-Hour Bill, supported by the chief welfare organizations, would have allowed for a rush period of eight weeks during which women employees might be worked fifty-four hours.

If the bill is accepted by the Consumers' League State Federation of Labor and associated bodies it will be on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. Steps toward a similar compromise have just been taken in Illinois. But before such a complicated bill is passed care should be taken to examine it and to make it genuinely enforceable if it is worth having. And if it is enacted, it should be only as the first step toward that full forty-eight-hour legislation which more liberal States already enjoy.

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.

LAWRENCE LEATHER LOOKING UP

Peabody City Hall Sees Beginning of Revolt

WHERE is the man who dares declare that prayers, hopes and wishes are never answered? Let him step forward, please. We want to give him a gentle knock-out punch.

Was it not only so short a time ago as our December issue, that we dwelt for a bit on the "fairly godmothers" at the A. C. Lawrence Leather Works at Peabody, Mass.? There we saw them, hugging their toy "company union", at so many good U. S. dollars per year. And then we said: "God grant that some educational beginning will be made in Peabody! We hope that able and alert men will rise, ready and willing to carry the standard of revolt into the Leather Works."

Lo, and behold! It is only January 25th, and our prayer is already answered. On that night a big meeting of leather workers, two hundred to three hundred strong, takes place in Peabody. And not only in the city of Peabody, but in its very city hall. Through the generous interest of Mayor R. A. Bakeman and his secretary, Wright Greggson, the meeting is held within the municipal portals themselves.

It is our old friend "Buck" Reed who has jumped into the breach, with his usual ability and willingness. He delivers an address on "The Trade Union vs. the Company Union". Well did he designate the slimy device at the Lawrence works as "company in fact, company in name, company in control, company in purpose"—and "union" not at all.

John J. Shea—"Jack" Shea, as Peabody knows him—union organizer for Local 1 of the United Leather Workers, likewise said his say as chairman of the meeting. He pointed to the difference in treatment secured from the Creese and Cook Co. and that handed out by the Loyal Lawrence Legion. Mentioning that spies of the Lawrence Co. were in

the audience, he challenged them to go back and tell the company what was happening right under its nose.

The educational meetings will continue for the leather workers from month to month. We acclaim this as a real beginning. We know well, from conversations with the exploited slaves in the Lawrence plant, that they are ready for revolt. The bloody methods of the company in 1922 are the only thing that is causing them to pause. When they see the spirit of the union, reflected in Reed's educational meetings, they will pick up courage to make another—and this time victorious—trial of strength.

We hope, also, that the educational message, to a degree, can be carried to the police of surrounding towns. They were used freely in the 1922 battle to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the company. We trust that they will be found to be Men on the next occasion—and that like the police of Indianapolis in the street car strikes a dozen years ago, they will refuse to batter down their fellows for the benefit of the gang of criminals sitting in the Lawrence offices.

We point to this—to indicate what workers education, conducted properly, can really do toward aiding the needed job of organization.

We point to it—to challenge all workers' educational efforts to do a like job, of educating the unorganized, preparatory to real organization.

We point to it—to state, quite positively, that the unorganized CAN be aroused, if the proper publicity and educational methods are used in local communities.

We point to it—to show what a great harvest lies ahead for the union movement with courage and imagination enough, to use the weapon of our enemies, and beat them with it. We look forward to hearing of other and many Peabodys.

LABOR AGE

THEY WORK—WHILE WE SLEEP?

Open Shoppers Check Up on Anti-Union War

OF the cathartic-like activities of the American Plan Open Shop Conference—"purging" these United States of the poison of unionism—we have had occasion to remark from time to time.

Now, we fall afoul of their January "Condensed Labor Report"—which contains the statements from the war-front against the workers, sent in by the various local employers' associations. Of the 25 cities covered, we can cite only a few. (Unions which might desire fuller information on their localities—from the Open Shoppers' viewpoint—can obtain it by writing us.)

ALLIANCE, O.: "The community is becoming more and more converted to the Open Shop."

BEAUMONT, TEX.: "General contractors are cooperating about 98 per cent; sub-contractors 75 per cent; manufacturers 100 per cent. Other employers favor the Open Shop. The newspapers are editorially Open Shop while mechanically closed. Public officials Open Shop. The whole community is sold to the cause."

