

# LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## The Western Scene

Seattle—Reservoir of Progressivism.....*John Ball*  
Minute Men of the Industrial Army.....*Frank L. Palmer*  
Dollar a Day Labor Gluts El Paso.....*Herbert Heasley*

---

C. P. L. A. REGIONAL CONFERENCE

DEMONSTRATES PROGRESSIVE INFLUENCE

---

*Grappling With Lewisism*

A. J. Muste

APRIL, 1930

25 CENTS

# LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## The Western Scene

Seattle—Reservoir of Progressivism..... *John Ball*  
Minute Men of the Industrial Army..... *Frank L. Palmer*  
Dollar a Day Labor Gluts El Paso..... *Herbert Heasley*

---

C. P. L. A. REGIONAL CONFERENCE  
DEMONSTRATES PROGRESSIVE INFLUENCE

---

*Grappling With Lewisism*

A. J. Muste

APRIL, 1930

25 CENTS

## LABOR AGE

Vol. XIX—No. 4.

April, 1930

## CONTENTS

EDITORIALS:	Page
A PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM FOR THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS, MINERS AND PROGRESSIVES, LABOR STATESMANSHIP ON TRIAL, SOUTHERN ORGANIZATION AND THE NEGRO, WHAT THE C. P. L. A. IS DOING, WANTED—A PROGRAM.....	1
THE WESTERN SCENE:	
SEATTLE—RESERVOIR OF PROGRESSIVISM .....	John Ball 4
MINUTE MEN OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARMY..	Frank L. Palmer 7
DOLLAR A DAY LABOR GLUTS EL PASO....	Herbert Heasley 8
MINERS GRAPPLE WITH LEWISISM.....	A. J. Muste 11
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD.....	16
THE MARCH OF THE MACHINE.....	Justus Ebert 18
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.....	Louis Francis Budenz 19
C. P. L. A. POTENT FORCE IN LABOR WORLD.....	21
IN OTHER LANDS.....	Patrick L. Quinlan 25
SAY IT WITH BOOKS—	
INDIAN WORKERS AND THEIR BONDAGE.....	Mark Starr 26
THE ADVANCE OF SOCIAL PRACTICES, A RECAPITULATION	Israel Mufson 27
A COMPARISON .....	Leonard Bright 27
WHAT OUR READERS THINK.....	29

## IN THIS ISSUE

IT is usual to think of the Labor Movement in terms of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and far more definitely in terms of cities much further East. So wide is the distance between the coasts that it takes extraordinary effort to stretch the imagination beyond the Rockies. Yet western labor has had a glorious history. In the main, it stood in the forefront of progressive achievement. Militant organization, independent political action, cooperative enterprises have always characterized the labor horizon along the Pacific Coast. It is regretably labor's loss that this enterprising spirit usually faded out in the wastes of the open prairies before reaching the more sedate and less volatile East, thus failing to permeate the movement along the Alleghenies with the same daring and vision.

"The Western Scene" comprises the tale of three cities west of the Mississippi representing the status of labor in three important sections of the United States.

The story of the Northwest is described by John Ball in "Seattle—Reservoir of Labor Progressivism." John Ball is a young progressive with many years of active experience who has witnessed the rise of labor in that territory, reaching its height in the city-wide rebellion of 1919. Since then he has been attempting to gather the forces with which to stem the backwash of labor's decline. He writes his tale not only with the experience of a labor man but with the gift of a journalist of many years standing.

LOVE of liberty has always burned more fiercely in the hearts of mountain men. They have always fought oppression unto death. "Minute Men of the Industrial Army," by Frank L. Palmer, a story of the labor mountain men of Colorado, maintains the reputation enjoyed by those who live in the clear atmosphere of high altitudes. Palmer, newspaper editor, author of "Spies in Steel" and director of labor classes in Colorado, assures us that the mountain men of Colorado, true to tradition, will spring to the fray at the first sign of action.

AN entirely different story is related in "Dollar A Day Labor Gluts El Paso." Probably this is the first time that an adequate analysis of Labor in the Southwest is presented to any group of readers. Its importance cannot be overestimated. It details a labor viewpoint that is not at all foreign to easterners, yet includes a slant that is peculiar to the local environment. Any one pondering over the American labor problem must recognize this additional kink which adds to the difficulties of its solution. Herbert Heasley, the writer, is well known to LABOR AGE readers through his many cartoons published in this journal. He is one of the few progressives finding abode amidst the hot sands of the Arizona desert. He is a railway clerk by vocation and a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

DURING the first ten months of its existence the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was busily engaged in obtaining a toe hold in the world of labor. Starting at scratch its influence in less than a year is a remarkable illustration of the thrust for progressive action which permeates the rank and file of labor. In "C. P. L. A. Potent Force in Labor World," reviewing the Eastern Regional Conference held on March 16, the readers will find a true picture of C. P. L. A. achievements up-to-date.

WITH the Springfield miners' convention history, the forces in the coal fields are lined up for the struggle that will either save the union from Lewisism or wreck both in the internecine warfare that has already started. What the chances are for success of the rank and file to reestablish the lost power of the United Mine Workers of America is told by A. J. Muste in "Miners Grapple With Lewisism." It is a realistic portrayal of the opposing armies by one who witnessed the birth of the new spirit.

JUSTUS EBERT, Editor of the LITHOGRAPHERS' JOURNAL, who runs the monthly column on "The March of the Machine," chides those of his critics who hold that it is for him but to record events rather than to interpret them. Whether the reader agrees or disagrees, "The March of the Machine" is always interesting.

MARK STARR, instructor at Brookwood Labor College and organizer for the National Council of Labor Colleges of Great Britain, contributes a pertinent and informative review under the title, "Indian Workers and Their Bondage." Other reviews of important books are included in the section, "Say It With Books."

READERS of LABOR AGE will be more than glad to welcome an addition to our staff of artists who with pen and pencil adorn the tales included in this publication. They will note three cartoons in this issue drawn by J. F. Anderson which speak for themselves as well as for Brother Anderson.

"Jack" Anderson, a former contributor to LABOR AGE, is a machinist during the day and a member of the International Association of Machinists. He is a fighting progressive who likes to express his ideas in pictorial form during his leisure hours. We welcome "Jack" back among our regular staff of contributors.

FLASHES from the Labor World," "Following the Fight," "In Other Lands" and "What Our Readers Think," complete this issue.

# LABOR AGE

April, 1930

## EDITORIALS

**B**RANCHES of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action can employ their time to no better service at present than for the relief of the unemployed. To assist the various locals in such an undertaking a few suggestions are herewith presented for adoption either on their own initiative or in cooperation with other interested agencies. Each group will of course determine for itself which measures should be stressed or can best be carried out in its own community.

### A Progressive Program for the Unemployment Crisis

**A.** The facts about unemployment and the remedies must be set forth and dramatized. This can be accomplished by

1. Holding public meetings in which unions, civic agencies, charitable organizations, churches, Labor and Socialist parties may cooperate.

2. Staging demonstrations in the forms of parades and outdoor mass meetings. Sending deputations to city authorities. These things might be done through an Emergency Conference for Unemployment.

3. Where there are strikes, the unemployed may be used in mass picketing. Thus the strike may be helped at the same time that attention is called in a striking fashion to the unemployment crisis.

4. Have speakers and discussions on unemployment in meetings of unions, fraternal organizations, civic agencies, etc.

5. Write articles in the papers, furnish news items about cases of distress, write letters to the Editor.

**B.** Short-term measures which may be advocated.

1. Taking of an unemployment census in a city or section of a city. This may be done by the police, by a college or university research department, by social welfare organizations or by combinations of various agencies.

2. Additional appropriations for public employment exchanges.

3. Keeping an eye on private employment exchanges and exposing any attempt on their part to exploit the unemployed.

4. Better co-ordination of work of relief agencies, public and private, and appealing to individuals and firms to have emergency and repair work done immediately. (Care must be taken in this connection not to permit wage rates to be lowered.)

5. Seeing that "prevailing rates of wages" laws are enforced so as to increase the purchasing power of the masses.

6. Free lunches for school children in the emergency.

7. Pushing public works.

**C.** Long term measures for dealing with unemployment.

The various measures already referred to are chiefly stop-gaps and palliatives. To deal effectively with unemployment more thorough measures must be taken which have to be carefully planned in advance and carried out over a long period of time. Among the steps which should be advocated while the interest in the subject is intense and wide-spread are the following:

1. Better statistics. The facts as to the extent of unemployment, which industries it affects, etc., need to be known. The census of unemployment to be taken in connection with this year's federal census is an important step in the right direction.

2. A system of public employment exchanges, federal, state and municipal must be built up, and private profit-making exchanges which capitalize the workers' distress eliminated.

3. Management must be led by pressure of the unions and of public opinion to regularize employment.

4. There must be long-time planning of public works, advance appropriations, etc., so that when private employment slackens, public works may be immediately set in motion, and not months after the trouble begins as was the case in the present and all past crises.

5. Social insurance against the hazards of sickness, old age and unemployment must be provided.

6. The wages of the masses must be raised and hours shortened, because at the root of the trouble lies the fact that under our present business system, the workers do not get enough money and leisure to consume the goods which they produce.

**D.** All the foregoing measures should be advocated as holding promise for immediate unemployment relief. Nevertheless the lesson should be drawn at every opportunity that the final solution can only lie in the political and industrial power of the workers.

**I**N the movement to reorganize the U. M. W. of A. launched at Springfield, Ill. under the leadership of Alexander Howat, progressive laborites will find very much

### Miners And The Progressives

to arouse their hopes and to call forth their earnest support. The matter is analyzed at length elsewhere in this issue of LABOR AGE. Suffice it here to summarize the situation.

The Springfield movement represents membership and organizational strength; it cannot be dismissed as a fly-by-night affair. The constitution was revised at many important points with a view to making the organization more responsive to the will of the rank and file, and to depriving the international president of the autocratic powers he possessed or arrogated to himself under the old regime.

The three international officials, Alexander Howat, Adolph Germer and John H. Walker, represent varied points of view but they have all come up out of the ranks and seen many years of service in the miners' union, and there is no taint of graft or corruption on any of them. They are working for salaries less than half those paid to Lewis and his colleagues. Alexander Howat is an outstanding militant progressive laborite. He has a sure instinct for what the rank and file want and need. After these many years he has spent in the Labor Movement, the man who can lead him around by the nose has yet to put in an appearance. Among the younger men who were prominent in the Springfield convention and will be in the reorganized union are other genuine progressives such as Powers Hapgood and William Daech, the former a member of the National Policy Committee for Pennsylvania and the latter for the key state of Illinois, both of them furthermore appointed to the organizers' staff. There was a live fighting group of progressives among the rank and file delegates at Springfield. All these men can be relied upon to fight to the limit to keep graft, corruption, autocracy and inefficiency out of their union.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, this does not mean that progressives can endorse everything that was done at Springfield, nor will they be silent about evils that may raise their heads in this union any more than in any other. But progressives cannot support Communists; they cannot repudiate such men as Alexander Howat, and they will certainly not by action or inaction, speech or deed, give any encouragement, direct or indirect, to Lewisism. They will give their support to every honest step taken by Alexander Howat and his fellow progressives toward the achievement of their two major tasks—combatting Lewisism and organizing the unorganized miners.

**T**HE policy which the A. F. of L. works out in regard to the situation which has developed in the miners' union, with two administrations—one led by John L. Lewis, the other by Alexander Howat—claiming to be legitimate, will furnish a real test of labor statesmanship, and may have a great deal to do with determining the role the A. F. of L. will play in the future history of the Labor Movement in the United States.

No one with even a passing acquaintance with the miners' situation, not even President Green, will deny, when in a position to speak frankly, that there have been serious abuses in the union, and that it has not been an easy task for anyone to venture the attempt to remedy them. Such men as Howat, Germer and Walker cannot be dismissed as crazy irresponsibles. The present movement is not a dual or secessionist movement in the ordinary sense of the term; these men are not bent primarily on proclaiming a radical theory; they are trade unionists of undoubted standing and they have no desire to destroy or injure the A. F. of L.

It is probable that on the basis of the procedure followed in similar situations in the past, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will recognize the Lewis administration as being technically the legitimate one, though it might in that case find itself in a considerable predicament, if the courts were to decide that the U. M. W. constitution did expire last year, as the insurgents claim, and that the latter have as much right as Lewis, or more, to the U. M. W. title. But assuming for the sake of argument that the Executive Council declares the Lewis group the legitimate one, that will not solve anything.

Will the A. F. of L., for example, aid and abet Lewis in launching a bitter attack on the Illinois district, the only large bituminous district still organized? Or stand passively by while a devastating internal conflict is waged in that state? Will the A. F. of L. expel workers and organizations that are perfectly willing to stay in the fold? Is it committed to the theory that it can get along without members but will not deviate a hair's breadth from the principle of "party regularity?" Will it seek to achieve a spurious peace in the miners' union, which involves no correction of crying abuses? Or has it the moral power to help establish genuine peace, unity and efficiency in this critical situation?

If internal strife is permitted to wreck what is left of the union in the bituminous industry, or if the movement of revolt against corruption, autocracy and inefficiency in the miners' union is stamped out, or if a great progressive body of workers in a basic industry is shut out of the official Labor Movement, that will be a severe indictment of the lack of labor statesmanship on the part of the present leaders of the A. F. of L.

**T**HAT any organization drive in the South depends upon the intelligence with which the Negro problem is handled has been pointed out many times in these columns. This attitude is fortified by an article, appearing in the current issue of OPPORTUNITY, a journal of Negro life, entitled, "Negroes and Organized Labor in the South," written by William W. Alexander.

The author, deeply sympathetic with the difficulties labor must face in the Southland, referring specifically to the race issue, nevertheless comes to the conclusion that unless A. F. of L. leaders "courageously declare quite frankly that their success in the South depended upon ultimate inclusion of all workers, regardless of race, and that as rapidly as possible they meant to proceed along that line" the whole project is doomed to defeat.

In the past, this article points out, Negroes have been used as strike breakers. This was one way by which they advanced their economic status. And because they are more than ever eager to obtain factory positions they will be similarly used in the future. In addition there is an abundance of available Negro labor, which, if not taken into account in the present union campaign, the employers will utilize in their antagonism towards organization.

The courageous step the author suggests, must be followed up by "much education on the part of the workers, especially the whites. Education cannot accomplish its task in a day. But those who follow a policy of honesty and frankness and education, in the long run usually get where they are going. Those who trust to compromise and evasion to hasten the journey come ultimately to confusion and defeat."

**T**HE Eastern Regional Conference of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action held in New York City on Sunday, March 16, was important for a number of reasons. Besides presenting a picture of the American labor scene on many fronts, it was instrumental in focussing the attention of those present on the actual achievements of the Conference itself. The listeners could not help but be impressed with the numerous activities of the C. P.

### What The C. P. L. A. Is Doing

L. A. All left the conference hall with the feeling that they were part of a live movement which is stimulating labor in many ways.

The missionary work of the C. P. L. A. in the South, giving leadership and money to the embattled textile workers long before the A. F. of L. officially undertook the job; the educational work now carried on by C. P. L. A. representatives among the steel workers, seeking means of bringing together the more intelligent and courageous elements in that industry for planning towards eventual organization; the large part which C. P. L. A.ers played and will continue to play in the reorganization program of the United Mine Workers of America; and the effective presentation of the C. P. L. A. program among laborites in the Northwest were all concrete evidences of the importance of our organization and the constructive attainments it can lay claim to during the first year of its existence.

But that is only half the story. Just as important and informative were the reports from the many C. P. L. A. branches already organized in various localities throughout the Northeastern states. While their work of necessity must be of the more routine type, covering the day to day ventures of labor in general, the influence these progressives wield is fundamental in shaping the policies for a reinvigorated Labor Movement. Taking advantage of every possible opportunity to serve, the C. P. L. A. groups have firmly established themselves as a much needed element in the labor life. Here they assume leadership of a spontaneous and leaderless strike. There they become the focal point for Negro workers anxious to organize. Somewhere else again they become the spearhead for educational work leading to better understanding between many different nationalities that go to make the working elements of a community. Everywhere they lead in agitation for social insurance, independent political action and militant organization.

Thus the Eastern Regional Conference, in addition to being a means of bringing together progressives for review of the present status of organized labor, was also a means for the review of the accomplishments of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. As the Conference is approaching the first anniversary of its life, it can really look back with much satisfaction at its past efforts. No greater proof could be had of the need for such an organization than the wholehearted welcome it is receiving among the rank and file of labor.

The ten-month old C. P. L. A. is a lusty baby. But it will need all the strength it has thus far attained, and will have to grow still stronger in order to tackle the wide-flung tasks confronting it for the complete realization of its program.

Out of the past, however, we get the assurances that this growing strength will be forthcoming. To progressives, the future can be faced with the courage that comes with accomplishment. We are on the right road. We are about to pass the first milestone, and the most difficult, with a host of friends around us. Let's go!

**NOT** so long ago Matthew Woll, Acting President of the National Civic Federation and Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, in a public address, expressed the opinion that the A. F. of L. is a voluntary association of international unions which cannot force its constituent parts to

follow a definite program of action. From what has been happening during the past few months it seems that the same lack of discipline prevails among the members of the Executive Council themselves. It appears that not only is there no program for the Labor Movement but even the Executive Council is lacking in unity.

Jumping with both feet into the tariff fight through his America's Wage-earners Protective League, Woll has been playing around with the Grundys in the Senate to such an extent that he has alienated every progressive Senator who could always be called upon to back up labor in its fight with big business and reactionism. According to a political writer in the WASHINGTON POST, Woll supplied reactionary Senator Reed of Pennsylvania with statements to read on the Senate floor against the coalition Senators seeking to obstruct the objectionable increases in the new tariff bill. "One can imagine," the writer points out, "how embarrassing it was for the coalition Senator to be interrupted in the middle of an argument that he was writing a tariff for labor and agriculture, with a letter in the hands of Senator Reed from Matthew Woll saying in effect that, 'Oh, no. Senator Reed has the labor idea.'"

