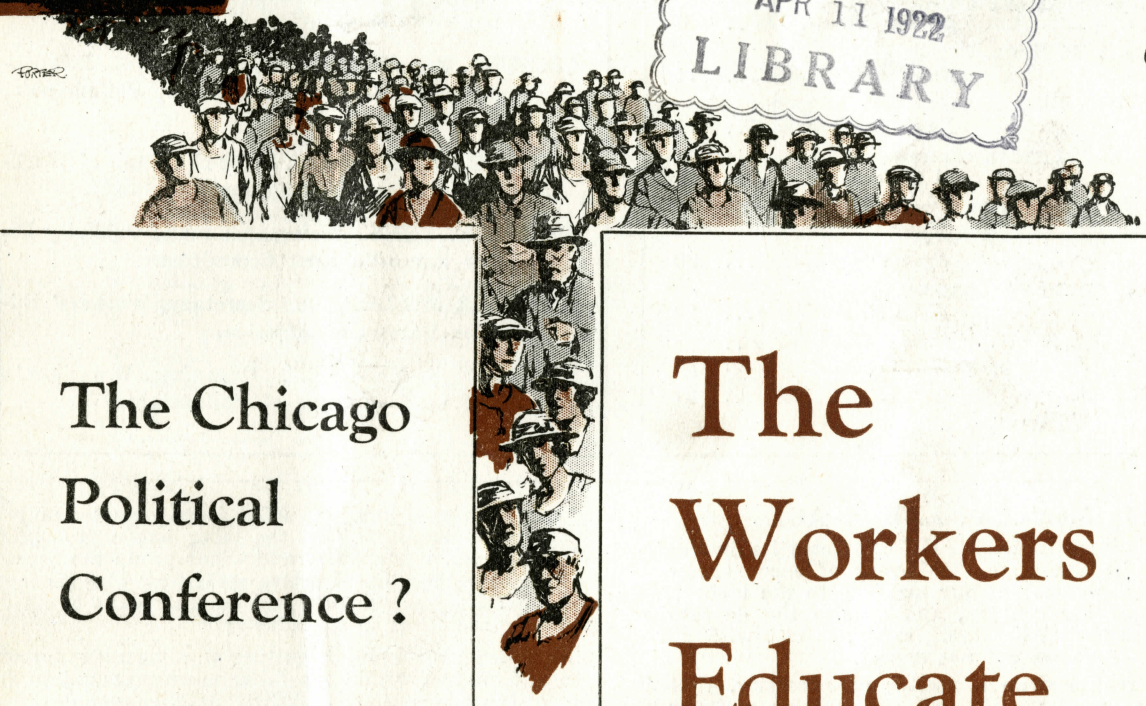
APRIL, 1922

Labor Age

20¢ a Copy



The Chicago Political Conference?

Difficulties With Sister

The Workers Educate Themselves

Alexander Fichandler *Clinton Golden*
Arthur Greenwood *Spencer Miller, Jr.*

Volume XI, No. 4 April, 1922

20c per copy

Labor Age

A Monthly Magazine

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, 41 Union Square, New York

181

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

CONTENTS:

Contributors to This Issue

JOHN B. ANDREWS. Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation.

ALEXANDER FICHANDLER. Educational Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

CLINTON S. GOLDEN. Business Agent, International Association of Machinists, Philadelphia, Pa.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD. Vice-chairman of Workers' Educational Association (England).

EUGENE LYONS. Newspaper man; Publicity Director Sacco-Vanzetti Committee.

SPENCER MILLER, JR. Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau of America.

PAULINE M. NEWMAN. Organizer, Woman's Trade Union League of Philadelphia.

Six Months of LABOR AGE

WITH this issue LABOR AGE completes its first half-year. It has been a half-year of encouragement. We have been able to get our message to the labor men and women of the country, and despite the depression which has set back labor temporarily, it met with a response which even we did not expect.