CHICAGO, ILL.: "The latest thing in unionizing has taken place here, organizing the elevator boys and the elevator starters under the name of Hotel and Office Building Employees. In one hotel attempt was made to use the Musicians as the club to force the hotel to unionize elevator service. The use of professional slugs is expected in this process of unionization.

"Attempt being made by the Building Construction Employers' Association and the Building Trades Council to formulate an agreement to eliminate the Citizens' Committee. Some of the trade associations objecting to this mandatory order and to this proposed agreement."

(We remark: The above is especially worthy of notice. The new agreements being worked out in the Chicago Building Trades mark the death of the notorious Judge "Scab" Landis award. The Citizens' Committee was a vigilance committee to safeguard the Open Shop under that "award".)

CANTON, O.: "Vocational training being given in metal trades, printing, wood working and electric craft in high school. General contractors open shop in all crafts. Eleven new industries came here in 1926."

CINCINNATI, O.: "Bricklayers striking for \$70 per week, five day week. Results still uncertain. Attempts being made to organize machinists, especially auto mechanics. School started in foremanship training and apprenticeship in metal trades. About 15,000 applicants received attention from the employment bureau last year. General contractors playing with the unions. Same holds good with the sub-contractors. Newspapers are neutral; financial interests are for the Open Shop; public officials go where the votes are."

KANSAS CITY, MO.: "Demands for increases will be made next spring except in three crafts that recently received advances. The school board has trade school in operation. General and sub-contractors are nearly closed shop. Financial interests are apathetic. Newspapers closed; public officials side-stepping the issue."

SEATTLE, WASH.: "Strike caused by sub-contractors employing non-union labor. Result: only temporary delay. About 60 per cent of general contractors in favor of the

Open Shop, but all operating closed shop under verbal agreements. Sub-contractors favor closed shop. About 50 per cent of the newspapers favor the Open Shop but are silent on the subject. Public officials seem to favor closed shop."

It will be noted how much the anti-unionists dote on the "public" courses in mechanical education. In each center, trade unionists might well make a study of the situation and get appropriate action. Not in the strangling of these courses, for that is an impossibility and probably inadvisable socially; but in seeing that they are shaped toward union ends rather than toward the Open Shop.

THE REAL STUFF

Portland College Gives Us Tip

OPEN Shoppers may get its war communiques from here and there and everywhere. But so do we. It may feel encouraged by this advance or that. But so do we.

One such message of achievement comes from the far Pacific coast from Portland, Oregon. The Labor College there has cast over-board Namby Pamby "Education". It has got down to brass tacks, apparently. It has interested local unions in that city, in setting aside an hour at this or that meeting, to discuss the problems confronting Labor. Lectures are provided for that hour—not on the Value of Good Citizenship, or the Influence of Shakespeare on the Ethics of Kalamazoo, or any other "cultural" topics. It is the actual problems before the Movement that are taken up—in order that Trade Unionism may advance, with the same knowledge at its finger tips as the Employers have at theirs.

Three lectures are given, to the various unions agreeing, on THE NEW TACTICS OF THE EMPLOYERS:

1. Company Unions and their danger to Trade Unions.

2. Stock purchase by workers and their effect on wages, hours and organization.

3. Welfare schemes and their influence on Unionism. In addition, a series of a slightly wider scope are also offered:

1. The Extent of Organization in the United States.

2. The Recent Upheaval in the Textile Industry.

3. Recent Developments in the British Labor Movement.

The reason given for this method of "education" is a good one—the only reason there can be for workers education, which should be nothing more nor less than Trade Union Information and Inspiration. As phrased by H. Aaron Director, Educational Director of the Portland group, it is:

"The Labor Movement of this country is carrying on an educational campaign to advance the cause of unionism. Because so few people have the time or inclination to pursue studies in classes, labor colleges over the country are preparing lectures on the outstanding issues which confront the movement, to be given at regular union meetings."