Now comes Hoover's nomination of Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court Bench. The Federation rightly is opposing this appointment because of the past decision of Judge Parker upholding the yellow-dog contract in its most objectionable form. Can the A. F. of L. with one breath repudiate the progressive Senators on the tariff and ask them to help it fight the appointment of a reactionary judge? Will the A. F. of L. call upon its new friends, Senators Grundy and Reed, to help it in its present dilemma instead of upon Senators Borah, LaFollette, Wheeler and Walsh? The situation would be most interesting if it did not hold in it the absolute disintegration of A. F. of L. strength and integrity. It is a situation that is entirely unfortunate for the masses of workers who have at present no one to turn to for relief from oppression.

It is important to direct attention to the fact that thus far Matthew Woll has not attacked Judge Parker's nomination. But it is embarrassing William Green and his legislative board in trying to get things done in the Senate to be confronted by the activities of Woll's high-tariff lobbying.

How long can the American Federation of Labor continue this policy of disastrous disunity and planlessness which has invaded even the thus far pretty solid stance of the Executive Council and "get away with it," to use a short and meaningful phrase? How long can this policy of no policy be defended even to its most trusting members?

The limit in planlessness seems to have already been reached. Its evil effects were not nearly so disastrous when the Executive Council at least was able to present a united front. But now, when the supreme planning tribunal of the American Federation of Labor has been invaded by the virus of chaos and confusion, those rank and filers who have the intelligence to understand and the welfare of Labor at heart, should let their influence be felt and demand some sanity in the direction of their movement.

Perhaps the Conference for Progressive Labor Action's criticism of the American Federation of Labor has not sounded true to the ears of many labor officials. Let them take more comfort then, if they can, out of a situation that is so disjointed that even the reactionary WASHINGTON POST is called upon to take notice of it, and to rebuke the Federation for the mess it has gotten into.

# The Western Scene

## Seattle---Reservoir of Progressivism

By JOHN BALL

TEN years ago Seattle and the Northwest was marked with numerous red headed pins on labor's map. The Farmer-Labor party had made an electrifying campaign, frightening the bosses of the two old parties and seemed to be permanently established. A co-operative movement, including a union-owned laundry, was plugging along in spite of a number of serious errors. THE UNION RECORD, owned by the Labor Movement, was recognized as a daily newspaper that was different in its treatment of news and was first and foremost for the workers. The local trade union movement was considered altogether "red." The echoes of the general strike of 1919 were still heard. The local central labor council had joined with Tacoma and Everett in declaring the Centralia I. W. W.'s victims of a lumber baron frame-up. Friendship for the newly launched workers and farmers republic of Soviet Russia was expressed by the credentialing of a delegate, Hulet M. Wells, to the first convention of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow. The I. W. W. was still cocky from its victory over the lumber bosses in forcing the eight-hour day and better conditions in the camps. When the big loggers strike for the release of the Centralia prisoners was on, the "wobblies" had a special "dehorn squad" to close up the boot-leg joints along the "skid-road" here. Independence, progress, militancy were in the air.

But "times is changed, the old town ain't what she used to be." The Farmer-Labor party is dead. "Bill" Short, coal miner president of the State Federation of Labor, now an investment banker, stabbed it in the back and it never recovered. Perhaps it might have died anyway during "Coolidge prosperity." The Co-op. added another serious error to the already long list and the undertaker had to be called. THE UNION RECORD struggled along for a number of years after the closing of the shipyards had deflated the economic standing of the movement. To make its survival harder thousand of workers who had trustingly put their war-savings into "labor enterprises" boosted by THE

RECORD, such as Listman Service, United Finance, Class A Theatre, Padilla Bay Land, Deep Sea Salvage, dropped away when these pipe dreams of financial independence for labor faded into the Puget Sound fog. Gradually it came to be a weak imitation of the Scripps STAR and since there weren't enough morons to support two such papers, THE RECORD had to give up.

### Wobblies War on Communists

The I. W. W. has shrunk to a shadow of its former robust stature. Headquarters are still maintained and the weekly INDUSTRIAL WORKER published but the soap boxers on the "skid road" expend as much wind denouncing Soviet Russia and the American communists as they do the bosses and the capitalist system. There are no indications of interest in this organization on the part of workers in the woods, long shore, on sea or anywhere here though THE WORKER sounds its call for industrial unionism in each issue and a few faithful delegates regularly send in their combination propaganda and job news. The "gyppo" or piece work system in logging and the employers "clearing house" for preventing radical workers from being employed present obstacles which even the most realistic organizing group will find hard to overcome in dealing with this basic industry.

The population of Seattle has increased something like 60 per cent in the past ten years but the trade union membership is less than in 1920. The movement with from 25,000 to 30,000 workers occupies a lower place in the life of the city than at any time since the hectic shipyard days. Perhaps this explains the undisguised elation of the ruling hierarchy over any passing nod of recognition of the Chamber of Commerce and the politico-business element. In the recent municipal election the one council man whom labor was most anxious to keep in office was defeated though labor "won" by endorsing two others who were dead sure to be elected. Thus the "higher political strategy" of endorsing some and being neutral on others insures the election of some "friends of labor."

The two candidates for school board director endorsed by labor because of their denunciation of the "yellow-dog" clause in the public school teachers contract failed to get over though they polled a good vote. None of the three daily newspapers cared enough for labor's friendship to print or even mention labor's pre-election statement as to candidates. THE TIMES even went so far as to print an inspired report of a labor-war veteran political deal and then contemptuously ignored the Central Labor Council's denial of the story. A far cry indeed from the day back in 1919 when the printers on this same daily refused to run a screed reflecting unfairly upon labor and thus compelled its withdrawal.

The meetings of the Central Labor Council are a spectacle to make Samuel Gompers, who compelled the body to recant its radicalism, rattle his bones with sardonic laughter. The dead hand of his disciplinary action still covers all discussions and resolutions like a shroud. When President Green of the American Federation of Labor takes snuff (to localize an old saying) the petty shop-keeper president of the council almost disjoints his neck with sneezing. There are a few progressive delegates disgusted with this state of affairs but they lack the coherence and the initiative to start an insurgent movement. There are faint rumblings of dissatisfaction in some of the local unions but these have not reached sufficient volume to shake the thrones of the labor bureaucracy.

The same disunited condition is reflected in the lack of an adequate Labor Temple and a competent official organ. The present building is out of date and houses only a portion of the unions in the city. Since a valuable lot adjoining the present site was lost through mismanagement or crookedness for the lack of a few thousand dollars to finish payments, efforts to raise funds to build a new temple have usually resulted in the promoters collecting their adequate salaries with nothing left for the structure.

As to an official organ, since THE UNION RECORD expired, a weekly publication owned by two or three individuals, one of whom is understood

to be the erstwhile "Brother" Short, and serving as a meal ticket for another, is accepted as labor's spokesman. It is a dreary clip sheet of Matthew Woll's press service, the A. F. of L. news letter and the minutes of the Central Labor Council interlarded with ads from the power trust, the telephone monopoly and retail concerns who are willing to show their friendliness to labor by an ad though they are seldom to be found on the list of organized houses.

The waterfront is dominated by the "fink hall"—another name for the company union organized and maintained by the Waterfront Employers Association at a cost of \$25,000 per year, and cheap at that, the bosses say. The man who did the job is a social worker type, and teaches classes in labor problems at the University of Washington. Not so incongruous when one remembers the Longshoremen's strike in 1921 with university students acting as scabs and being hailed as patriots by pulpit and press. The company union pays the union scale and has a preferred list of loyal employes. The International Longshoremen's Association has a small local kept together largely by work gotten through the Port of Seattle. In Tacoma, Everett and Grays Harbor it has some strength. And yet here in Seattle members well remember when innocent looking packing boxes which proved to contain arms for the White Guard Kolchak in Siberia were refused loading by the union as a demonstration of solidarity with the Russian workers.

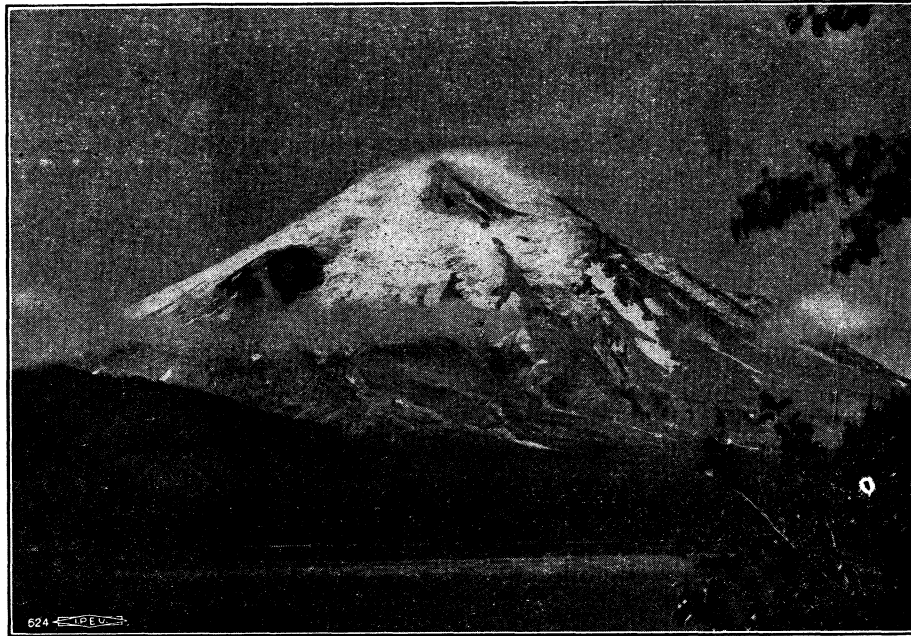
### Auto Mechanics Are Organized

The metal trades, once so powerful, are almost entirely without agreements though a number of firms pay the scale. Many good mechanics are working at 50 and 60 cents per hour. The auto mechanics under the leadership of "Jimmy" Duncan have de-

veloped a fair membership and improved conditions in the small garages. Credit must be given to the teamsters for insisting on union mechanics for their truck repairs and for some degree of energy in organizing a couple of new drivers' locals.

The laundry workers have an asset of considerable value in the Mutual Laundry controlled by the union. It helped the union win a critical strike and it may be needed again. The dan-

### HEIGHTS TO BE ATTAINED



Courtesy Northern Pacific Railway.

Mount St. Helens, overshadowing Seattle, might well inspire Labor to Strive for lofty ideals.

ger is that it may be lost through mismanagement or the sabotage of undercover agents of the laundry owners association.

The largest single industry here, the saw mills, are completely unorganized, though there is a small secret local of shingle weavers along the Canal. Wages in the mills range from \$3.40 to \$4 per day for common labor. There have been no strikes or protests on the part of these workers since the days of the International Union of Timber Workers, more than a decade ago. The only semblance of union activity in this line is the International Shingleweavers Union, organized independently three years ago out of a strike in Grays Harbor. It is now affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League (communist) and is attempting to build a lumber workers union but with little apparent response.

Chain stores of all types are passed up by the movement and it is conceded that the white collar slave who works long hours for a pittance on the promise of a store managership or a supervisorship is a hard bird to handle, but what about the hundreds of small manufacturing enterprises employing from a dozen to 200 workers each? Why isn't some effort made to organize these? Echo answers, Why?

Hours of labor are basically eight in most lines though overtime at straight pay is quite common. Some mills work nine hours and one large manufacturing plant on salmon canning machinery is now running two twelve hour shifts paying time and a half for all over eight hours. The minimum wage for women of \$13.20 per week as set by law tends to become the maximum except where unions like the laundry workers or the waitresses can force a higher figure.

At present the problem of unemployment is a baffling question for thousands in addition to the usual run of seasonal workers from the fishing banks, railway construction and logging operations who winter here. In the latter part of January reliable estimates indicated from 20,000 to 35,000 jobless and few have found work since.

The whole picture may look rather dismal but it is perhaps no worse than in many other sections. What makes it all look so smudgy is that the prospects were so rosy ten years ago and now a new start must be made. It must be made for the most part with new blood, for the old so-called militants are either hugging the pie-counter, or tired or moved away or dead. It must be rooted in the enthusiasm of thousands of relatively young workers who have not become cynical of the value of unions through discouraging experiences with the A. F. of



## SEATTLE—THE NORTHWESTERN METROPOLIS



Courtesy Northern Pacific Railway

The rehabilitation of the Labor Movement to keep pace with the growth of this city depends on the effective application of the progressive program.

L. or the I. W. W. True, some of the old leaders may come back to help, perhaps not to lead so much, and a lot of former unionists will be found among the rank and file when the army begins to move forward but the driving force will be the fresh workers.

At the present time two general programs are being presented in the Northwest. That of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and that of the Communists. The latter have their propaganda meetings on the "skid-road" almost every night with special appeal to the lumber jack and the marine transport worker. Results seem very small. Their hall meetings are well attended with a sprinkling of students and a large foreign born element. There are as many ex-communists wandering around outside any organization as there are active party-members.

The C. P. L. A. program is presented through the Seattle Labor College with its Sunday night open forum, its speakers before unions and its newspaper, THE VANGUARD. With it the emphasis is upon independent working class political action, organization of the unorganized, industrial

unionism through amalgamation, social legislation, recognition and support of the Soviet Union, international working class solidarity as against imperialism, bona-fide workers education. The response here is also slow, but the work continues on the firm belief that sooner or later the workers, organized and unorganized alike, will be ready to give up the illusion that economic improvement will come by some hocus-pocus and will be ready to support a sound industrial and political program.

### A New Morale

These progressives say that if the Seattle unions, which are fighting the various anti-union firms, expect to grow or even to hold what they have they must develop a new morale in the entire local Labor Movement. They must make unionism the biggest thing in the life of thousands of workers who now belong but to whom it is no more than a poor sort of pork-chop insurance. Thousands of new workers must be organized without obsolete craft divisions and given a pride in union membership.

This is no easy task, not one to be accomplished over-night. It in-

volves rank and file education along lines of practical idealism. It means new concepts in the minds of union members of the possibilities in the Labor Movement for building a new social order. It means a house cleaning of stale officials who obstruct or water-down the efforts of those who are propagating these ideas in the unions. It means militant unionism instead of business unionism and back-door political back-scratching. But it would give the Labor Movement its place of dignity in the community.

Another situation similar to the war-time days of 1918-20 with labor at a premium and conscious of its power to better its condition may be a long time recurring here and may never return, but the need for meeting the problems of unemployment, low wages, unsatisfactory working conditions, old age dependence is here now with every increasing force. Seattle's militant labor tradition is a reservoir of inspiration for those who are carrying on the struggle. Rather than being discouraged because the movement has fallen back they press forward confident in the ability of the workers to regain the ground lost and to build structures of permanent form.

# Minute Men of the Industrial Army

By FRANK L. PALMER

**C**OLORADO—so often Labor's battleground—has a way of dropping from struggle to slumber and this is one of the slumber periods. The coal miners are slowly paying the debts contracted in the last fight and only occasionally mentioning the next one.

The United Mine Workers of America has completely failed to take advantage of the opportunity handed them on a silver platter by the action of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company in turning over 700 members by signing the check-off contract. Never has the Denver Labor Movement been more unanimous than in its support of the selling campaign of the Rocky Mountain—yet not a single new mine has been unionized nor has the membership been increased beyond the Rocky Mountain's borders. The usual Lewis tactics are in evidence—a fighting organizer like Powers Hapgood is kept out of the "regular" U. M. W. A. so that the lily-pures might not be tainted with a hint of pink but no effort is made to get the rank and file into the union.

The result is that there are probably as many I. W. W.s in the coal mines as U. M. W. A. members, with neither showing the slightest possibility of attaining such strength as to suggest collective bargaining. The National Miners' Union (Communist) has made little effort at organization but the prediction is made that they soon will and that when they do they will get about as many members as either of the others and that Colorado will have something less than 1,000 members in each of three organizations and mighty little possibility of organizing the other 10,000. At least, that is how things looked before the Springfield convention. It isn't a hopeful picture. The bright spot lies in the history of Colorado coal miners—they can leap to battle as a unit in an hour and fight like hell.

## State Federation's Dilemma

The split in the United Mine Workers will bring as severe repercussions in Colorado as in Illinois, if on a much

smaller scale. The Rocky Mountain Fuel workers have followed the lead of the executives of the company in joining the U. M. W. A. and it doesn't seem possible that those executives could stand by the Lewis machine against the progressives. Their superintendent is John R. Lawson, who fought the same U. M. W. A. machine until he led an insurgent movement outside the union. Powers Hapgood, international organizer of the new union, was employed by the Rocky Mountain as an engineer when Lewis kept him out of the mines, and is in closest touch with the executives. Yet they have sold many thousands of tons of coal to trades unionists through the support of the State Federation crowd. It is possible that the State Federation itself will go with the new movement, but very doubtful in view of the whip-cracking done by William Green. It is not a pleasant dilemma for the State Federation or the Rocky Mountain.

The one outstanding characteristic of the Colorado Labor Movement for the last two years has been the movement to support friendly bosses by organizing the purchasing power of the union ranks behind their products. The amount of coal sold for the Rocky Mountain has been tremendous. Not so effective has been the effort to swing union trade to the Old Homestead bakery, which changed hands and unionized after years of scabbing. Denver has a Business Promotion Committee, with a full time secretary, engaged in this one campaign. It is largely supported by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company and if William Green keeps the leaders in line behind Lewis and the Rocky Mountain follows Howat and Hapgood, Colorado's one live activity will be likely to crash rather completely.

Just now the gloom around building trades headquarters is so thick one needs a gas mask to get through. The official report shows 43 per cent unemployed and this means close to 100 per cent in such trades as carpenters and painters. Desperate efforts were made to keep the building tradesmen out of the unemployed parade led by

the Communists but many of them attended. There is little sign of any break in the unemployment situation although there is enough government work to change the whole picture if Hoover would stop slicing boloney and saw wood. The month of April will be critical among the building trades. They are carefully kept under conservative leadership, but there is plenty of progressive spirit which will awaken under a continuation of the present employment situation.

The position of the jobless grows steadily worse. Montgomery Ward have laid off 140 in the last two weeks—and are working much of the force nights to make up for it, as one typical instance. It took the break of late fall several weeks to reach here, but conditions are growing rapidly worse now and the workers are beginning to understand the great demonstrations in the East.

## Without a Program

The regular Labor Movement is doing nothing whatever about the unemployment problem, except as a few unions are cutting down hours per week of those employed. The State Federation is so closely allied with the state and city administrations that any demands or demonstrations are quite out of the question. Powerful unions are losing out as the Musicians have, without a single effective defensive move. The whole movement faces the industrial crisis without a program and without hope. There has been no noticeable change in effort or program from the time of the high peak of employment to the present desperate situation. Unemployed workers are being driven to Communist leadership or to complete hopelessness.