Labor is realizing as a matter of necessity, that it must turn to fundamental and constructive methods if it is to win its battle, even on immediate issues. In witness of this fact, co-operative banks are springing up, workers' educational classes are being established and the demand for socialization of industry is increasing in strength.

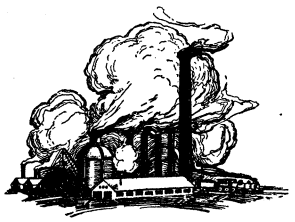
The purpose of LABOR AGE is to report and interpret what is happening on the labor battle front. And to push forward to a wider and wider group the necessity for adopting these constructive measures, both as labor's most effective weapon now, and as the means to its final goal—the socialization of industry.

We want *your* help in getting our message across to men and women within the labor movement and to students of labor problems. LABOR AGE cannot do its full job without your aid.

You can help by getting at least one new subscriber, and by securing the interest of unions in ordering and distributing bundles orders. Write to us today.

Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Labor Age



The Workers Educate Themselves

Value of Movement to American Labor

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

The reaction has taught us that labor must be self-sufficient. What folly it is to expect co-operation for labor's good from outside forces and agencies, against their own interest! The workers must have their own co-operative banks to lend them money in a long struggle. They must have co-operative stores to serve as the commissary department in strikes. They must have their own educational system to equip themselves for the industrial struggle and control of industry.

The realization of this fact has produced, not only the labor co-operative banks which have been established of late, but also a growing workers' educational movement in America. Sixty-one labor institutions devoted to education are now in existence, extending from New York to San Francisco.

NO SUBJECT before the organized labor movement today is worthy of more careful thought than that of workers' education. The World War and the period immediately following have taught us the necessity of forging new weapons for use in the struggle for justice and democracy in industry.

The power that comes from an enlightened and understanding rank and file cannot be overestimated. The organized workers have too long depended on their brute strength and bare hands to bring them results and have failed to use their heads except as cushions for the riot sticks of the State constabulary.

The Awakening

Both the leaders and the members of organized labor, however, are now awakening to the value of study classes, trade union colleges and similar institutions established under the control of the labor movement with the assistance of experts who are in sympathy with the aspirations of the workers for liberty, justice and democracy.

That labor is beginning to realize the value of understanding industry, is indicated by the use it is now making of investigators, research workers and economists, particularly in the transportation, textile, building, printing and boot and shoe industries. The experts, by exposing the wastes due to inefficient management, overcapitalization, absentee ownership and profiteering, have brought to the workers far more in dollars and cents than would have been gained through a prolonged strike. Besides this, the workers have secured an invaluable knowledge of the industry. But to get capable men and women who knew HOW to collect and place before the public important industrial facts, labor organizations have thus far had to go outside their own ranks.

Training in Workers' Control

There are those of us in the labor movement who expect that the workers in the not distant future are going to participate in the management of industry. It they are to improve on the present inefficient and wasteful methods, they must understand industry. And to understand it, they must be trained.

The giving of this training is one of the most important functions of the workers' educational movement. It will be some time before the mass of workers take part in this movement. The exceptionally eager and inquiring minds will first be developed and sent back among their fellows to work as local, district and central labor union officers and committeemen. They will be examples

among those of their own class of the value of the training of the mind.

Results of Ignorance

At the present time one of the most regrettable factors with which the union executive has to contend is the ignorance of many of those chosen as local lodge officers. Presidents of lodges in many instances do not even understand the rudiments of parliamentary law. Recording secretaries fail to keep an understandable record of the activities of the local union. Important communications, resolutions and petitions are often ignored because of the inability of the secretary, intelligently and effectively to perform his duties.

Any trade union executive can testify to the tremendous difficulties encountered in selecting men who can properly handle the finances of local unions and keep the books in proper shape. Then comes the lack of ability of the average member to express himself intelligently in the meetings of his local union. The exceptions to this rule are few.