Central bodies contemplating educational work—and all of them should be doing so, as the A. F. of L. has reminded them—can take the tip from Portland. Rather than attempting to carry out meaningless series of "lec

tures"—where well-meaning but hopelessly incompetent "intellectuals" can "express" themselves—the central body should get a labor man who has taken a course at Brookwood or under some other labor auspices, to map out for them a series of talks, right in the unions themselves. These talks should be directed to the immediate labor fight: **HOW CAN WE ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED, HERE AND NOW? HOW CAN WE FIGHT, EFFECTIVELY, THE NEW DEVICES OF THE EMPLOYERS? HOW CAN WE GET PUBLICITY FOR THE WORKERS' CAUSE, TO OFFSET THE PUBLICITY OF THE EMPLOYERS?**

Etc., Etc. If we do that, we will discover that in the course of a few years, we will be getting somewhere in our effort to advance the conditions and power of the workers. If we chase the rainbow of "culture", however, we will find at its end not a pot of gold, but a pot of mud.

BUY NOTHING!

Of Cannibal Kings and Other Things

IT is somewhat of a relief to learn that there are ethics among cannibals. It makes it so much easier to understand why Morgan, Lamont, et al., dwell upon "business ethics," while they devour our humble ham-bones and our gravy with so much gusto.

In the dark forests of Papua, the cannibally inclined do not lick their chops after partaking of human fare. Far from it! Not for the gastronomic joy that comes from such a table d'hote, do they take to it; but for the virtues that come to them, as a consequence. All the strength and wisdom and other good points that the victim of the breakfast may have had, are supposed to flow into the veins of the feaster. It is the spiritual benefits of the banquet that are the most prized.

What a delightful parallel to our own Cannibal Kings! Not for the percentages that flow to them, nor for the servility that they induce among the worker brethren, do those noble souls persuade the said brethren to go in for stock ownership and other blood-sucking enterprises. Nay, it is of the spiritual benefits that they confer upon the Republic, that they are thinking, thinking, thinking.

The thought has even been thrown out, that unions might go into the market, in a wholesale fashion, and buy up an industry or two—just like that! What a sly suggestion. With something of a shock, no doubt, captains of finance may read the words of a labor leader, Abraham Beckerman of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on that theme. To the workers he says, of stock business—in that interesting booklet **NEW TACTICS IN SOCIAL CONFLICT**, issued by the League for Industrial Democracy. "Buy Nothing!" The exact words are:

"What are you going to do about this proposition? Buy shares? Buy in a larger way and control the rest of the

industry? Buy nothing! Whatever the employers get them to buy, see if you can get them to sell. Wherever the bosses convince the workers that this will make them part of the business, show them it is a sop to separate them from unionization. Show them they are getting very little out of this thing."

Very little, indeed! Tied up, forever and ever, Amen—so that they dare not stir in their own interests. Deprived of the just wage advance earned by increased production. That is the outcome.

To halt this little cannibal feast is the job before us! The local press is the medium through which to get out the warning: "Of Employers' Stock, Buy Nothing!"

Beyond that, it may almost be asked: Do the gentry of the Open Shop work while we sleep? They are learning the value of solidarity beyond trade lines, in a remarkable way. Perhaps we need to make our central bodies—the meeting places of the local city trades—more dynamic forces for publicity, "education" and study of the union problems of the community than they have been heretofore. Cooperation by local unions in that field will reap results.

CASE 34

What Will You Do About It?

CHRISTMAS caused it. It always does. Every year we hear the same refrain.

Mrs. Platinum Rings wants to get a sob and a sniffle. The Right Honorable Mammonson wishes to pat his fat paunch with an air of righteousness.

In the papers, the sob stuff begins. We hear of the poor, in this land of plenty. Writers and artists are drafted to draw the picture of misery. Of such was Case 34. (Reported in that eminent daily, **THE N. Y. EVENING POST**.) An aged man of 72. Working his entire life on the roads. His wife a sickly, broken woman. And himself . . . robbed of his chance to work, by paralyzing rheumatism. Mrs. Platinum Rings no doubt sent a check. Right Honorable Mammonson, ditto. And all was well, until next Christmas Day.

Which shows that there is but little thinking beyond the honorable noses of the check-drawers. If decency were the order of the day, this sort of story would not get beyond one Christmas. Then, it would stop. For the sovereign state of New York (or wherever it might be) would immediately enact a law, providing for old age pensions for these folks.