Altogether the present situation in the Colorado Labor Movement is not one to cause rejoicing. As was said about the miners, the one bright spot is the history of the willingness when the time comes, to spring to battle and fight. Given the right leadership, Colorado labor would strike hard and effectively against the present intolerable economic and industrial conditions.

# Dollar A Day Labor Gluts El Paso

By HERBERT HEASLEY

*El Paso's trouble, according to the writer, seems to be the influx of cheap labor from Mexico. The remedy proposed by organized labor is exclusion. On the other hand the trouble in the Southeastern States is the influx of cheap labor from the hills, Anglo-Saxon and one-hundred per cent American, where no exclusion laws can operate. Is exclusion a remedy? What the author overlooks, and evidently the Labor Movement of El Paso as well, is the need for a sympathetic approach to these Mexican workers, instead of an attitude of hostility and exclusion, with the message of organization, just as is the need for such an approach to the workers in the Southeast. As long as the Labor Movement will consider itself "above" any identity with the problems of "greasers" American capital will continue with its policy of unlimited exploitation of the foreigner not only to the latter's hurt but to the hurt of good Americans who will find themselves either short of jobs or compelled to accept rates unspeakably low maintained by unorganized, exploited masses of workers. The author gives us a vivid picture of the social and industrial conditions prevailing in El Paso. Nowhere is there a hint of any effort towards organizing the masses of unskilled workers, either industrially or politically, as one way to meet the problem.*

EVERYTHING'S dead here. I might as well drift out to the west coast and see if I can land something!"

How many times during the past few months have you heard this expression from various of those hapless victims of Wall Street's backwash? Or, perhaps, if you are a resident of the "West Coast," you have seen hordes of the jobless turning hopeful faces eastward. In either case it's a safe bet that at least sixty per cent of these work-hunting transients will be able, after their journeying, to give you a fairly accurate description of El Paso, Texas.

Situated in the lowest natural pass in the Rockies, from whence it derives its name, El Paso (the Pass City) is unavoidably a calling point for that large percentage of coast-to-coast travellers who choose the southern route. A modern city of 117,000 population, El Paso furnishes a welcome oasis to those who have traversed the hundreds of blistering desert miles which surround it. The oasis idea is further emphasized by Juarez, Mexico, directly across the Rio Grande river from El Paso. With half-dozen saloons to every business block, a thriving distillery and brewery working overtime and no passport restrictions at the international bridges, Juarez is indeed an oasis to many vacationing or work seeking tourists.

The usual habit of the tourist is to linger in the unique environs of El Paso and Juarez for several days before tackling another stretch of desert travel. A few linger much longer, the length of their sojourn depending upon the leniency of the police court in El Paso or the *jefe politico* in Juarez when reviewing the data connected

with the tourist's association with John Barleycorn in the open. Many of today's most industrious members of the chain gangs of both cities were yesterday only plebian American tourists travelling from hither to yon.

## Many Mexicans

Regardless of the length of the tourist's stay in El Paso, he cannot but be forcibly impressed with the large numbers of Mexicans to be seen on the streets of the city. If he tarries long enough to do a bit of sight-seeing or job hunting he will be further impressed with the large numbers of Mexican people who are working in El Paso. The American residents of El Paso are, themselves, constantly impressed by this fact. Considering that 65,000 of El Paso's population are Mexicans or are of Mexican descent it isn't to be wondered at. The wonder is that El Paso has progressed so rapidly with a majority of its citizens in the cheap laboring, cheap living class.

True, this city is situated in the heart of a rich mining and cattle country while the Elephant Butte irrigation has opened thousands of acres of formerly desert land to agriculture in the upper Rio Grande Valley of which El Paso is the commercial capital. With these natural advantages municipal progress and development were inescapable for El Paso. But, the steady and continued prosperity of a city depends chiefly on the prosperity of its citizens as individuals, and a majority of El Paso's individuals are *not* prosperous.

The hearings on the Box-Johnson bill before the congressional committee recently centered the attention of the nation upon our southern border

and the facts anent the wholesale importations of cheap, peon Mexican labor are now common knowledge. Herded like sheep by exploiters of cheap labor, these Mexican immigrants have been scattered by the train load over every part of the entire western and central portions of the United States, for a long number of years. Two hundred and twenty-nine thousand were legally admitted into this country during the years 1924 to 1927 inclusive. This number would have been much greater but for the placing by the United States, in 1925, of a ten-dollar visa fee and eight-dollar head tax on such immigration.

## Reduced Immigration

In 1927 the same visa regulations that apply to European countries were applied to Mexican immigration; and adoption, at the same time, of stricter regulations by border immigration inspectors had the effect of substantially lowering the influx of cheap labor from Mexico. During the fiscal year of 1928-29 only 10,381 Mexicans were legally admitted into the United States.

Naturally, labor conditions in El Paso have been greatly affected by the city's proximity to this plentiful supply of cheap labor and the cheap labor market in El Paso long ago reached the saturation point. Thousands of Mexican-Americans and Mexicans in the city are willing and glad to work for a dollar a day and most of the industries of the city have been equally as happy to hire them for that wage. Skilled or trained workmen, of course, demand better wages, but, not many of El Paso's Mexican workers are skilled. The building trades claim the majority of those who could be classed as artisans; non-union, under-paid

Mexican brick layers, plasterers and carpenters are extensively used by several contractors in residence construction. The larger contractors, however, employ only union labor, which is principally American.

The building trades unions in El Paso, it may be added, have waged a long and steadily successful fight against the employment of non-citizen, non-union workmen by American contractors.

Rail unions with their standardized wages and system-wide working agreements are, of course, not affected by the local predominance of Mexican labor. That is to say: their wages and working conditions are not threatened; the nature of their work bars the non-English-speaking worker except to shop, war house or maintenance employment.

However, as individual citizens of El Paso, the local rail unionists, along with every other tax paying resident, keenly feel the presence in the city of the many thousand under-paid, rapidly multiplying non-tax-payers.

Taxes, for instance. El Paso's tax rate being at the highest legal limit can only be attributed to the many thousand cheap-living tax-free citizens whose burden must be borne by American tax-payers. Mexican-name families supply almost three-fourths of the children of public school age while only six per cent of the city's taxes are paid by Mexican-name residents. The registration of 17,500 pupils (of which 61 per cent, mind you, are of Mexican parentage or birth) has over-crowded the schools to the extent of forcing large numbers of pupils to part-time attendance. Many of the pupils thus

compelled to accept a part-time education are children of tax-paying Americans.

Another example: 75 per cent of El Paso's charities donations go to Mexican families. Cramped living in tenements and complete ignorance of sanitation result in crowded charity hospital wards while the baby death rate is constantly high—the highest in the United States six years ago. Dollar-a-day incomes coupled with extreme prolificness produce more poverty and want which in turn beget crime. 80 per cent of the city's crime from police court to federal docket involves Mexican defendants. Such figures explain why the most conservative annual budget of El Paso's Community Chest is always under-subscribed by thousands of dollars.

Right now there are approximately 3,000 jobless Americans in the city, though most of them are transients—El Paso's share of stock market crash victims. Many of these men would be glad to work as common laborers to stave off the wolf from their doors until the bloom of prosperity returns to Uncle Sam's own cheeks, *but*, the common laborer jobs in El Paso and the adjacent agricultural communities are held by Mexicans at wages no American could live on, not to mention sustaining his family.

In addition to his questionable value as a cheap laborer, the Mexican has his political significance. He has always played an important part in local politics, though to a lessening degree during the past several years. The herd-voting of Mexicans and their easy exploitation by politicians has made them a valuable asset to politics

and, as is presumably the case in most cities, a political asset is vastly more important in the scheme of things than is a civic detriment.

### Low Wages Check Advance

But, El Paso is awakening to the fact that the over abundance of cheap labor in the city is a hindrance to its progress. Shedding its provincialism, El Paso is coming rapidly to the front. 1929 was a record year for the number of building permits issued. Branch factories of several national industries have recently been located here; numbers of new buildings of the skyscraper variety are being erected in the down-town district while dozens of new homes are rapidly filling the blank spaces on the municipal map. Naturally, these enterprises are furnishing employment to additional hundreds of American workers.

With over 300 days of sunshine each year, at an altitude of 3,700 feet, El Pasoans are enjoyably situated in the most healthful climate of the nation, California and Florida to the contrary notwithstanding! A majority of the American workers here own their own homes while those who do not, find that rental charges are reasonable. A sharp contrast between these homes and the homes of cheap labor in south El Paso! And a sharper contrast between the standards of living of the two sections of the city!

As yet, El Paso has hardly felt the sharpness of the unemployment plague existing throughout the country, though the railroads have begun to reduce their forces here. El Pasoans are reminded, however, that such a situation does exist by the unprecedented number of tramps and "panhandlers" to be encountered on the streets. Afoot or in decrepit flivvers on the highways; in "side door Pullmans" or "brake-rod berths" they pass through El Paso by the hundreds daily, going to or coming from the "West Coast," despairing hope written on their faces. Of those who tarry here, perhaps one out of every thousand will find work in El Paso; but the chances are, he will not.

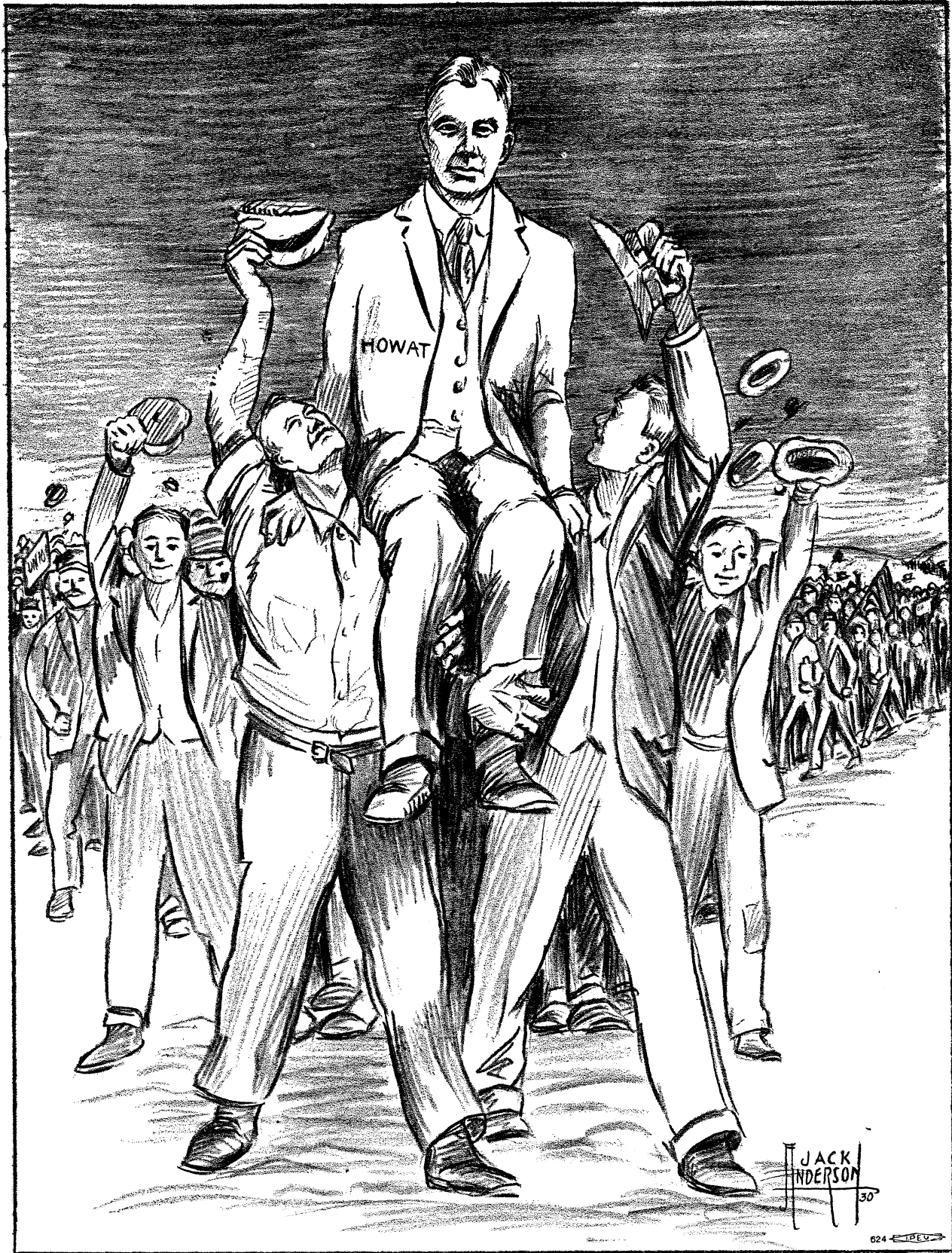
It might occur to some of these unfortunates that, with the many citizens of Mexico to be seen earning a livelihood in El Paso, there are undoubtedly employment vacancies in their native land, created by their numerous absences. The American job hunter may perhaps be desperate enough to cross the river and try to get a job in Juarez or some other Mexican city, but the chances are he will be out of luck.

### MEXICAN LABORERS AT WORK



This plentiful supply of low paid workers, utilized by Southwestern industry, is entirely overlooked in the organizing programs of the local Labor Movements.

# The Miners' Choice



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson

Alexander Howat, elected president of the United Mine Workers of the Springfield convention, has the confidence of the rank and file.

# Miners Grapple With Lewisism

By A. J. MUSTE

ON March 10 at about 9:30 in the morning 1,000 miners (500 of them delegates with credentials from their local unions) met in Springfield, Illinois, elected Alexander Howat, fighting leader of the Kansas miners, as their convention president, declared themselves the United Mine Workers of America, and adopted a constitution. They had come in response to a call signed by a score of prominent bituminous coal miner leaders, which asserted that the constitution of the U. M. W. had lapsed in 1929, that John L. Lewis and his colleagues in the officialdom of that organization had no right to their offices, and that the union could be reconstructed only by responsible groups of miners meeting together for that purpose.

The Springfield convention got its constitution adopted just about forty minutes before the convention which John L. Lewis had called to meet in Indianapolis on the same day declared that a referendum taken some months ago to postpone the meeting of the regular convention of the organization was legal, that, therefore, the old constitution was still in effect, and that John L. Lewis and his colleagues were the only legitimate officials of the organization. This convention has taken steps to outlaw those who called the Springfield meeting. There are thus two groups now claiming to be the United Mine Workers of America.

At the outset it can be confidently asserted that there was a convention at Springfield, not merely a week of mass meetings. Careful investigation indicates that fully two-thirds of the dues-paying bituminous membership left in the U. M. W. was represented at Springfield, less than one-third in Indianapolis. The Springfield movement is not the ordinary type of "dual union" movement inspired primarily by some radical philosophy and intent upon destroying existing unions. It is a movement of miners and their leaders who desire primarily to see an industrial union in their industry, who believe that the old U. M. W. administration, because of dishonesty, autocracy and inefficiency, has failed miserably at the task, and who desire to live in friendship with other unions in the United States.

Among the leaders at the Springfield convention were radical progressives such as Alexander Howat, John Brophy and Powers Hapgood; moderates such as Adolph Germer, and conservatives such as John H. Walker, or to cite more extreme examples, Oral Daugherty and Frank Bender of Ohio, men whose general orientation is every bit as far to the right as that of William Green or Matthew Woll, but who united whole-heartedly with the other types mentioned in order to get what they feel is so desperately needed and cannot be gotten under the Lewis regime—a union. The same is true of the rank and file; every element was there except Communists. Furthermore, with possibly one or two exceptions, all these elements were united at the close of the convention and more enthusiastic about the project than at any previous moment. This movement, therefore, will have to be taken seriously.

What title has it to the respect, interest and support of progressive laborites? What chances has it to succeed in overthrowing the Lewis leadership among the bituminous miners, and building a union for this industry? What are the problems and obstacles which it must face?

## Is the New Movement Progressive?

In our analysis of the miners' situation in LABOR AGE for March on the eve of the two conventions, we suggested that only a progressive, fighting, clean, intelligent industrial union could possibly unionize the coal industry and that if such a union were to get under way in coal, a similar movement in steel, textiles, automobiles, etc., might follow. These unions might then turn to political action to achieve their larger aims and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action program might become the program of a mass movement. Have we any reason for expecting that the hope there tentatively expressed may be realized, or are any hopes we may have cherished now doomed to disappointment?

1. In the first place, the Springfield convention did a good deal to democratize the constitution of the miners' union, and to make more difficult the

establishment of an official autocracy such as has dominated the U. M. W. for some years. Under the old constitution the president had sole power to appoint organizers and to use them frequently as a political machine—to build political fences, for example, in organized districts rather than carry on the arduous and dangerous task of organizing in non-union fields. Under the new constitution this power is considerably curbed. In organized districts organizers will be elected and the president will pick men he thinks suitable from this slate. In any case he cannot under the new constitution use national organizers in self-sustaining districts except with the consent of the district.

Officers are elected by referendum as under the old constitution but the new one makes provision for recall. The National Executive Board will consist in the future of the presidents of the self-sustaining districts who are elected by their membership, and this will have the effect of further curbing the appointive power of the national president. There is more definite provision for hearing pleas from members and subordinate units against which charges are brought. Lewis' salary was put at \$12,000 some years ago while the miners were on strike and thousands starving, and it remains there by vote of the convention just held in Indianapolis. Howat's salary under the new constitution is \$5,000 per year and the other officers get less.

These are clear gains, and it is difficult to see what more could reasonably be asked for along this line.

2. Certain personalities in whom progressives can have full confidence took a large part in the convention and most of them are prominent figures in the new organization. Foremost among them, of course, is Alexander Howat. There would have been no convention if Howat had not signed the call, and it would have been a much less representative assembly than it was, if during the critical ten days before it convened, Howat had not gone personally into the thickly settled coal districts in Southern Illinois and assured the rank and file there that this movement was on the level and worthy of their confidence.