They have given their all for society and industry. Let them be repaid. Not by a charitable dole. But, by justice. This year gives us a chance to quote cases 34 and all other Christmas cases at the fat-bellied and much be-ringed. Compel them to do **JUSTICE**, by taxing themselves (through the State) for old age pensions.

DOUGH-GIRL

Apropos the highly-unorganized "white collar" worker with his vain ambition, a friend of Bill Brown's tells the following story:

FIRST WHITE COLLAR SLAVE: "Well, our old friend Ed has married a dough-girl!"

SECOND W. C. S.: "Did he land the boss' daughter?"

FIRST W. C. S.: "No, no. He aimed at her, but he caught the boss' cook."

In which there is a moral, if you can find it.

In Other Lands

NO WAR WITH CHINA!

In the Name of 1776, We Make This Demand

OFF to the East, a nation struggles upward toward independence. Shanghai, that gateway to the garden of China, may be its country's Yorktown. The war lords of the North, champions of all that is vile in the Old China—from the slave girl concubinage system in the homes to the loot and robber-government of cities—stand there with their backs to the sea wall, pressed hard by the people's armies of Canton.

Happy is that picture for any man who rejoices in 1776. The propaganda for "democracy" and "self-determination", which the United States flung far to the world in the Great War, is bearing fruit in this wonder-compelling way. China will be a Republic and will be free!

Britain likes it not, however. Twenty thousand soldiers have been sent to join the numerous warships now ominously cleared for action at the entrance to Shanghai. Colonial Secretary Amery of the Tory Government, foretelling Canton's triumph, points with pride to the expedition as one that will allow the "British colony to sleep well in their beds at night."

Twenty thousand troops are not needed for that purpose. Nor are these sent with that in mind. They are dispatched, for the purpose of safeguarding Britain's vast special interests in China: its "concessions" in Shanghai, Amoy, Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Newchang and Tientsin—all obtained at the point of the cannon; its complete control of the

island city of Hong Kong, seized in 1842 in the war to compel China to allow importation of the deadly opium from India; its exclusive railway rights in the Yangste Valley and the Province of Shansi; its joint control of the Chinese tariff, its several long-term leases to Chinese territory; its protectorate of Thibet, and the thousand and other "rights" that it has wrested from the aged Celestial Empire.

When Canton triumphs and refuses, as it must, to permit the continuance of these illegal and immoral foreign deprivations upon the people, then will the 20,000 troops be put in action. Then, will they advance under cover of their warships' guns—to attempt to stab the heart of the New China. There is grave danger there for the whole world.

America, seeing Britain thus advance, may become envious. Our imperialists may follow suit. A disturbing show of military activity is being made, as it is in relation to the across-Pacific continent. In the name of the land that struck off the chains of kingly tyranny in 1776, we may yet attempt to strike down a new-born Republic.

That must be stopped. We must do all that we can to create a public opinion in this country, immediately, for the New China. There must be no war with the Cantonese. The British Labor forces have declared that. We must raise our voices likewise against such monstrous action. The cause of Canton is the cause of the Chinese workers. By that very reason it is the cause of the workers throughout the world at this present hour.

RATHER SLOW!

Despite the shouting of the industrial captains and the antics of the jester-statesmen, Wall Street's Kings have not yet revived war-worn Europe. France is being added to Britain and Germany, as a nation of unemployed. Central Europe can scarcely be said to present a prettier view. Of that section, the monthly review of the Anglo International Bank remarks, with something of a sigh: "If the progress of the Central European States during 1926 has not quite fulfilled all the hopes of the optimists, it has at any rate belied the worst fears of the prophets of gloom and misfortune."

That is putting it mildly. Unemployment statistics from the central nations are gloomy, to say the least. In this country or that, favorable foreign trade balances may be reported or chances for a better national budget may be forecast. It is the quantity of unemployment that measures the real health of the nation, and not these false surface indications of the exploiters' successes. In Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, the numbers of unemployed for 1926 are considerably higher than in the previous year. Jugoslavia, although making no report, is in the throes of "stabiliza-

tion" and that assures the large mass of out-of-works that the trade unions announce as prevailing there. Hungary is in a somewhat better situation in this respect, but the denial of trade union freedom and of decent wages negative much of the improved employment.

Such are the open sores created by war. Slowly they heal—only to be reopened again by further Imperialist maneuvers.

FEVERISH!

Outstanding, in the present world picture, is the suddenly spirited activity of British Tory diplomacy. Confronted with the rise of the Chinese nation—long the docile vassal of British Imperialism; the loosening of the bonds of Empire, in the lukewarmness of the dominions in the recent London Imperial Conference; the "going into pawn" of London's foreign investments; the threatening aspect of Continental Europe, with its numerous international combines, freezing out almost everything British—the Downing Street statesmen and warriors have shown a zeal and resourcefulness equal perhaps to the military maneuvers of Napoleon before Paris after the battle of Leipsic.

While crying aloud against Canton, against the obvious facts, as "red" and "world revolutionary," and flinging their legions toward China, they secretly seek to deal with the Cantonese for the continued possession of their much-cherished concessions. In Italy they find a fast friend—based as of old on the weakness of Mussolini's long line of seacoast—through whom they hope to break down or nullify much of the effect of the growing United Economic States of Europe. Colonies Italy must have, even through she fight for them; and hence Britain is seen supporting the Fascists in their "peaceful" raids upon Abyssinia and Albania. German unity with France and other continental nations in the steel combine darkens the picture and consequently Germany is the particular object of British seduction at the present hour. Restoration of colonies and breaking up of the "Polish corridor" are the bait held out to the Germans. Simultaneously, with its other hand, Downing Street encourages the Fascist movements in Poland and Lithuania and probably in Latvia—the little nations on the outskirts of Russia. To cap it all and make this juggling effective, Great Britain proposes a conference of the four great European powers—France, Germany, Italy and itself—to settle further the problems of Europe.

In all of which incessant plottings and plannings, the dog in the manger may well be played by France. Italy openly threatens her to the South. Were Germany weaned away, another menace would be created there to the East. In the throes of industrial depression—out of "stabilization"—and with discontent on her hands, she will be reluctant to enter into any combine headed by Britain and partly aimed against Moscow. She smarts bitterly at the growing power of Mussolini in the Balkans. Out of all which things, France can be counted upon as a stumbling block in Downing Street's feverish international activities.

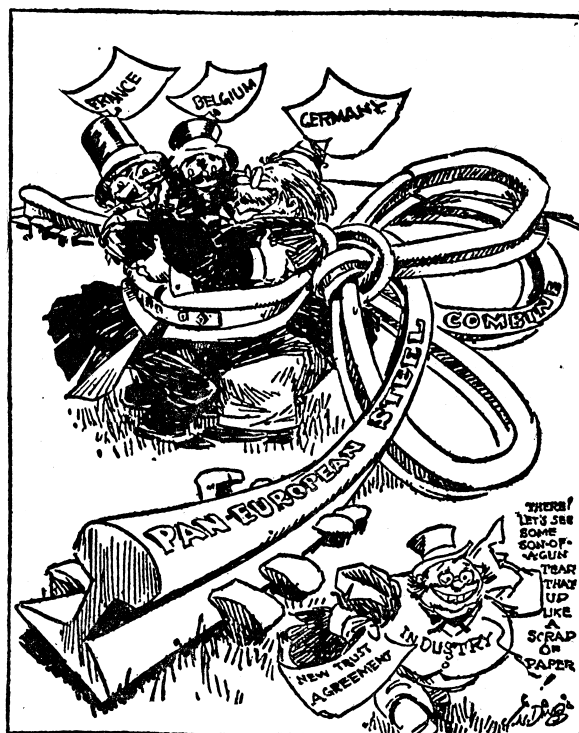
THE BATTLE OF BERLIN

A new tussle over the conditions of the "Arbeiterstand" rages in Berlin. Under pressure of the trade unions and the Socialist Party, a renewed attempt is being made to formulate an 8-hour day by legislation. One of the chief fruits of the Revolution was the guarantee of such a work-day throughout the German Republic. With after-war turmoil and Dawesization, it died an unnatural death; the workers being made to pay for German "recovery". Even where union agreements were made, providing for such workingtime, the wide allowance of overtime killed the value of such agreements. A hue and cry went up, led by the German Trade Unions. It has forced the new government of Dr. Marx to face the issue. But the "free" unions and the Socialists claim that it is not facing it squarely. The law, as proposed by the present government, provides for the 8-hour day, but still allows a loophole for the hated overtime. In the metal trades, this loophole has meant the 72 hour week.