He is the one mine leader whose mere name will rally thousands of miners. He has always sought to serve the rank and file and they instinctively trust him. He has been plain, simple, forthright, their kind of man. He has shown by his years of fight against the Kansas Industrial Court law that he has the courage to defy the state when it becomes an instrument of oppression, and to go to jail for his convictions rather than yield his ground. Others may have more profound and subtle brains, more knowledge of the industry, more diplomatic skill, may have to a greater extent the confidence of the coal operators. No one has the confidence of the rank and file as has Howat, and that is the first essential.

This may be added, that though apparently not so clever, and certainly not so learned as some, Howat during a long career has proved that he is nobody's fool. No one has ever been able to make him accept a policy or program against his instincts. With such a leader the movement, from the standpoint of progressives, may be expected to go far and to prove hardy enough to survive certain handicaps.

### **Hapgood and Daech Appointed Organizers**

To mention other progressives, John Brophy was secretary of the Resolutions Committee and Powers Hapgood, secretary of the Committee on Constitution. Hapgood is to be a member of the National Policy Committee, which has to do with making contracts with the operators, and for the present is also practically the National Executive Board. William Daech, who is a Brookwood graduate, who was president of Sub-District 5 in Illinois when Tom Tippet's famous project in workers education was launched there, who when driven out of the mines by the machinations of miners' officials, did not turn insurance or real estate agent, but found work where he could—in the automobile industry and elsewhere—and who led the "opposition" on the floor of the convention, was elected to the National Policy Committee from the all-important Illinois district by an overwhelming vote. There was drama about Daech's appearance at the convention, for he came with a credential from his local at Panama, Ill., where John L. Lewis has his membership, and had swung that local over to the Springfield convention. Daech won his election to the National Policy Committee in spite of his open and aggressive opposition on the floor of

the convention to the seating of Farrington and other measures in which the machine was interested. Furthermore, both Hapgood and Daech have been appointed national organizers and are soon to go to work in non-union fields.

3. A union, however, needs in addition to leaders who are distinguished for militancy and honesty, men who have made a thorough study of the industry and can plan long-time strategy and have diplomatic skill and years of experience. Can the new union command talent of this kind? The answer appears to be in the affirmative. John H. Walker, for example, would seem to meet these requirements. He was one of the signers of the call, served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee and was unanimously chosen as Secretary-Treasurer of the new organization. In his later years Walker has been pretty close to the A. F. of L. official family and he has been guilty of certain acts and utterances which progressives will not lightly condone. On the other hand, these very associations will serve to inspire confidence in the new movement during its critical early stages, in men who otherwise might be utterly skeptical as to its possibilities. In all fairness, too, it must be said that Walker leaves an easy position as president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for a tough one, and a big salary for a small one. The indications are that he is moved by a genuine interest in the welfare of the coal diggers, especially in Illinois, from whose midst he sprung, and to whose cause he devoted himself unstintedly in his early idealistic years.


In addition to Walker, there are such men as Adolph Germer, who was a signer of the convention call and was elected Vice President over Powers Hapgood by a large vote. Germer has had years of experience in the miners' union and the Socialist movement, and there is no blot of crookedness on his record. To many it will seem unfortunate that in the Springfield convention he voted for the seating of Frank Farrington, a matter on which we shall have more to say. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that he has many important and useful qualifications. The same will hold for Oscar Ameringer, editor of the ILLINOIS MINER, who though not a member of the union, played a large part in bringing about the convention and will naturally wield considerable influence in the new organization. In this connection Frank Farrington may

be mentioned. It is possible that he will not be in the foreground as an official of the union. He will certainly be in the background of the picture at least, and he has perhaps an unrivaled knowledge of the industry, has demonstrated skill in dealing with the operators, as an administrator and a manager of men, and has a real and very forceful personality.

### **A Labor Leader Vindicates His Honor**

4. Mention of the name of Frank Farrington brings forward the one big disturbing question-mark left by the Springfield convention. Readers of LABOR AGE will remember that the labor world was startled in the summer of 1926 by an announcement from John L. Lewis to the effect that Frank Farrington, at that time president of the Illinois miners and on a trip to Europe to open the Samuel Gompers' room in the labor office of the League of Nations, and to represent the A. F. of L. at the British Trade Union Congress, had signed a contract with the Peabody coal interests to work for them for three years at a salary of \$25,000 per year, the contract to go into effect on Farrington's resignation from the presidency of the Illinois district, U. M. W. of A. At the demand of his district Executive Board, Farrington resigned as president of the district when this news broke, and lost his membership in the miners' union. After some months he returned to the United States but made no effort to explain his actions until in 1929 his three-year contract with the Peabody interests expired, whereupon he began a violent attack on Lewis, charging that by his dishonesty, autocracy and inefficiency he had brought the miners' union to the point of disintegration. Farrington also regained membership in the Streator, Illinois, local of the U. M. W., probably contrary to the U. M. W. constitution, for he did not go back to work in the mine. The Streator local gave him a credential as a delegate to the Springfield convention. His credential was questioned. There was a terrific debate on the floor of the convention when the Credentials Committee reported in favor of seating him, on the ground that the credential was in regular form, that the Streator local was entitled to representation by a delegate chosen by itself, and that no formal charges had been preferred against Farrington. In the course of the debate Farrington himself made a four-hour



624   
 Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

**“MY, BUT YOU MUST HAVE BEEN SICK”**

The plight of the miners' union is even worse than our cartoonist portrays. Latest information from the Indianapolis convention shows the actual dues paying membership to be 157,000 instead of 200,000.

speech in which he pleaded that he be seated, since otherwise the stigma of disgrace would be placed not only upon him but on his wife and children. The vote on seating him was 225 for and 145 against.

Taking Farrington's own account of what happened, the best one can say is that Farrington became convinced in 1926 that union miners would have to take a cut in wages in order to equalize competitive conditions with the non-union fields and prevent withdrawing of all work from the former. But Lewis would not agree to take a cut so long as Farrington was in the union, because a wage cut would be unpopular and Farrington would take advantage of this and un-

seat Lewis from the presidency of the U. M. W. So Farrington, already tired after years of fighting, and discouraged with the developments in the Union, decided to eliminate himself.

But, of course, questions at once arise. Was there no way to eliminate himself except to take a \$75,000 contract with a coal company operating both non-union and union mines? Assuming that he was sincere, still is it not a fact that by eliminating himself, he left the miners at a most critical point in their history in the hands of John L. Lewis, whom he regards as a crook, and of Harry Fishwick, president of the Illinois miners, whom he regards as hopelessly incompetent? How much of a service was that ren-

dering to the miners? Moreover, according to his own statement, Farrington did not do a stroke of work in return for his \$75,000. Then this payment takes on the character of a bribe, does it not? And people are bound to ask, if Farrington did no open and above-board work for this huge sum, what did the Peabody interests get for it? As one of the delegates at Springfield said: "We never have known an operator to give away anything, much less \$75,000." And if there is nothing hidden under the surface and it was simply worth \$75,000 to Peabody to eliminate Farrington from the miners' union at a critical time, then we are back at our first question, did Farrington render any service to the miners by eliminating himself? If not, did he then grossly miscalculate the effect of his action? Or did his own interest and comfort have first consideration? "Whichever way you take it," as one miner put it, "it is a frightful mess."

On the very important matter then of freedom from corruption or a suspicion of it, the new movement does not start in with an entirely clean slate, for in addition to this puzzling Peabody episode, informed persons among the Illinois miners contend that brilliant as it may have been in many respects, Farrington's career as president of the Illinois miners was by no means free from the practice of vote-stealing, padded expense accounts, undemocratic procedure against members, etc., which furnish so large a part of the new government's indictment against Lewis. Certainly, it seems to impartial observers that Farrington and the new movement have put a club into Lewis' hands made to his order, for that this movement is simply an attempt on the part of Farrington, "who sold out to the operators," to win back power among the miners and renew his attack on Lewis, has been the latter's contention from the beginning.

To the argument that you cannot expect perfection in this sad old world, or judge trade union leaders in the midst of our corrupt American culture by an absolutist standard, and that honesty in financial matters is by no means the only qualification of labor leaders, the answer of progressives is: We grant all that and we are not prepared to repudiate this movement off-hand because of this one incident, particularly because the Indianapolis convention failed to revise the constitution on a single one of the points which have caused so much trouble



in the miners' union. Nevertheless, we cannot stand by without voicing a protest and a warning. Large sections of our American trade union movement, as well as our political life, are infected with this germ of corruption. The evil has assumed alarming proportions. It is doubtful whether unions can be built upon such a foundation. It is certain that you cannot build a Labor Movement on it. In any event, why run all the risks involved in launching a revolt against an old established union, which after all, has considerable achievements to its credit, if in so important a particular there is to be no real difference between the old and the new?

**Must Show Results**

5. To offset this disturbing reflection are two considerations of a hopeful character. For one thing, the new movement will encounter vigorous opposition from the Lewis administration, the operators in the non-union fields, etc. That opposition is likely to put it on its mettle, and if it has any life in it at all, to stimulate it to vigorous action. In the second place, an established organization is always subject to the temptation to sit down and take things easy, and can to a certain extent live on its past achievements; a new organization, on the other hand, must do something positive to justify its existence. It must show results.

There remains the very important question as to whether the Springfield movement (whether in itself commendable or not) has a chance to succeed or even to survive. What hurdles must it take, what problems must it solve?

**Fight Is On**

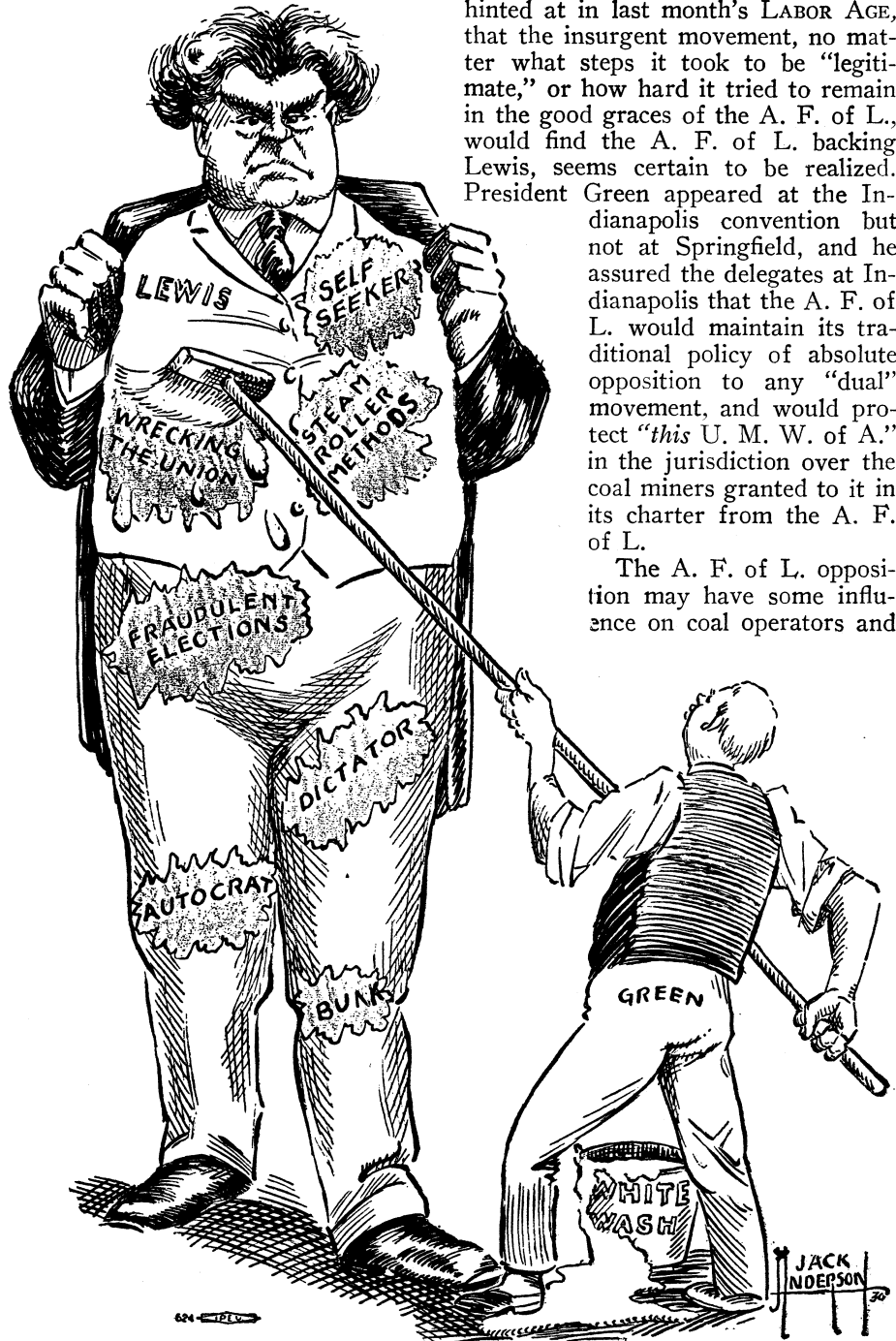
First, it must face the bitter opposition of Lewis and his administration. Any idea that a peace might be patched up between the two groups seems to have been definitely ruled out. (This is assuming for the time being that the movement is not, as some charge, simply and solely a fresh episode in the long-standing feud between Lewis and Farrington, in which case, of course, it is unworthy of any serious attention.) Of course, some of the members, and a few of the leaders will be given a chance to make their peace with the Lewis administration, but the fight to eliminate the insurgents from the control of Illinois and Kansas will certainly be carried through. That fight will not be child's play. Lewis is not hopelessly down and out. He appears to have a treas-

ury of several hundred thousand dollars, possibly nearly a million. His fellow-officers in the U. M. W. are standing by him to a man. The anthracite membership of approximately 100,000 sent full delegations to Indianapolis and none to Springfield. The anthracite districts are by no means, of course, free from unrest, but there are no present indications that there will be any substantial revolt against the national administration. It may be, however, that the amount of direct aid, financial and otherwise, Lewis can

get from the anthracite will be small, because the contract there expires at the end of August, and there will be a strong disposition to conserve all resources for the conflict that may ensue. Lewis, too, will have to give a good deal of thought to this situation, and may not have sufficient money and energy left to achieve control in Illinois, for example, unless he can do so by a series of swift strokes in the immediate future, while the expiration of the anthracite contract is still fairly distant.

In the next place, the possibility hinted at in last month's LABOR AGE, that the insurgent movement, no matter what steps it took to be "legitimate," or how hard it tried to remain in the good graces of the A. F. of L., would find the A. F. of L. backing Lewis, seems certain to be realized. President Green appeared at the Indianapolis convention but not at Springfield, and he assured the delegates at Indianapolis that the A. F. of L. would maintain its traditional policy of absolute opposition to any "dual" movement, and would protect "this U. M. W. of A." in the jurisdiction over the coal miners granted to it in its charter from the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. opposition may have some influence on coal operators and



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

**OFFICIALLY O. K.'d**

employing interests generally, who hold that the A. F. of L. is a "safe" organization to deal with, and are inclined to suspect any opposition movement as not so safe. A. F. of L. opposition may complicate the advancement of the legislative program of the miners in certain states, but on the whole, other crafts are probably as much in need of the miners' support, as the miners are of theirs. They will probably make up their own minds, and the attitude of state federations, city central bodies, the A. F. of L. is not likely to be a very important factor. In the organized districts of Illinois and Kansas the official A. F. of L. attitude is not likely to be a determining factor one way or the other in the minds of the miners.

What of the operators? In answer to a question put to him just before the Springfield convention as to whom the operators would be for, a prominent mine leader said: "The operators will be for the operators!" If they can take advantage of the internal strife in Illinois, for example, to break up the union altogether and get an open shop or company union, they will doubtlessly do it. In this connection it must be borne in mind also that when you deal with the coal industry today, you are dealing, directly or indirectly, with the utilities' interests, the steel trust, the railroad corporations, all of which are getting their coal for nearly nothing, at the expense of the miners, under present conditions. In other words, to organize coal, you have to deal with the same powerful trustified interests which, in other fields, have crushed nearly every attempt at organization. In the crucial district of Illinois, however, the burden of proof is on the Lewis regime. The contract is with the Illinois district. The union tradition in the state is so strong that the operators probably calculate that the absence of a union would mean anarchy and not peace. It seems certain also that a bitter factional fight among the miners would have a disturbing effect on the industry, and on the whole, the operators may line up with the status-quo, that is, with the district against Lewis, at least to the extent of not putting obstacles in the way of the district, or attempting to break the present contract.

### Illinois Is Crucial Center

This brings us right up to the point that the real struggle will be for the allegiance of the rank and file of the 53,000 miners of Illinois. Lewis will bring in men, money and force. He has a big hold in the Peoria sub-district, and

some hold still in the much larger West Frankfort district in the southern part of the state, though a considerable number of unions from that section sent their delegates to Springfield after Howat's visit. On the other hand, the district for the present, as already stated, has the contract with the operators—a contract which still has some time to run—and could make it uncomfortable for miners who flaunt its discipline. The district also pays a death benefit of \$300 and a lot of miners will hesitate risking the loss of that sum as a result of insubordination to the district organization. There is no doubt that the vast majority of the membership of the district was represented at Springfield, and that the delegates went home on the whole pretty well satisfied with what had been done, and that there is a vast amount of bitterness against Lewis among the Illinois membership. The only serious qualification that needs to be entered here has to do with the Farrington case. If the vote of 225 to 145 is analyzed, it appears that the rank and file delegates from Illinois at Springfield may have voted against the seating, and certainly came very near to it, for the 225 votes for Farrington included nearly every paid official of the district and of its sub-districts (John Hindmarsh, the president of the Springfield sub-district, being the outstanding exception) and most of the delegates from the outlying districts with the exception of Kansas. At the present writing it still appears that these delegates will, despite the Farrington incident, report favorably to the membership, if only because if they repudiate the Springfield convention, it is difficult to see

what alternative they have to offer the membership. There is a fair chance then that the insurgent group may hold the Illinois membership.

If it does, and if with that prestige it goes with a militant rousing message and with the personalities of such men as Howat and Hapgood to the rank and file of miners in the non-union states, it may win the confidence of the latter and succeed in organizing them. Conditions in the non-union fields are bad. There is undeniably a spirit of revolt among the workers in the United States at the present time, particularly in depressed industries such as coal and textiles. Some steps will probably have to be taken to stabilize the industry, and to some operators it may seem desirable to have pressure brought to bear by labor in order to accomplish that end.

When all is said and done, however, the primary problem remains that of winning the confidence of the rank and file of the coal miners of the country. Can they be won to the new movement? If it does not have to absorb too much of its energy in the struggle to hold Illinois, if it can draw upon its membership for a large-scale, vigorous campaign of organization, if it displays intelligence, courage and militancy, it has a chance. All those who have the interests of American labor at heart will watch the outcome with bated breath. If we are to have a Labor Movement in this country, it will have to be built by the workers in the basic industries. Whether the workers in the basic industries will build a movement in the present generation may depend on the outcome of the struggle in the coal fields.

## The Background of Southern Organization

and the Story of the Strike in Gastonia, N. C.,

including a detailed account of mob lawlessness, and the trial and conviction of the strike leaders, is told in

### GASTONIA

*A Graphic Chapter in Southern Organization*

By JESSIE LLOYD

Federated Press Correspondent and Eye-Witness to most of the events she describes

Pamphlet No. 4

in the Progressive Labor Library Series

No. 1. Why A Labor Party  
By A. J. MUSTE

No. 2. The Marion Murder  
No. 3. The Negro Worker  
By ABRAM L. HARRIS

10 cents each — — 6 cents each for 25 or more  
5 cents each for bundles of 100 or more

**Conference for Progressive Labor Action**

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

# Flashes from the Labor World

By this time even President Hoover and his chorus of optimistic shouters have been forced to admit that the elusive lady, "Prosperity," is somewhere about but nowhere in sight. President Hoover, Secretary of Labor Davis and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon report now and again that they are on her trail, but actually, figures from every section of the country belie the hope they hold out that good times are just in the offing.

Charity organizations were forced to dole out double the amount of relief to victims of the depression during January of 1930 as compared with the same period last year, according to the Family Welfare Association of America, comprising returns from 100 cities. From 32 cities was reported a 200 per cent gain in the number of destitute families in which unemployment was a factor in the 12-month period since January, 1929. Only in five cities were prospects for alleviation of unemployment declared "good;" 28 reported some improvement expected, but 15 could see no chance for the better despite the coming of spring.

Various estimates place the cost to the country of the present unemployment situation of between five million dollars to 90 million dollars a month. To those who gauge the cost by the amount of relief handed out the first figure is acceptable. To the social engineer, on the other hand, who figures the cost by the amount of unused energy of five million unemployed and five million partly employed workers the higher estimate is the right one.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile the unemployed demonstrations held throughout the country on March 6, met with varying degrees of police brutality. In a few instances, where the officials kept their heads and permitted the demonstrators to carry out their program without interference, the unemployed met, paraded and went home. In most cities, however, the demonstrations were met with wholesale clubbings which turned the gatherings into shambles. The worst demonstration of Czaristic methods occurred in New York City under the direction of the dapper Police Commissioner Grover Whalen. Police, on foot, mounted on horses and armored motorcycles rode into the demonstrators massed in Union Square and within ten minutes turned it into the biggest police riot the metropolis has witnessed. By the time the 500 police, uniformed and in plain clothes,

had finished their job, scores of those present had been bruised and injured and several cruelly beaten by gangs of professional bruisers.

The most sinister part of the whole affair was the boasting of the immature Police Commissioner that he had his own under cover men planted among the protestants who got busy with their concealed billies at the first opportunity. All the decent elements were aroused later to protest when Mr. Whalen offered to

## SLAIN STRIKER



Carl Mackley, victim of industrial warfare in Philadelphia. Public protest compelled the H. C. Aberle Hosiery mill to arrive at a settlement with the Hosiery union.

give to employers the names of alleged communists in order to have them dismissed from their jobs. This was Czar Whalen's method of dealing with the unemployment situation.

\* \* \*

Matt Woll, best known as Acting President of the National Civic Federation, notorious open shop conclave, and also Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, struck a snag in his attempt to arouse the public in fear of a "red invasion" when his bombastic charges that Moscow sent \$1,250,000 to this country to foment riots were challenged in the Senate by Wheeler of Montana and LaFollette of Wisconsin. Wheeler suggested that Woll should be summoned before the Senate lobby commit-

tee to present his facts. He stated that possibly Woll and his assistant, Michael J. Flynn, were working for the Republican national committee. Woll is chairman and Flynn secretary of a high-tariff lobby known as America's Wage Earners' Protective League with which the Grundy tariff lobby was shown to be in correspondence.

Senator LaFollette protested as a grave injustice to millions of men and women who are out of work and honestly seeking it, "to drag across the trail of this serious situation the red herring of an anti-Communist campaign. It reminds us of the tactics of the Attorney Generals Palmer and Daugherty. Under their regime, whenever there occurred a dispute between capital and labor, the effort was made by the Department to make the public believe that we were about to be overwhelmed by reds."

Somehow or other Woll's terrible fright didn't communicate itself to the rest of the country and after enjoying the front page of the newspapers for a day or so his fulminations were relegated to the basket of lost causes.

\* \* \*

The desire for red baiters and dictators to obtain a law that will give them complete control over labor by the passage of an alien registration bill has again been balked, for another year at least. At a hearing before the Senate immigration committee, the Blease bill only found two spokesmen, Captain Trevor, representing the New York Chamber of Commerce, and Assistant Secretary of Labor Husband, appearing for Secretary of Labor Davis.

No representative of the American Federation of Labor was present to oppose the measure, but there were sufficient friends of civil liberties in opposition to bury the bill beyond recall.

Those who took up the cudgel for the workers were Amos Pinchot of New York City, Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, former representative Nathan Perlman of New York, Reed Lewis of the Foreign Language Information Bureau, Max J. Kohler of the American Jewish Committee and the Rev. Thomas Burgess of the National Council of Episcopal Churches.

\* \* \*

In spite of the fact that President Green of the A. F. of L. assured the southern employers that no violence would accompany their organizing efforts,

trouble again developed in Elizabethton, N. C., when the workers revolted against the company union which the American Bemberg Glanzstoff executives tried to foist on them.

About 70 per cent of the employes went out on strike on March 3, when the company began to fire union operatives. Since then one sheriff resigned rather than use unlawful methods for breaking up the picket lines and a church, in which union men were holding services, was attacked with tear gas bombs almost causing wholesale deaths as those attacked stampeded out of the hall in panic. Women and children were injured and two labor leaders badly gassed.

Paul Aymon, President of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and Paul Fuller of the Workers Education Bureau are in charge.

\* \* \*

The five weeks' strike against the Aberle mills, Philadelphia, Pa., officially ended when the mill officials accepted arbitration as a basis for the return of the workers. No labor conflict in the history of the Quaker City aroused as much public sentiment as did this battle of the hosiery workers. Fourteen hundred men and women were involved in the struggle and though from the very outset the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers called for arbitration, the Aberle people were adamant in their refusal, threatening to close their Philadelphia mill and move their interests South if the workers would refuse to return to their jobs.

The killing of an enthusiastic young union man, Carl Mackley, by strike-breakers was the turning point in the struggle. The union staged a demonstration on the day of Mackley's funeral that was the most impressive of any labor demonstration held in the Northeast. Over fifty thousand people, standing bareheaded before the boy's coffin, swore to uphold the fight for the union regardless of the consequences to themselves, even though they be forced to make the same sacrifice.

Practically every other window of the workers' homes in the Northeast where the textile industry is concentrated flew an American flag at half mast. Business men showed their sympathy by placing American flags bordered with black bunting on the sidewalks in front of their stores.

After this demonstration of labor solidarity the demands for arbitration became so pressing that the employers were forced to succumb to public opinion. The workers returned without any of their grievances having been met but with the promise that no strike leaders

## A MECHANICAL DINOSAUR

*"And there will be gnashing of teeth."*

*This phrase repeatedly rang in my ears,  
Surged through my being  
As fascinated I watched the huge  
teeth*

*Of the Monster Tractor sink into the  
soil,*

*Uprooting earth that had lain dormant  
through years*

*Its face but a foot-rest for humanity,  
Crushed with the pressure of restless,  
careless feet.*

*This greedy mechanical dinosaur,  
A product of our machine age!*

*This displacer of men!*

*Ever ready to sink its sharp metallic  
fangs*

*Into the very bowels of the earth if  
need be.*

*With its tireless, voracious lust for  
work*

*Who robs men of food, clothing and  
shelter!*

*The so-called liberator of human labor!  
It is also but a tool of the captains of  
industry,*

*The exploiters of labor,*

*A more efficient tool of labor competi-  
tion,*

*Its real mission unfulfilled*

*While in the hands of shrewd, calcu-  
lating capitalists*

*Used as a means of cheapening labor  
power*

*A machine to enslave and not to free.  
Liberate the machine from the hands  
Of private property!*

*Make it the property of humanity!*

CARMEN LUCIA.

will be victimized and a new wage scale will be introduced.

\* \* \*

North Carolina's justice continues to enjoy a wayward career. Having safely stowed away strike leaders who participated in the Gastonia uprising which resulted in the killing of Chief of Police Aderholt, the citizens of that enlightened commonwealth considered a job well done and refused to jeopardize the liberties of its own people.

The five members of the mob, held for trial in the killing of Ella May Wiggins, the Bessemer City union woman shot to death September 14 while on the way to a union meeting, were freed. This is the second time that a jury found no one responsible for this woman's death.

Well-drilled witnesses marshalled by the Loray defense counsel testified monotonously to fake alibis; those at the scene of the murder, where the union truck was surrounded by a score or more

of autos filled with mobsters, recited stories of "happening" to be passing by and stopping to see an auto accident. The few who testified they heard a shot said that Ella May was killed by one of her fellow workers.

North Carolina's record of justice in labor disputes shows seven organizers condemned to prison for terms of from 5 to 20 years for defending the Loray Mill strikers' tent colony. Mobs composed of business men carried on a reign of terror which resulted in a few indictments for kidnapping and flogging, but in no convictions. On the other hand, many strikers were framed on various counts and sentenced to jail.

Josephus Daniels, editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, in an editorial entitled "The State Is Shamed," comments bitterly on the acquittal of the slayers of Ella May Wiggins.

"The state is shamed," the editorial reads, "Murder is unpunished. North Carolina bows its head. The murder of the chief of police is avenged. Convictions followed the killing of officials. The whipping of union men and the murder of unimportant Ella May Wiggins escape. Law seems to be a respecter of persons. It cannot be pictured as a blind goddess holding equally the scales of justice until the men who killed Ella May Wiggins have justice meted out to them.

"Ella May Wiggins, cruelly done to death, sleeps in an unmarked grave in Gaston county. She was an humble textile worker, who joined a union in the hope of bettering her own good and the condition of her fellow-mill workers. Her orphan children are cared for in an asylum."

(Prepared from Federated Press Reports)

As we go to press we hear with deep sorrow of the untimely death of Harold Z. Brown, field representative and business manager of Labor's News, connected with the Federated Press. He suffered a nervous breakdown in the line of his duties which was directly responsible for his death at the age of 28.

Mr. Brown, for several years executive secretary of Commonwealth College, a workers school in Arkansas, joined the Federated Press staff in 1929. Through his efforts the income of this labor news service was increased immeasurably.

Harold Z. Brown, as can be readily understood, enjoyed wide contacts in the labor and radical movements. He is survived by his widow, Ruth Sutherland, his parents and a sister.

# The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT



Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

SOME of our friends believe we should confine ourselves to the facts regarding the machine. But the machine does more than displace labor. It gives rise to new ideas. It creates a machine ideology. While giving the facts why not expose the sophistry contained in the latter? Why not be interpretive or expository, as well as recordal, lest the displaced workers become psychologically enslaved by the new ideology?

\* \* \*

There's Spencer Miller, Secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America. He's a horrible instance. Addressing the recent National Negro Labor Conference, he referred to "the vastly increased leisure which is one of the by-products of the machine age." A married worker, rendered jobless by the machine, with plenty of idleness on his hands and faced with endless worries, asked, "What kind of workers' education is that? We have leisure all right; but there is leisure and leisure and then some." Which is why we remark, the facts regarding labor displacement by the machine are important. But more important still are the facts regarding the new ideas centering about the machine. It is ideas that make or break the workers.

\* \* \*

"The machine creates new wants," say its exploiters for corporation profits. That's true—the want for more jobs, for instance.

\* \* \*

The modern capitalist machine ideologist is fearfully and wonderfully

contrived, mentally speaking. There's Dr. Julius Klein, Department of Commerce radio orator and prosperity whoopee maker for the Hooverian regime. He believes that "the new jobs brought into being by our steadily mounting level of living should eventually take care of all men and women displaced by the machine." But the trouble with that argument is that it is in the very industries that are influenced most by "the mounting level of living" that the labor displacement is most pronounced. Take the auto industry, for instance; is there another industry more reflective of "the steadily mounting level of living?" Decidedly not! Nevertheless, Dr. Klein can tell us some startling things about the auto industry and still get off the views that he does. For instance, he tells us of a mid-west plant where about 200 workers turn out 7,000 to 9,000 auto bodies a day, thanks to automatic machinery; while in Germany, where no such mechanical perfection has as yet been attained 200 workers turn out only 35 bodies. It requires no great imagination to see how little Dr. Klein's argument will hold water in the face of such tendencies in "the new jobs brought into being by the steadily mounting level of living." Radio, movies, and other new industries, or jobs, point the same moral.

\* \* \*

Ludwell Denny, author of "America Conquers Britain: A Record of Economic War," sees Britain conquered by the superior machines of this country. In turn, he imagines Britain rising against this defeat in a struggle likely to breed another and more horrible world war. This is a phase of mechanization rarely touched upon. It leaves no doubt but that the march of the machine is in the direction of international competition and war, unless prevented by an international Labor Movement.

\* \* \*

The Union Trust Company of Detroit points to a 19.8% increase in auto production in 1929 that was accomplished by only a 3% increase in employment. Such has been the improvement in mechanical equipment that

two of the largest companies give notice that casual laborers will not be employed. The human appendage to the machine, even in its most rudimentary form, is being dispensed with by the machine.

\* \* \*

In bookbinding, in the past four or five years, new machines have begun to displace the skilled men, two skilled workers and two helpers producing as much as ten skilled mechanics formerly produced. The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders favors the five-day week as a measure of relief and public insurance against unemployment.

\* \* \*

According to Jacob Billikoff of the Philadelphia Jewish Federation, Jewish garment workers in eastern cities only averaged 27 weeks' work a year as a result of the machine process. He gives, as a reason for new low levels in the resources of indigent families, "one man can now do the work done 20 years ago by several because of labor saving machinery."

\* \* \*

A new machine in the sheet metal plant of the Oakland Motor Car Company at Pontiac, Mich., speeds up production of hood rod clips to 200 a minute.

## NEW STATISTICAL MACHINES CAN DO WORK OF 100 MEN

New statistical machines which do the work of 100 skilled men were demonstrated recently. The demonstration took place before a group of scientists at Columbia University.

One machine exhibited can compute twelve mathematical problems in a single rapid operation. It manipulates differences and powers of numbers up to the tenth. Previous tabulating machines have been able to handle only second powers of numbers.

Most of the new discoveries were made by Richard Warren and Robert M. Mendenhall, research workers at Columbia University and statistical consultants for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

# Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

## HAPPY DAYS HERE AGAIN

SPRING'S soft voices have reached the heart of Julius Barnes, High Priest extraordinary of Hooverian Prosperity. He has condescended to make a report on the state of business and industry in the nation. The report does not sound reassuring. It is out of key with Mr. Barnes' billboards, flamingly affirming that "business is good."

Rather should we say, from this survey, that business is rotten. Some newspapers, determined to maintain the happy-happy spirit, have read lines of hope into the Barnes pronouncement. They find in it a prophecy of an upturn in industry. Apparently they are reading the billboards literally and taking them for signposts of the near future. They have not yet discovered that Barnes and Barnum are brothers under the skin.

There is emphasis in this report on new construction work, of which we have heard much more than we have seen. There is reference to the promise of the automobile industry, which has been the totem pole of "Prosperity" ever since the war. But run your hand down the inventory of industries, as presented by Barnes, and it does not look so good.

Here and there we see disquieting facts brought forward, that "whoopie" publicity parties cannot down. Under the heading of transportation, we read all about the increase in steel rail orders and the higher expenditures provided for equipment and improvements. But we also read, and it requires no glasses to do this: "Total employes, Jan. 15, in Class I railroads were 1,561,000 against 1,594,000 last year and 1,614,000 two years ago."

Most of these "lost" employes were displaced by the speeding-up process in the railroad systems. The "cyclical" unemployment and depression, marking Mr. Hoover's regime, is but part of the stuff and nonsense with which the industrial workers are confronted. This unemployment from machine advance and speed-up increase bids fair to be with us for a good long time. Happy days may be here again, or about to be here again, but they will be marred by this problem which Barnum Barnes refuses to face.

February saw 22 per cent of the members of the A. F. of L. without jobs. There was the effect of the "cyclical" business. Between the cycle and the machine, we submit that Mr. Barnes should have given us something better than a survey and a talk about new construction, which has too much emphasis on the "con."

B. C. Forbes, that enlightened counsellor of busy business men, sees that something more is needed. Writes he (FORBES MAGAZINE, March 15, 1930):

"The ultimate success or failure of the economic evolution now under way will be mainly determined, in my humble opinion, on how the nation's working classes fare under the new order. If workers can be reasonably provided for by vast combinations, chains, etc., now being brought into being, then all probably will be well because, after all, business can be done on a large scale cheaper, as a rule, than on a small scale. But if several millions of willing workers should be cast aside and left wholly unprovided for by those responsible

for such widespread unemployment, then public opinion and politicians will unquestionably call for drastic change in our economic and social set-up. Unemployment insurance may prove sufficient to meet the situation. Or it may be that State Socialism will be demanded. And heaven preserve us from that!"

Please note: That Mr. Forbes thinks that more than Barnumisms must be Big Business' program; that he looks with some favor on unemployment insurance; that he does not regard it as "State Socialism." He says, just as we said in our last issue, that there is nothing smelling of blood-and-thunder revolution about it.

If unemployment insurance is safe for Mr. Forbes, it should be safe for the A. F. of L. Is Labor to allow this strong talking point for organization to be grabbed by the company unionists and busy business men? Are we never to have an immediate, aggressive political program for American Labor, based on the needs of 1930? Unemployment is a burning issue now, and will continue to be so: unemployment insurance is the immediate answer, along with the 5-day week.