Particularly is the demand for a real 8-hour day strong at this moment, when "rationalization" of industry has thrown workers in every industry out of employment. The coal mining industry, as a sample, employs 400,000 men today to produce as much if not more coal than 560,000 men did in 1922. That the German unions are looking toward legislation as their method of securing demands, rather than to industrial action is shown by the fact

that in the first half of 1926 there were only 155 strikes as against 845 in the same period of 1925, and 8,800 in 1920. When the big industries report huge profits next year—out of the exploitation of Dawsized labor—a new record of industrial action is likely to be written.

WHAT'S WRONG HERE?



THE NEW PEACE TIE
N. Y. Herald-Tribune

"INDUSTRIAL PEACE"

Now that the mine strike has been "settled"—by district agreements, expiring at differing periods, a complete defeat for the men—British Industrialism and Bankerdom sets up a resounding hullabaloo anent "Industrial Peace." It is a strange, nay amazing cry, at a moment when trade unions could not carry out successful industrial warfare, if they would. Its purpose is well understood, nevertheless. The International Federation of Trade Unions has explained it clearly in its news release for January 20th. "Peace" meaneth that the working men and women are to accept any terms that the employers may decree for them—making the "lower classes" pay for the inefficiency of management so rampant in Britain. George Hicks, present chairman of the Trades Union Congress, has answered the employers' propaganda by his declaration before the A. F. of L. at Detroit that general strikes would probably grow larger in magnitude as the years went by.

The "peace" that the employers and their Tory servants have in mind is well illustrated by the "reform" of the trade union laws, about to be placed before Parliament. Although the terms of the proposed laws are not yet known—being kept secret by the Government—and although there have been hints that they will not be as drastic as Lord Birkenhead had wished, they are certain to "allow strikes," as J. R. Clynes foretells, "only on condition that they are doomed to failure."



“Say It
With Books”



OUR BROTHERS OF THE MAPLE LEAF

Canadian Labor Laws—and Their Meaning for Us

To the North of the United States there lies a great empire of which much will be heard in the years to come. With Australia, Canada has most of its history before it. Of growing importance in the world, it is of growing importance to the United States. That it intends to assert itself as an independent unit is shown by the appointment of its new Ambassador to Washington, separate and distinct from the British representative.

A distinguished international authority has just indicated that the United States lies in the center of the English-speaking peoples of the world. Their hopes revolve no longer around London. They center now in New York. As the growth of the American Empire goes ahead, we will see in all probability an extension of American control—not political, but economic—over these former colonies and dominions of the British Empire.

It therefore behooves workers in the United States to become thoroughly acquainted with the viewpoint and conditions of their brothers, living under the symbol of the Maple Leaf. Facing a situation somewhat akin to that of the workers to the South, they have built up a live Labor Movement, under the present leadership of Tom Moore, based on the ideals of the British Movement to a large degree. International unions already throw their lines of control over the Canadian border, and the relations of American and Canadian workers will, of necessity, become closer in the future than they have been in the past.

With that in mind, every international union official can well afford to have at hand, on his desk or in his library, a copy of the volume just issued by the Columbia University Press, on **CANADIAN LABOR LAWS AND THE TREATY**—from the pen or typewriter of Dr. Bryce M. Stewart. The importance of this need is further brought home by the author himself, in his first chapter, when he points out incidentally that the United States is “Canada’s chief competitor and accordingly the country whose action in labor legislation, gives her most concern.”

The book, as its title indicates, is a review of the labor provisions of the Versailles Peace Treaty and Canada’s relations to those provisions, and how far the Dominion has attempted to carry them through, in the form of legislation. The achievement has not been a particularly startling one up to date, partly because of the backwardness of labor legislation in the United States—which is not in the

League of Nations—and partly because of the division of powers between the Dominion and its provinces. The brunt of the burden, as Dr. Stewart says, has fallen on the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The Congress has followed the lead of the American Federation of Labor in “persistently” declining to head a labor party; and such results as it has obtained have come through non-partisan political action.