## THUNDERING LAUGHTER

THERE is something expectant about the Spring; and there is the same spirit of expectancy in the factories and mills that there was last Spring and the Spring before. Now it is stronger. There is a feeling that something might happen.

It did not happen—much—last year. It may happen—more—this year. Strikes are coming back into their own again as weapons of the workers. In the Aberle situation in Philadelphia, proof was given that even in times of depression, strikes can be won. The rank and file acted magnificently there, and it was their victory.

But—we have to use that word too much in Labor affairs—there was a union willing to pour in money, too, to fight the Aberle Mill. When we go into the great fields of the unorganized factory industries, we are inclined to be dumb-founded at the hugeness of the task ahead. There is no union. There is no union treasury. Only thousands of men and women who are potential members of the unions.

It is a rare thing, even now when unrest is on the increase, to have more than a few thousand workers on strike at one time. How to equip ourselves for the business of handling strikes involving tens of thousands is the puzzle. It is a puzzle that has prevented the Labor Movement from tackling automobiles and steel and oil, for all these years.

We still insist that there are many things as yet left untried. Industrial unionism must be made an easy thing to go in for. It is useless to say that the factory industries cannot be organized at the present time, as long as Labor fools around with craft unions for them. With industrial unionism granted, let us try a few organization drives that lead to strikes. We can see what comes of them, and if money follows militant tactics. We can train and discipline a group of young people for such an undertak-

ing. Adventure is for the young, and factory organization has many elements in it resembling adventure.

We see signs of hope along this line of campaign. Young folks are being attracted to the Movement. They must be capitalized. Zeal cannot be their only equipment, but a pragmatic instinct, likewise. In them is our hope to produce that thundering laughter that comes out of a strike of great masses—and which resounds louder still if they go back under the banner of unionism.

We wonder—since it is Spring and day dreams are in order—who will start such an enterprise?

**TOWARD A LABOR PARTY**

**L**EO KRZYCKI, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, comes out of the West with news. All through Wisconsin the Labor Party idea is in the air. Representatives of twenty Kenosha locals met sometime ago in that city and decided to make permanent the local Labor Party, which now has such a strong voice in the county board. They are making a fight for control of the city government this month. From Green Bay, LaCrosse and other centers the Labor Party demand comes strongly.

Brother Krzycki states that the desire for independent political action on the part of the working people extends beyond the borders of our most Progressive State. It is being felt in many mid-western communities, and in the East others have noted the return toward that point of view. At present, these symptoms are purely local in character, and await the organizing genius of a group of determined characters who believe that the hour has struck for a new political line-up.

Denude the two present dominant parties and the skeletons of corruption and possession by the Big Business interests are evident at a glance. Non-partisanship plays into the hands of these two hoary old prostitutes. In a current Pennsylvania strike, the mockery of the business has been brought out in vivid colors. The Democratic boss of the county, who is a judge, has posed as a friend of the strikers and has seemed to justify that pose by certain acts. The Republican judges have been allowed to do the vicious work of strikebreaking. The District Attorney, however, is a Democrat, creature of the "friendly" judge. This District Attorney has done everything in his power, and more, to break the morale of the strikers. He has played the game of the bosses to the most extreme degree. And yet the workers are to be led about by the nose on the supposition that the "friendly" judge, who avoided sitting on most of their cases, and the party he represents, have kept faith with them.

The same set-up against the unions is seen in several of the candidates endorsed by the A. F. of L. Among these are some representatives of big interests, bitterly hostile to organization.

Such contradictions, injurious to the Movement, are bound to go on with the continuance of non-partisanship. The trend toward local Labor Parties is then a hopeful sign. Does it not call for a more progressive statement than the A. F. of L. has made on the issue? Does it not require that the next A. F. of L. convention say that a Labor Party is the goal of the American workers?

"Oh, go on," remarks a worker, looking over my shoulder, "this is April fool." But that is not the answer.

**"NOT GUILTY"**

**I**N present-day labor struggles a regular ritual is followed by the manufacturers and their tools, the courts and cops. The order runs monotonously: Strike. Injunction. Wholesale arrests. Intimidation by police. Terrorism.

On practically every bench today there sits a criminal mind, robed in the hocus-pocus of Justice. When the judge's fiat fails, the wooden headed police are called upon. To justify these strong-arm measures, violence is either invented by labor spies or hinted at. Dust is thrown into the eyes of our good friends, the Liberals. At the least suspicion of violence on the part of the workers they frequently become alarmed; the deeper issues elude them.

In Nazareth, where industrial feudalism of the most perverted sort has reigned undisturbed for almost a century, the ritual is at work. Judge Stewart's sweeping injunction—modified a bit after the hearings—was a hopeless dud at strikebreaking. The Sheriff of the county proved to be clumsy as an instrument of the anti-union Kraemer Company. Now the District Attorney is in there, with a County Detective and fifteen assistant county detectives. The latter characters have been picked off the streets, most of them being unfit for honest work. The County Detective in charge has been gifted by his Creator with brawn but little brains. He has threatened to arrest every striker on the streets for "loitering." And this is done despite the placid disposition of the Pennsylvania Dutch strikers and the community influence of the gentle Moravians.

The most unbelievable part of the Nazareth picture, however, has been the conduct of the cases of "riot, rout and unlawful assemblage." It gives an insight into the high cost of militancy in many instances. The strikers in these cases were found "not guilty." There was no other outcome that juries could arrive at, as singing "America" cannot be stretched to be "riot" by any use of the imagination. But the costs of the cases—oh, upright judge—were placed upon the persecuted strikers. In one case alone, these costs ran as high as \$1,442.70, and all of them totalled \$4,000.

Such is the "justice" which America affords today. It may be complained that this is in Pennsylvania, and that the same would not happen in other states. (A suggestion has been made that a sign be put on the Phillipsburg-Easton Bridge or over the Delaware: "International Bridge. You are now leaving the United States and entering Grundyland.") such an excuse will not go. Indiana is just as bad, with Federal Judge Baltzel threatening to hold a lawyer in contempt for taking union workers' cases against the police. Most other states furnish their share of class justice. It is a general policy of degeneration which prevails in high places, carried out fawningly by subservient underlings.

**Follow  
the  
Fight  
with  
Labor  
Age**

*Subscription Blank*

---

Labor Age,  
104 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

Enclosed find \$2.50 for which  
enter for one year the subscription  
of

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

# C. P. L. A. Potent Force In Labor World

## *Eastern Regional Conference Enthuses Membership*

**T**HRILLED by the testimony from many fronts, over three hundred delegates and members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action coming from many cities, crowded the Labor Temple, New York City, on Sunday, March 16, to listen to reports on the various phases of progressive activity carried on by C. P. L. A. representatives and branches. From ten o'clock in the morning, when the conference was opened, till six-thirty in the evening when it was finally adjourned, and with only one hour recess for lunch, these men and women, representing the progressive cause in New York, Philadelphia, Utica, Buffalo, New Bedford, New Haven, Boston, Bridgeport and Pittsburgh, sat spell-bound as William Ross, William E. Chalmers, Louis Francis Budenz, J. C. Kennedy and A. J. Muste presented the problems of labor in southern textiles, steel, the northwest, general organization policies and in coal. The whole proceeding wound up in an enthusiastic climax when Chairman A. J. Muste rendered his analysis of the miners' convention at Springfield, Ill., which he had attended, and when two miners present in the audience made rousing appeals for progressive support of the reorganized miners' union.

In between the scheduled speech making, reports of the delegates from the many C. P. L. A. branches and discussion from the floor kept every one on edge with an interest that did not wane until the hall was eventually cleared. The only motion considered was made after the discussion which followed the report on the miners' convention and was to the effect that the National Executive Board of the C. P. L. A. immediately consider the progressive attitude towards the Howat group and make its decision public. The conference was ample illustration of the fact that the C. P. L. A. is a potent force in American labor life.

The hall was already entirely filled when William Ross, who represented the C. P. L. A. in the South, opened the proceedings with a survey of the situation in that area. Because Marion, N. C., offered the best opportunity for effective organization work in the South, Ross said, it was chosen by the progressives at the very beginning as a starting point in the Southern drive. When he first reached the scene his

efforts were directed mainly towards an educational program. His activities were to be endorsed by the organization involved, the United Textile Workers of America and especially the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, whose organizer, Alfred Hoffman, was in charge. Ross then gave a detailed account of his experiences from that time until soon after the southern drive became an official act of the American Federation of Labor.

Because of the strategy of this drive, the speaker explained, which is to stress the peaceful purposes of the American Federation of Labor, Marion had to be liquidated as a too militant gesture for which the A. F. of L. could not be held responsible. Pressure was then applied to get Ross out of the picture. But regardless of the present situation, if it were not for the action of the progressives there probably would have been no southern drive. Without the money and leadership which progressives furnished, the Marion development would have spent itself long before this. The dramatization of the southern workers' plight, made possible because of the heroism of the Marion workers, also would have been impossible.

Ross criticized severely the evident desire upon the part of the official A. F. of L. strategy to conduct a peaceful campaign at all costs, even to the point of repudiating the courageous stand of the workers, as at Marion, or pulling off the pickets in the face of possible trouble, as at Elizabethton. The southern workers are fighters, he argued, and the only way to challenge the violence of the police is by mass action. The workers in that area are more likely to organize through large scale activities than through quiet, piece-meal efforts. They are definitely proletarian in outlook. They have no hopes nor ambitions to get out of the workers' ranks.

On the other hand, the speaker continued, only mass action will force the employers ever to recognize the union. No appeals to their good will can have hopes of success. Being assured of no workers' uprisings in advance, the employers' attitude against unionization will be strengthened. Whatever the official A. F. of L. strategy may be, either towards the method of campaign or towards the C. P. L. A.,

Ross urged the progressives to keep in contact with the southern situation. Sooner or later the C. P. L. A. program will be recognized as the only practical alternative to the present A. F. of L.'s futile policy.

### II.

Following Ross, after a discussion elaborated some of the points raised by the speaker, William E. Chalmers, instructor at the University of Pittsburgh, who has been making a study of the state of mind of the workers in the steel industry for the C. P. L. A., analyzed conditions there. There are two reasons for the weakness of organization among these workers, Chalmers declared. There has been no real attempt at organization for years and existing unions have not been strengthened by unionization efforts and the extensive use of spies and other methods of intimidation have spread fear throughout the workers in the industry. The men are not opposed to unionization. They are afraid to be active in its behalf.

There are many reasons why the workers in the steel industry should be discontented, the speaker continued. Technological development has brought about an unemployment situation that makes the job of every employed man very insecure. Some concerns show a drop in employment of 20 per cent because of changes in production technique. The U. S. Steel Corporation has announced that it will try to meet the problem of depression by extensive improvements in production methods, but that simply means that more workers will be thrown out of jobs. With excessive joblessness comes age discrimination. The industry as a rule refuses to hire workers over forty or forty-five years old. In addition, wages in comparison with the high profits exacted have been measurably lowered. Long hours, spies and intimidation make up the other grievances on the list.

Turning from an analysis of the industry to the efforts made for unionization, the speaker found little encouraging activity. In Middletown, Ohio, where the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had an agreement with the American Rolling Mill Company, new machinery threw out some of the workers and the union was smashed



as a result of the strike which was recently lost. The Amalgamated has never attempted to organize the entire industry but only the highly skilled workers in the "hot" mills. Now that machinery is fast displacing these skilled workers, there is nothing for the union to hold on to. In Cleveland, Chalmers continued, the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. tried organization work in the steel industry but among metal trades workers only. In Pittsburgh the Central Labor Union showed no interest in organizing anything, particularly the workers of the United States Steel Corporation. In Middletown the local Central Labor Union repudiated the recent strike because the steel corporation owns the town and the organized workers in the other crafts were afraid of their jobs if they made common cause with the steel strikers.

Yet there must be a method that will organize the industry, Chalmers averred. The start must be educational, as the progressives are now doing. In discussion David Saposs pointed out that organization work must be carried on a wide basis since the steel corporations are interlocking. Contacts should be made in every possible manner, whether in the open or under cover depending upon the local situation. The spy problem can be tackled only by mass organization. Victimization is impossible when the revolt is widespread.

Elmer Cope, working in the steel industry himself, added to the available information. The present depression, he said, has started the workers thinking. Many of them are working three or four days a week and they are beginning to realize that something is drastically wrong. Just what the workers are thinking of is hard to say. In Warren, Ohio, where about 25 per cent of the organized workers reside, the union is not functioning. The members' attitude is that it is cheaper to be reinstated than to pay dues regularly. "Many are ready to rally to unionism," was the opinion of the speaker. Their apathy was not due to lack of interest but to lack of leadership and education. The solution, Cope concluded, lies in educational work, the distribution of proper literature and in building up group organizations for eventual union on a national scale.

After the delegates of the C. P. L. A. branches diverted the attention of those present from the wider fields of progressive activity to the more detailed efforts of the local branches, the afternoon session of the regional conference, soon after the opening, lis-

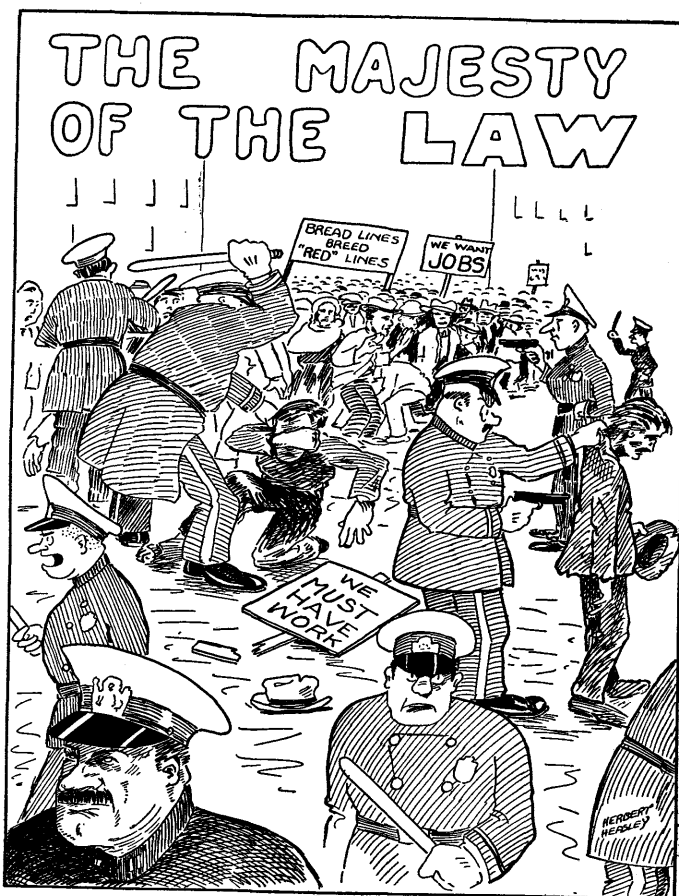
tened to Louis Francis Budenz, organizer for the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers and Managing Editor of LABOR AGE.

"It has been pointed out by a well-known labor official," Budenz said, "that the strike in Kenosha was a failure. Yet can a strike be considered a failure, even if it did not accomplish the objectives it set out to achieve, when by the interest in unionism it engendered, the strike resulted in the formation of a labor party in Kenosha; when the struck company which previously had made around \$750,000 a year has lost a half-million dollars since; when two years after the strike, the strikers' morale and enthusiasm is as high as ever and when as a result of the strike four other hosiery companies were organized in that territory?"

Budenz turned to the lessons learned during his present organization work in Nazareth, "the no-man's land of unionism," as he called it. There they arrested pickets for singing America. The method of the authorities was to bleed the treasuries of the union by imposing heavy fines and charging costs of the trials whether the strikers were found guilty of any violation of the law or not. This is the thing labor is up against now, Budenz stressed, the attack on union funds. In his opinion political action was the only hope in meeting this phase of the problem.

"Progressives must be in the field of action," Budenz concluded his trenchant remarks, "and push the idea of a labor party growing out of a concrete situation or a particular strike struggle. Ideals are fine and we must have them, but let them be crystallized in action on the field and in the face of the methods being tried out to defeat us."

A picturesque interlude was here furnished the delegates and C. P. L. A.



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

The answer of Big Business to the unemployed.

members when Josephine Kaczor, organizer for the hosiery knitters and Brookwood graduate, who is kept busy among other things warding off the blandishments of sheriffs and deputies who are anxious to show her special consideration, was called upon to address the assembly. One look at her and the explanation for sheriffs forgetting their duty in her presence was disclosed. Josephine briefly told of her experiences as a hosiery striker and organizer, including her jail sentences and the four-day hunger strike. "We'll keep on fighting, nothing can stop us," she concluded, amidst deafening applause.

### III.

Out of the West came J. C. Kennedy with a message of hope that communicated itself to every one present. Like a brisk breeze he cleared the atmosphere of any accumulated doubts in presenting the mind of Labor in the Northwest.

"The rank and file is progressive-minded," was his encouraging report. "What is needed is something to make them conscious of the fact that there is being built up over the country a

progressive organization that will meet on something more than a local scale."

The biggest industry in the Northwest is lumber. While before the war many of those engaged in the industry were organized into I. W. W. unions, these have been liquidated during and after the war and no others have taken their place. The employers have a company union known as the Four-L. They maintain an elaborate system of blacklisting. The American Federation of Labor has never been too enthusiastic about organizing the lumber workers and so the major industry of the Northwest remains open shop.

The speaker outlined a series of proposals, which to him were important for progressives to adopt. In the first place, Kennedy suggested the Conference for Progressive Labor Action must emerge from its stage of localism and actually become national in scope. The steps by which this may be accomplished should be concrete, even though each step may be small in itself.

"Getting new subscriptions for LABOR AGE," he said, "may be a small thing for each member to do, nevertheless it is significant of the kind of work to be done."

Among the activities for progressives to engage in the speaker suggested political action and the formation of independent local labor parties, educational meetings on the subject of unemployment, agitation for old age pensions and the development of a progressive labor local press.

By this time the hall was choked with people, awaiting with even greater eagerness than that heretofore displayed the report from Illinois. Those fortunate enough to have seats bent forward making certain not to lose a word of the story about the uprising in the miners' union. The late comers stood in the hallways and any other place available.

In the very opening sentence A. J. Muste established a picture to his listeners which served as a definite basis upon which to judge the personalities and events of that moving and significant drama enacted in Springfield, Ill.

"The first thing that ought to be said about this convention," Muste began, referring to the miners' meeting, "is that it was a proletarian convention; the delegates were men from the coal face. They were a good deal like a southern textile group—the same rangy, tall physique. There were some foreigners among them, but the

greater proportion were native born American workers.

"There is no question but that the progressives were an important element. If it had not been for men like Brophy, Hapgood and Howat, it is doubtful if the convention would have been held at all, and still more doubtful whether there would have been an effective opposition to the machine. You may look for 100 to 150 of the more active delegates to be in C. P. L. A. groups in the near future."

The complexion of the convention, the speaker continued, was made evident by the result of the fight around the seating of Frank Farrington, former President of the Illinois District No. 12. Farrington's credentials were held up because of the contract he entered into with the Peabody Coal Co. to serve them at a salary of \$25,000 a year, the contract to run for three years. Farrington presented his side of the story in a four-hour speech. He was finally seated by a vote of 225 against 145.

The reasons for seating Farrington are complex, according to Chairman Muste. In the first place "selling out to the operators" is not so serious with the miners. Most of the employes in the pay of the operators are former union officials who prefer to sit on the other side of the table because they believe, however erroneously, that they can do more for the men there. Sentiment played a big part. Farrington pleaded for the vindication of his honor. The legal element also entered into the situation. The credential which Farrington held from the Streator miners' local was entirely in order and the delegates were reluctant to adopt the Lewis tactics of not seating regularly elected delegates. At any rate, Farrington is back in the union as a very important factor in the reorganization of the miners. He may not become an official but he is a key man in the new deal.

Aside from that incident, the miners' convention in Springfield took steps that are of real progressive significance, the speaker said. The power to appoint organizers has been taken away from international officials. The hold of the national administration on the districts has been loosened and some more autonomy given the districts. The leadership is good. Alex Howat is a fighter, John H. Walker is a strong man because of his position in the Illinois Federation of Labor. There is a good deal of brains back of the organization. And finally,

the conditions facing the organization will force it in the right direction. The miners are desperate; they want something. It is either go ahead or go back to Lewis. This group must organize in order to live. It must do something to justify its existence or it will die. Opposing it will be Lewis with his \$300,000 treasury and probably the American Federation of Labor.

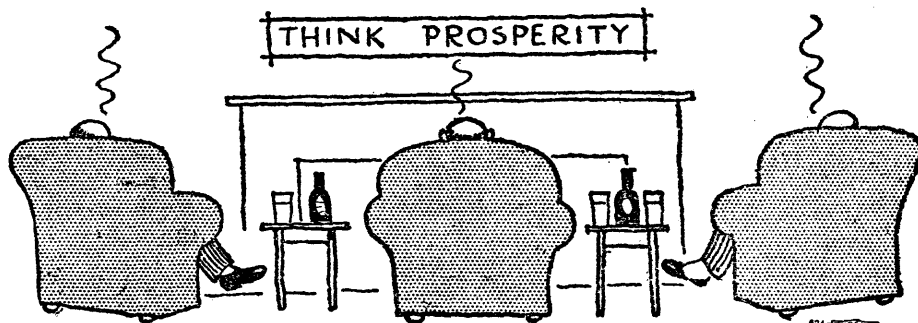
Immediately upon the conclusion of Muste's analysis, voices from every direction demanded to be heard. Nathan Fine of New York argued strongly for unequivocal C. P. L. A. support of the reorganized union. "We agree that Lewis is hopeless," he said. "We know that Walker sometimes wobbles. But we know too that Walker has punch. This is the most hopeful thing about the Illinois situation, that there are strong men connected with it, and they are going to the rank and file with bread and butter appeals. The new movement is a long way ahead of the Lewis regime and therefore we should support it."

Ludwig Lore, Editor of the NEW YORK VOLKSZEITUNG, also favored a definite attitude on the part of the progressives. Abraham Lefkowitz, Edward Myers, an unidentified miner and others continued the discussion for an hour, the whole matter winding up in a motion, already mentioned in this story, to have the National Executive Board consider the matter and issue a definite statement immediately.

The delegates representing groups in various cities were Minnie Cederholm, Fred Cederholm and Isadore Kravetz from Bridgeport; Florence E. Adams, Wm. T. Green and Eleanor Emerson from Buffalo; John McLaren from Boston; Councilman Leo J. Carney and John Fox from New Bedford; Edith M. L. Stern, Samuel Bakeley and Joseph Schwartz from Philadelphia; Walter E. Davis and Henry Earl from New Haven; William E. Chalmers from Pittsburgh; Marjorie Stocking from Utica; and Justus Ebert, Nathan Fine, and Mrs. Lily Lore from New York. The Niagara Falls group sent a communication endorsing the conference but were unable to send delegates because no one was able to get time off.

Each delegate had an opportunity in the course of the day to report on the activities of his respective C. P. L. A. branch. Their activities cover many phases of organization and education work, but special consideration in most places was given to agitation for a Labor Party. Especially was this

## HOOVER'S REMEDY



New Leader (London).

A comfortable method of solving the depression by those who are not depressed.

true of those centers where labor parties already exist.

The close attention with which the audience followed each speaker was made evident by the lively discussions throughout the conference. Some of those who participated could not be identified and therefore their names cannot be recorded. In every case there was no hesitancy in expressing their views, whether in agreement or otherwise with the statements of the speakers.

John McLaren stated that in his community the advanced thinking workers tried to start a Labor Party but when the American Federation of Labor representative appeared at the local Central Labor Union meeting he frightened away a good many trade unionists from becoming active for independent working class political action.

The only alternative, he pointed out, was to try to build up sentiment for a Labor Party without antagonizing directly those unions opposed to such a measure. The sentiment for a Labor Party is stronger now than it was since 1912-14. If we could possibly have in each district one or two individuals willing to sacrifice themselves who would devote their lives during the next five or ten years in building up contacts, the movement for independent political action would get somewhere.

Leo J. Carney stated that these are the lines adopted by the Labor Party in New Bedford with the result that today they have six councilmen in the City Council out of a total of 24 representatives.

It had been intimated previously during the discussion that the Socialist Party was willing to merge with a Labor Party as soon as one would be formed. Bill Stone from Denver,

Colo., took exception to this view strongly, suggesting that the Socialist Party would not disappear from the political scene but would function within any Labor Party that would arise.

Brother Rus started out by saying that he was a member of the A. F. of L. since 1888 and believed that criticism of policies with which we did not agree was beneficial. The action of President Green interviewing employers to persuade them to accept unionization he characterized as childish. "They (the employers) don't want organization and I have studied them in the South and in all the large cities. I am opposed to some of the policies of the A. F. of L. but I want to invigorate it, not destroy it."

Chairman Muste expressed a hope that soon we would be able to bring together the local labor party movement throughout the country. "Here in New York State," he added, "there is an interesting effort in that direction. A recent conference at which were present representatives of unions, Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the League for Independent Political Action as well as those of the Socialist Party, discussed whether here in New York State the time was ripe to put candidates in the field for the next election. Those present were not in a position to say whether this would be done at present or not and decided to find out. A committee was appointed to get in touch with the Niagara Falls Labor Party and the Central Labor Union and to communicate with central labor unions and locals throughout the State by means of a questionnaire on the possibility of independent political action. This is one way of exploring the possibilities in our own neighborhoods."

Delegate Morris warned those present to make sure that labor's political

activities be directed towards the advancement of the Labor Movement and the workers and not to satisfy the political aspirations of labor leaders.

Florence Adams, representing the Buffalo Branch, suggested that any move toward political action must be an educational one. She cited that in Buffalo there are many national groups, including 20,000 Polish and 8,000 Italians. Still the workers are getting together in spite of the indifferent attitude of the organized labor movement.

The Philadelphia Labor Movement, it was reported by Samuel Bakeley, is following its traditional policy of working for the defeat of an obnoxious candidate, rather than for electing some one who would represent labor. Though a Northeast Progressive League was organized, he said, for the original purpose of starting a Labor Party, it has met with the opposition of the local officials who are out to defeat Grundy in the primaries.

To this was added the testimony of Jack Lever who stated that organizing a political party on a negative basis has been tried over and over again in Philadelphia. An anti-Grundy organization is an organization to put James Davis in the Senate. Davis is Vare's child. Every time we speak of building up independent political action for labor we should bear in mind that the real enemy is to be found in political job holders within the unions.

Henry Earl, president of the Machinists' Union of New Haven, thought that the unemployment situation could be used as an argument for independent political action showing how labor, organized politically, could get action on the problem.

In Hartford, Conn., Brother Morris reported, most of the energies of the local Labor Movement are wrapped up in their new Labor Temple. While the Temple is a very fine building, costing about \$135,000, that is no reason why everything else should be lost sight of.

The conference wound up in high spirits, members and delegates enthusiastically leaving for their respective communities more determined than ever to carry on the work so auspiciously begun. Now that they had a complete picture of the C. P. L. A. contribution to Labor's advance and met the problems facing the workers' awakening in concrete form, they were able to understand better their particular position in the whole pattern of our industrial life and carry on more effectively in the future.

# In Other Lands

## GREAT BRITAIN

Birth pangs of the new revolution that is steadily cutting its way through all sorts of obstructions were evidenced during the past month. The old order is slowly retreating and fighting every step as it moves to the rear and in so doing is displaying signs of strength and vitality that are deceptive to the unwarly and untutored. The thing that occupied the minds of most people at home and abroad was the Naval Conference, and the life of the government, both of which were in imminent danger of destruction.

Many millions of people everywhere are disappointed and, I fear, as many more are overjoyed at the failure of the Naval Conference to produce impossible results. The Conference suffered from over-optimism, over-advertising and oversight—especially in estimating the realistic side of the international factors. Labor and Socialist critics of MacDonald—and they seem to be the severest in

Britain, say the Premier began without a program. Others state France should have been consulted in the preliminaries at Rapidan.

The Latin nations once before objected to the Anglo-American bloc and the fear was repeated in London. Hence French and Italian opposition. Paris demanded its pound of flesh in the shape of guaranteed security while Italy with its full blown Fascisti pride demanded equality. It is safe to say that neither seriously meant what its diplomats said but both were in accord on the submarines which Britain wants abolished. Grandi, the Italian delegate, said without subs the Mediterranean is an English lake and the French, already superior in the air and the undersea, did not want to give up her advantage without compensation.

As for the U. S., its delegates did not know what they wanted, but when they showed signs of intelligence, were able to tell the world what they did not want. A negative program was not what

American progressives and pacifists expected.

MacDonald's speeches were beautiful while his suggestions were unworkable. As in the Channel Tunnel proposal he allowed the admirals to dominate him or becloud his vision. The advantage of the two power naval standard he means to hold onto while not a word is said about the great bases and fortifications dotted all over the earth. He will sink a ship if all the others sink the same quota. Reduced to its proper scale the proposal meant economy and not disarmament.

Perhaps MacDonald could not go further on account of the great influence of the Indian pensioners, stock and bondholders—ten million of them—in Britain and the Navy League which is closely affiliated with all the other imperialist and militaristic interests. These great sections and interests are powerful in the two great parties and even have friends within the Labor Party. They are in a position to block, if not veto, legislation that threatens their interest. It is too bad the Premier did not show some face to them as he did to the Liberals and Tories on the coal question. He would then have been able to test the sentiment of the British voters and see how far they are inclined to disarm.

The Conference may be adjourned with minor achievements but no one should belittle or ridicule MacDonald's fine work. He has made peace and disarmament popular everywhere. He has educated the masses in all countries and he has added to his own stature. When he goes to the country he will not have to apologize for his conduct to the voters. That is evidenced by the fear the Liberals and Tories have of seeing a general election now with the Navy and Coal issues to the front. A pact with the French on the safe side is more likely to hurt Labor than help it for British masses are inclined to be anti-French and are opposed to military deals and alliances.

The coal question is being solved by usual British compromises which means it will come up again for final solution. As a beginning in the great social experiment the measure is sound. The strike of the Cooperative clerks was unfortunate and should never have been allowed to happen. It created a bad impression at a time when Labor needed harmony and moral support everywhere in Britain. The unemployment situation

## GETTING NOWHERE



N. Y. Evening Telegram.

The Naval Conference runs around in circles.

(Continued on page 28)



"Say  
It With  
Books"



## Indian Workers and Their Bondage

India in Bondage, Dr. J. T. Sutherland, Lewis Copeland Co., \$4. 556 pp.

IN a recently issued book the writer proposed as an antidote for some of the lies and hate in history that an American write an account of the British occupation of India while a French or English author be entrusted with a candid report upon the doing of the U. S. A. in the Phillippines and Nicaragua. "India in Bondage" fulfills most adequately the first part of the request. The author herein counters every possible argument used against India's demand for home rule. The book cannot be sold openly in India because of its effective exposure of the cant and pretensions of the British rulers there. It is the monumental life-work of one who feels deeply and knows much about India.

Katherine Mayo's grossly libelous "Mother India" was freely distributed and widely read for imperialist and Freudian reasons combined. It is a pity that Dr. Sutherland's book, being a work of fact and not imagination, and not supporting the nonsense of Nordic superiority, is unlikely to obtain the same wide circulation. The majority of the British suffer from the school stories of the fiendish cruelty of the Indians alleged in the Indian "mutiny," the Black Hole of Calcutta comprises their knowledge of the geography of that sub-continent and its population of 320 millions. Reared on Kipling, the actual rulers of India are bad cases of the "messiah complex." MacDonald will have to be prepared to face frenzied charges of scuttling the Empire and hauling down the flag if he makes any real step to recognize the wrongs of India and to make redress. An indiscretion similar to General Butler's recent description of electoral methods used by the U. S. A. in Haiti was once made by Joyson Hicks when he declared that India was won and kept by the British sword as a market and a source of income for British capitalists but usually, of course, the British conquest is claimed to have been for the good of India. Even members of the

Labor Government have accepted that cant which is absolutely denied by the facts of the case.

The British Empire is a monstrosity which must be radically transformed. If out of a total of 440 millions population now inside the British Empire covering one-quarter of the earth's surface, 320 million Indians insists upon independence, that will mean that the keystone of the imperial arch has been removed. American imperialists may sympathize somewhat with their British colleagues but they will not neglect the opportunity to sell goods, to invest capital, and to exploit the cheap labor-power in an independent India. For the American worker it will mean that instead of the jute mills being shifted from Dundee (in Scotland) to Bengal, they will be shifted from some American town.

Dr. Sutherland wrongly, I think, suggests German jealousy about India as the main cause of the War (1914-18). The income derived from India by Britain in pre-war years was estimated at sixty million dollars inclusive of interest, salaries and pensions. The over-sea investments of Britain, however, were twenty thousand millions, which even at a modest rate of interest would have yielded more than the income got from India.

"India in Bondage" is weak in its treatment of industrial conditions. The investigators sent out by the British Trades Union Congress in 1928 found an indescribably horrible state of affairs. When the T. U. C. published the report of these investigators (A. A. Purcell and J. Hallsworth), the retired Indian Civil Service members were contemptuous of knowledge acquired by "tourist visitors" but official statistics supported the report's description of wretched living hovels, overwork and underpayment. Strikes showed almost a fourfold increase in 1928 compared with the previous year. The government figures states that 506,851 workers (chiefly in textiles, railways, and machine-construction, lost 31,647,404 working days in disputes. In these disputes of 1928 the

workers won their demands in 27 cases, were partially successful in 41 and lost in 188. The Government blames Communist agitation for the trouble and has arrested trade unionists in disturbances; it has set up legislation to restrict union activity. So far the British Labor Government has not interfered to release any of the political prisoners but it has sent out a committee, on which a trade union representative sits, to improve the legal position of the unions.

The All-India Trades Union Congress, as usual, sent a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress at Belfast in September, 1929. The following sentences from his report show the position faced by the 300,000 organized Indian workers:

"Industrial areas are fast becoming overcrowded, tending to form slums worse than those of any city in Europe. The workers are forced to live in one-roomed tenements, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated, and without any pretense of sanitation."

"Our Factory Act even today permits a working day of eleven hours and the Mines Act one of twelve hours. On the railways . . . there is as yet no regulation whatsoever for reducing working hours."

"The wages paid, after such long and strenuous work, are scandalously low. The majority of the workers earn no more than a shilling (24 cents) a day."

"Women still work underground . . . and will continue to work in the mines for another ten years or more. . . . Even such welfare work as pit-head baths is unknown. The miners have to wash in some stagnant pool in the vicinity of their dwellings. The condition of the men in the plantation is nothing short of forced labor. . . . Through unscrupulous lies and false hopes of better living about 800,000 of such laborers are tempted into the tea gardens and exploited under the crack of whips and intimidations—all for a paltry remuneration of about six cents for a child, ten cents for a woman, and fourteen cents for a man."

V. R. Kalappa, the delegate, continued to show that there was no insurance

against sickness or unemployment. There is no Truck Act to prevent the worker being given goods instead of a money wage. Bribes are necessary to secure a job. The railroads are mostly State owned but the three-quarters of a million railway workers are refused any kind of a national agreement; they cannot take the higher positions because the high salaried jobs are kept for the Europeans. While the workers are so badly treated, all the laws and imprisonments to suppress the workers' organizations can only drive them into more desperate courses. It is regrettable that the British Labor Government did not declare an amnesty for all those held in connection with strike and political demonstrations. History shows what happened when the nabob mind tried to hold down the founders of the United States. The consequences will not be otherwise now that a much greater nation is rightly struggling to be free. However, experience has also proved that a declaration of independence does not mean independence and freedom for the workers of the emancipated country. Gandhi has tried to escape the science and machinery of the West with apparently little success. And the job of Labor is surely to assist India to regain her freedom and help her workers to organize to meet the factory system which is already present in Bombay and other towns in India. The awakening of the East must also be the awakening of Labor.

MARK STARR.

## THE ADVANCE OF SOCIAL PRACTICES

Old Age Security, by Abraham Epstein, 16 cents; Public Ownership Here and Abroad, by Harry Laidler, 15 cents; Our Vanishing Oil Resources, by John Ise, Ph.D., 10 cents; League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., New York City.