Most serious of all of the items in the present check-up of Canadian legislation is the “very restricted right of association.” “Trades unions are open to charges of criminal and civil conspiracy and their funds are liable to seizure to satisfy damage actions. While the law grants the right to strike for certain stated objects, sympathetic strikes have been held illegal. Canadian unions do not enjoy the protection with regard to picketing and injunctions granted under the law of Great Britain but are more nearly in the precarious position of the unions in the United States.”

The Canadian labor movement, in its vigorous fight for decent legislation, has been much handicapped by the overpowering influence of American anti-union laws and practices. Since the war, it has also faced a prolonged period of industrial depression, with consequent spirit of defeatism among the mass of the workers. It has been most successful in the West, where industry is still on a small scale and where agricultural influence is great.

Dr. Stewart has done more than merely codify the Canadian labor laws. He also gives us an exceptionally enlightening summary of the International Labor Office of the League, and of the nine principles on which it has been founded. He traces the struggle of the Canadian workers’ movements in their efforts for humane legislation, and presents a very competent view of the attitude of the courts toward the whole subject. His conclusion is one of admiration for the persistency of the Canadian unions, in their pressure on Parliament and the legislatures, and of the belief that much more progress in actual legislation has been obtained there than in the United States. As yet, however, the Canadian unions are far from the British status—which is their goal and toward which they are determined to press, until that position has been won. We cannot but share the author’s enthusiastic estimate of the doggedness of the Canadian movement—and wish it well in its fight onward.

AMONG THE STARS

Americas and Columbus of the Skies

ADVENTURE is not yet dead. The North Pole may be conquered by airship and dog team. The radio may have invaded the jungles of South America, bringing to the tattooed native the jingles and jazz of Broadway, Chicago or of Frisco. A man and woman may now walk, as was recently done, from Cairo to the Cape in an Africa once called dark. Turkey and China and other lands dubbed uncivilized may now be taking on the fashions and political notions of capitalist countries.

But we have now the stars to aim at—more literally than ever before. It is only a few days ago that a man, evidently “cracked”, sent a message by radio to a soul-mate of his on Mars. It is “cracked” people, however, who glimpse the truth, always. As Herman Melville says: “Man’s insanity is heaven’s sense.” The conquest of the stars, or some of them, is not any longer a totally wild dream.

Of the lands that lie there above us and below us and all around us, Harlow Shapley of Harvard Observatory presents a tiny history in the second of the series of interesting little books on “Humanizing Knowledge”, being issued by the George H. Doran Co., New York. “STARLIGHT” is the booklet’s name. We learn of the attempts already made, and partially successful, to learn from this far distance the density, life-story and origin of the stars. For the sky, in the comparatively short intellectual history of man, has had its Americas and their Columbus no less than this small orb on which we live.

These Columbus have not been able to sail across nameless seas, or to touch foot on their discoveries. Thru their ever-powerful instruments, they are nevertheless locating new stars as the years go by, and finding out much more about them than man hitherto conceived could be possible.

Mr. Shapley has done a good job in 140 brief pages, in informing us of the various theories in regard to the heavenly bodies, and in telling something of their background and birth, and of what they are as we know them today. Of course, it has not been an easy task, and he has not fully escaped from the difficulty of having to speak

partly in a technical tongue. For the man, however, who has a thirst for knowledge of some of the things about him other than just the animal business of living—this is the best little “first book” that could be tackled. We continue to wish the publishers well in taking up an effort that deserves to bear many fruits—in informing the public, in a simple way, of some of the heretofore mysterious things called “science”.

THE YEAR BOOK

THAT excellent reference book—the American Labor Year Book—which should be on the shelves of every alert trade unionist—is now out for the year 1927.

A detailed review of the new volume will appear in the forthcoming (April) issue. We advise you not to wait for that, however, but to secure the volume for yourself. Its ready references to data that the union needs—for publicity and for other purposes—will prove of concrete value during the coming twelve months.

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