THE three latest pamphlets issued by the League for Industrial Democracy are on subjects that are especially timely at the present moment. No proposal has taken such hold of the public's imagination, with the exception of prohibition, as that of old age pensions. Especially has this problem been brought to the fore by the persistent efforts of the American Association for Old Age Security of which Abraham Epstein, the author of "Old Age Security," is secretary. During the present legislative sessions pension laws have been introduced in most States. Since 1914 old age pension laws have been passed by thirteen states.

In "Old Age Security" the reader will find a concise yet inclusive summary of

the problem of old age, the progress that has been made here and abroad and the experience of states which have already adopted this means for the protection of their indigent inhabitants. Now that the question is before almost every state legislature the pamphlet is indispensable for an understanding of the problem and its intelligent discussion.

"Public Ownership Here and Abroad" is a revelation of the extent to which government functioning has entered the lives of the people. Education, communication, health, research, protection and exploitation of natural resources and even manufacturing are today administered by governments for the welfare of their people. The pamphlet is divided into two sections, one surveying the extent of government ownership before the war and the other taking up social ownership and control since 1917. The study is a fine illustration of how necessity will overcome outworn opinions and how we are entering the field of "collectivism" though we may still be thinking and talking in terms of "rugged individualism."

One of the most important assets of any country is its petroleum resources. Our present civilization is unmistakably an oil civilization. There are those who claim that the country with the largest oil resources in the future will attain the most powerful position in international relations. What the history of American petroleum exploitation has been, the resources at our command and what measures should be adopted to conserve this precious mineral, to prevent the criminal waste which has accompanied the development of this industry in the past and which still holds true of the present is the subject matter included in "Our Vanishing Oil Resources," by John Ise, Professor of Economics of the University of Kansas. It is a fitting companion piece to the pamphlet on public ownership.

## A RECAPITULATION

An Audit of America. By Edward Eyre Hunt. McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, N. Y. \$2.00.

WHETHER it is essential for a reviewer of a summary of a larger work to go over carefully the contents of the original publication, may be a subject for debate, but we shall cut through the pros and cons of the matter by stating that "An Audit of America," by Edward Eyre Hunt, is a lucidly written volume summarizing very effectively the facts contained in "Recent Economic Changes," a two-volume report of the Na-

tional Bureau of Economic Research on the state of the nation.

For those who cannot find the time to pore over the voluminous findings of the Bureau, but who are nevertheless interested in the developing facts about American life, the volume under review will be of much interest and assistance. While the original interpretation of the discovered facts contained in "Recent Economic Changes" here and there becomes a hopeful glorification of our "Great American Prosperity"—since deceased—Mr. Hunt cannot be held responsible for that. The facts are there and all can play with them who like.

The author as editor of the original report, is best fitted for summarizing its contents. His language is simple. His sentences are short and he has managed to include the most important and significant facts in this short work. It is a good book to have on one's shelf.

ISRAEL MUFSON

## A COMPARISON

Labor and Capital in National Politics. By Harwood Lawrence Childs. The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio, \$3.00.

THIS study of the American Federation of Labor and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States as the organizations representing Labor and Capital, respectively, in relation to their influence of legislation and government is remarkably objective in character. From the outset it is clear, too, that the author, professor of Political Science at Bucknell University, is a realist, for neither in his introduction nor anywhere else is there any mention of the usual buncombe about "identity of interest." The author takes it for granted that Labor and Capital have different aims, and, in a capable manner, surveys the structure of both organizations, presents membership statistics, considers how policies are determined and compares the influence of both groups on Congress and the national administration.

Prof. Childs has not only had access to the reports and literature issued by the A. F. of L. and the Chamber of Commerce, but has visited their headquarters in Washington, D. C. He seems to have been greatly impressed by the activity he found at the headquarters of the business men's organization, for he says, "a steady stream of letters gushes forth from central headquarters, addressographing, mimeographing and other types of printing machines run day and night," from which it appears the Chamber of Commerce is well equipped to send out a barrage of propaganda at a moment's notice. Its research activity also

evokes his praise. Over at A. F. of L. headquarters, however, the author noted "visible shortcomings in office management and technique" and "apparent insufficiency of office personnel." And as for the Federation's research efforts he is compelled to use such expressions as "impotent and ineffective."

From Prof. Child's study of methods of policy formulation used by the two agencies, we discover somewhat surprisingly that the Chamber of Commerce in many ways is far more democratic than is the A. F. of L. The Chamber holds referendums on questions of policy frequently and every effort is made to enlist the services of capable members. It has had remarkable success, the author declares, "in securing some of the leading men in various fields to donate their services." Moreover, in the 17 years of its existence 10 different men have served as presidents of the organization.

The A. F. of L., in contrast, reports the author, lacks the technique for stimulating centers of initiative. Demands for referendums have been squelched. At conventions, he finds, committee members, some of whom have served for from 10 to 20 years, are appointed more because of "their influence with the membership . . . than because of their qualifications for studying particular problems." High officials, he adds, "frequently discourage real expressions of opinion on the part of the mass of delegates" and new ideas coming from the rank and file would be regarded by them as "a source of disturbance rather than enlightenment." Finally, as is well known, in 50 years only three men have been president of the A. F. of L., and one of them served for but one year.

Prof. Childs has made a thorough examination into the finances of the Chamber and the Federation. As would be expected, the former's revenues are ample for its requirements. According to its financial report for the year ending March 31, 1927 its income from dues was, \$891,091.54; from interest and contributions, \$23,145.00, and from "Nation's Business," its monthly magazine, \$1,126,298.86, a total of \$2,040,535.40. Deducting the cost of publishing the magazine, for that year, \$1,146,502.23, there was available for carrying on the business of the Chamber, \$894,033.17. For the year ending August 31, 1927 the revenue of the A. F. of L., including receipts from "The American Federationist" were \$524,284.74. As the cost of publishing the official organ was \$86,963.15, the A. F. of L. had at its disposal \$437,321.59, for the conduct of its affairs. Hence, the A. F. of L.'s net income is only half that of the Chamber of Commerce. (The reserve set aside by the A. F. of L. for

the Defense Fund is much smaller than is generally imagined.) In any event, \$400,000 a year is quite a sum of money.

Perhaps the most significant thing brought out by the author's study into the beginnings of the two organizations is the fact that the Chamber of Commerce was brought into existence through the initiative of the late William Howard Taft. In his message to Congress, December 7, 1911, President Taft pointed to the need for some system of national organization among business men, for, said Taft, the government was confused by the many conflicting demands made upon it by various groups of business men. A few months later Secretary of Commerce and Labor Charles Nagel invited about 2,000 commercial bodies to send representatives to Washington to form such a national organization. Several hundred delegates came, received a warm welcome from Taft, and within five months began to function as the Chamber of Commerce, nursed and guided for a time by the tender and loving care of the United States Government.

This favored child has grown hugely since then. Its influence on the activities of the Department of Commerce is immense, while appropriations to the various bureaus in the Department are voted by Congress with a lavish hand. For instance, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in 1913, when the Chamber of Commerce was about a year old, was \$174,000, but in 1926 it was \$2,994,064. On the other hand, the Department of Labor receives niggardly treatment in the matter of appropriations. When after a long battle Samuel Gompers achieved the separation of the Department of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, in 1913, no money was voted by Congress in order that the Department might begin to function, and in 1920 the A. F. of L. had to bring all its pressure to bear in order to save the Department of Labor from being scrapped.

The author's research, naturally, does not allow him to be imposed upon by the high sounding claims of the A. F. of L. leaders as to accomplishments on the political field. He quotes this declaration from President William Green in the early part of 1928: "Labor expects to exercise just as great if not greater influence in the 1928 national political campaign as in any previous campaign." To which, knowing how little this influence amounts to, the author might have retorted, "Yeah." But being a professor, he says: "The claims of the Federation, therefore, must be accepted with some reservations in spite of their suggestiveness."

The A. F. of L. could do no better than to provide every delegate to its forthcoming convention in Boston with a copy of this book, and if they read the study it may result in some honest soul-searching the like of which the A. F. of L. has never seen in all its history.

LEONARD BRIGHT.

## IN OTHER LANDS

(continued from page 25)

as far as numbers go is as big and as troublesome as ever. Sending more children to school will help to materially cut into figures and costs. The situation in the textile industry is threatening and has explosive material in it. MacDonald is indubitably right when he demands more time. It is also good politics to talk that way. By being on the offensive and standing firm he is on sure ground and is weakening the opposition as the decision of the Liberals not to combine with the Tories to defeat him has shown. They didn't dare to for fear of the consequences. In this one sees the march of history and the steps of revolution, for the opposition's duty is to oppose which it is not doing.

## IRELAND

The special congress of the trade unions and Labor party adopted the program of the special committee appointed by the last assembly nine months or more ago. The only amendment to the program was that no man can hold a national office in both organizations. The new Labor Party is thrown open to all who are sympathetic to Labor. Clubs and branches may now be formed independent of the unions. The veterans in the Labor Party are optimistic and predict an increased representation in the next Dublin Parliament. Another commendable feature is that the new party does not believe in the Ulster boundary line and the sectionalism, religious and political, that divide the country.

## GERMANY

Reactionists were sadly disappointed when President Hindenburg signed the Young Plan legislation. The Reich has over a million and a half unemployed with a discontented agrarian class due to bad harvests besides. Observers say that the country has not recovered in full and is in no position to dispute with other nations the Young Plan. Germany gains some small concessions but is gradually being hitched to the Wall Street financial band wagon. All suffer as a result but astute politicians and economists say nothing else could have been done with the Young Plan but accept it and perhaps get more loans from the United States.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

# WHAT OUR READERS THINK

## NEXT INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

Dear Editor:

Since American labor has utterly failed to provide itself with a Labor Party to enhance its interests and arm itself industrially what is it going to do to meet the next industrial crisis?

The American Federation of Labor claims that it represents the "hopes and aspirations of the American industrial worker." Then we can on those premises raise the question what will the A. F. of L. do to alleviate unemployment plagues in the future?

Unemployment has been continually growing in the United States. In 1920-21 close to four million wage workers were unemployed. At the present we safely can estimate two millions are permanently displaced because of machinery.

Most of the unemployment prevalent is in fairly organized industries, controlled incidentally by the A. F. of L. such as: Coal Mining, Textiles, Shoes, Railroads, Needle Trades, and Building Trades. There are other miscellaneous industries that record unemployment but the heavies are in organized industries.

In face of these glaring facts, what adequate measures will the A. F. of L. take? In the last decade production has increased (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 491), 175 per cent and horsepower has increased 250 per cent per worker! Can the A. F. of L. secure immediate relief for unemployment without political power or will it rely on its industrial power alone?

Unemployment in union ranks has been on the increase. Many of the unions in the Federation are aiding their members. However, that alone will not aid unemployment by having unions to tide over members, when they are totally unable to find work!

Appealing to employers not to discriminate against age is certainly not the answer. Nor conferences with Herbert Hoover. Labor cannot live on promises of both of the dominant political parties.

Big business has shown the way. Demand that the government come to your side. Surely labor can get some aid if the A. F. of L. would not be indifferent to the needs of its members, and insisted on unemployment insurance controlled jointly by state and labor.

American Labor cannot permit the workers to "bear the brunt" of hard times always alone. Wherever a labor government functions workers are provided for during periods of depression.

In reactionary Italy and Hungary the governments have acknowledged its responsibility to its workers. Prosperous America shuns the responsibility because the principle is socialistic!

Over ten million European workers are receiving the benefits of unemployment insurance. Many of the countries are in financial distress. Many are paying debts to the United States. Why can't workers in America secure relief, when countries that are in financial and economic bankruptcy do? Because of the A. F. of L.'s indifference this attitude is maintained.

How long will our bona fide representatives turn "deaf ears" to the pleading needs of its members, and begin to serve them or be replaced by those who will?

JOSEPH HUTTER, Philadelphia, Pa.

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION TO INTEREST WORKERS

Dear Editor:

I have endeavored to draw some of the men I meet daily in Ford's into discussions on general industrial problems but they are afraid almost to speak about anything but generalities. Yet they must have some opinions about industrial problems. Many of them know nothing but a belief in Ford. It's a tragedy and I could hardly have thought it possible that men's minds could have been submerged by the Ford organization. But I have been among them and have seen it and what is a great deal worse, felt it. And the pity of it is that I see no way in which it can be altered.

What I cannot understand is what the A. F. of L. is thinking about. No labor organization can exist at all without thinking about this Ford situation, which is what is facing it in all large scale industry. I spent 20 years of my life in Scotland and England speaking and helping organize the working class. Always I felt a response and desire among the workers to understand the working class outlook and to help in organization work, even in the days when men and women were either Liberal or Tory.

I was a member of the National Sheet Metal Workers union in Britain for 25 years. I innocently thought that I would be admitted to a union here without difficulty. I called at the union's office and produced my credentials. They never even looked at them. I was told simply that I would have to submit my name and pay an entrance fee of \$120 or \$125. This shocked me for I was accustomed to seeing new members welcomed and their entrance into the union ranks made as easy as possible. Here I came up

against an organization that seemed really not to care whether it got members or not. Maybe this attitude is the reason why between 90,000 and 100,000 are unorganized at the Ford plants. And this is why it will be so difficult to organize a Labor Party.

Although Keir Hardie, when he first went out to agitate for a Labor Party in Gt. Britain, had a struggle before him, he at least had an organized mass of men and women to appeal to. There were always one of two party men in every trade union branch prepared to take action when either Keir Hardie or his associates desired to speak at trade union meetings. There was always an opportunity to explain the need for a Labor Party. To appeal to Tom, Dick and Harry without any organization to back such an appeal will get nowhere. What can be done is to get up an agitation for Unemployment Insurance and sick and old age insurance under government control. In agitating for such measures it can be pointed to the immediate necessity for a Labor Party to make them effective. Getting out a program of immediate working class measures and sending them to Locals of trade unions offering to send speakers to address them on the subject; forming committees from these locals of trade unions which might be called district or state committees to press this program, always having in mind that the building of a Labor Party was the important point, a party divorced from the Republicans and the Democrats.

Such agitation might awaken the conscience of the workers and show them just who the Republicans and Democrats are. America has a greater number of men and women who have no definite political outlook than any other country. I believe the only way to give them a political outlook is to focus their attention on a workers' program which could meet their immediate needs, such a program to be fought for through an independent Labor Party.

JOHN CAMERON, Detroit, Mich.

## Chateau de Bures

Par Villennes, Seine et Oise  
17 MILES FROM PARIS, FRANCE

Country Boarding School

To Prepare Boys for American Colleges.  
30 Acres. Own Farm. New Dormitories.  
Outdoor sleeping porches. Gymnasium.  
Athletic Fields. Modern, Progressive  
Methods. Music, Art, Science, French,  
English and American Masters.

For information address

Edwin Cornell Zavitz, Headmaster  
Chateau de Bures, par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise, France



# A JOB

## For Every Progressive Laborite

The Labor Movement is being reshaped, in spite of skeptics and reactionaries, but the pace of this effort needs to be accelerated. LABOR AGE is an important means by which this can be accomplished. In it, each month, will be found a wealth of facts and information which can be used by progressives as a basis for discus-

sion at union and other meetings and for letters to newspaper editors, etc. Ten subs a month was the quota assigned to every progressive by John C. Kennedy at the C. P. L. A. Regional Conference. Why not? Ten intelligent workers armed with the C. P. L. A. spirit and Labor Age material could do wonders in every union.

*Send for Labor Age circulars and subscription blanks—and C. P. L. A. Literature  
Help us get the progressive message out to the workers*

## LABOR AGE

104 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

## LABOR AGE

Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

25c Per Copy

\$2.50 A Year

Published Monthly at  
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

JAMES H. MAURER, President  
A. J. MUSTE, } Vice Presidents  
A. J. KENNEDY, }  
HARRY W. LAIDLER, Treasurer

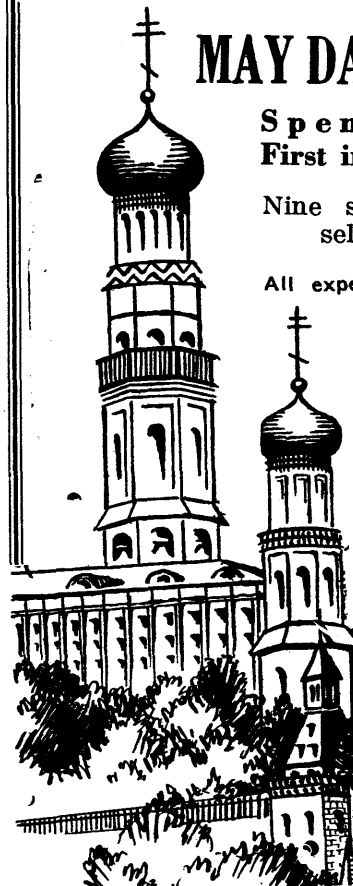
LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, Managing Editor and Secretary  
LEONARD BRIGHT, Business Manager

### Directors

JAMES H. MAURER  
A. J. MUSTE  
A. J. KENNEDY  
HARRY W. LAIDLER  
LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ  
LEONARD BRIGHT  
J. F. ANDERSON  
JOHN A. BURNS  
WALTER E. DAVIS  
JUSTUS EBERT  
ABRAHAM EPSTEIN  
C. W. FITZGERALD  
ALBERT FODOR  
CHAS. W. GARDNER  
JOSEPH GILBERT  
CLINTON S. GOLDEN

EDMOND GOTTESMAN  
TIMOTHY HEALY  
A. A. HEIST  
CARL HOLDERMAN  
PRYNS HOPKINS  
HARRY H. KAVILLE  
JOHN C. KENNEDY  
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ  
E. J. LEVER  
WALTER LUDWIG  
ROBERT E. MACHIN  
A. L. MATLACK  
ISRAEL MUFSON  
WILLIAM ROSS  
NATHANIEL SPECTOR  
H. A. SPENCE

*Labor Age is indexed in the Bulletin of the  
Public Affairs Information Bureau*



## MAY DAY in MOSCOW

Sp e n d Spectacular May  
First in the Soviet Union!

Nine special excursions on  
selected steamships.

All expenses for a full week of  
memorable sightseeing in

### LENINGRAD and MOSCOW

Free Soviet  
Visas \$270 UP

Complete Round Trip

Other tours sailing every  
week throughout Spring  
and Summer.

See Our Nearest Agent or

### AMERICAN-RUSSIAN

TRAVEL AGENCY, Inc.

100 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

Tel.: CHElsea 0076