Unions Go Into Business

Since the World War labor organizations have engaged to an even larger extent in some form of business. As this movement gains momentum, the demand for men and women from labor's own ranks to serve as directors and managers becomes ever greater.

Many times this is not evident until such an institution begins to function. In a city in which a Labor Bank recently began operations, there was some division of opinion among the active unionists as to the form of organization of the bank. A few isolated individuals had, for the first time, interested themselves in laws governing banking institutions. From their meager knowledge they expressed their opinions. Others from the rank and file took up the matter. Soon such tabooed subjects as overhead expense, turnover of resources, earnings, credits, etc., were being discussed in the meetings of local unions which had invested in the bank stock or had deposited their funds in the institution.

Previously it had been the custom, when looking for a depository for their funds, for the officers to go to the nearest substantial-looking building with barred and grated windows and elaborate bronze plates bearing the magic word "bank," and there to leave their deposits. No one had ever thought of making inquiries as to the nature of its organization, the volume of its business, the kind of credits extended, the salaries of officers, etc. But in an institution which was THEIRS these things must be known.

Workers' Education Grows

The leaders and members of organized labor are thus beginning to make use of expert knowledge as a weapon in their struggle for justice. They are beginning to pry into what have heretofore been unknown facts relative to production, management, ownership, capitalization, overhead and other mysterious factors in modern industrial society.

In assisting in this process, the workers' educational movement is indispensable. Every town, no matter how small, should have its study classes. In the larger cities there should be a trade union college. At least one workers' resident college has already been established. State Federations of Labor are, in some states, endeavoring to assist local groups in organizing study classes, by providing outlines of studies and furnishing proper instructors. In the larger cities where trade union colleges have been organized, they are being supported financially and otherwise by the local unions and central labor bodies.

The Duty of Unions

Free scholarships should be, and in many cases have been, established as an incentive for active members to secure the necessary training. Thus we see that out of the labor movement itself are developing institutions which assist in making up the deficencies in education lost by so many mature workers. English, composition, parliamentary law, co-operative administration, labor and law, history, economics, public speaking, argumentation, debate, research work and industrial problems are being taught the workers in institutions of their own creation.

No more constructive work on the part of district councils, central labor unions, system federations and local unions could be undertaken than that of establishing free scholarships in resident workers colleges and of selecting the intelligent, capable and ambitious workers from the rank and file for the training. Short periods of intensive training could be given yearly to business agents, organizers and other salaried officials.

By developing and controlling our own institutions of learning for the men and women of our movement, we will educate the workers into the service of their fellow workers rather than away from the labor movement, as is so often the case when the ambitious unionist enters the average university.

How Labor Classes Operate

By ALEXANDER FICHANDLER

WORKERS' EDUCATION in America is still in its infancy. The oldest enterprise, that of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is now celebrating its fifth birthday. But all signs point to a rapid and healthy growth. There is little doubt in the minds of close observers, that in a short time it will exercise considerable influence on the American labor movement. Meanwhile, it is the duty of all progressive and loyal labor organizations and leaders, to aid in the movement for extending and expanding workers' colleges throughout the country.

The Organization of Classes

The oldest and perhaps the most satisfactory method of instructing workers is that of small groups or classes. These are conducted by practically all labor colleges in the country.

In almost all cases, they are organized and controlled by labor organizations. One or several unions engage instructors and secure the necessary facilities. They attract students by conducting a campaign of propaganda, or "selling" labor education, through the labor press, at union meetings, and through personal appeals.

In most instances the students pay for tuition. The money thus obtained is generally insufficient to meet the necessary expenses, and the unions meet the deficit. In some cases, the unions defray all the expense, and admit their members to the classes free of charge.

Many workers' classes meet in public school buildings. School authorities frequently co-operate not only by allowing the use of rooms, but also by assigning teachers of English. Teachers of other subjects are generally engaged by labor organizations. Other classes meet in halls, union headquarters, etc.

Some of the classes meet at weekly intervals or more frequently, for an entire season of four or five months. In such cases, a subject is taken up intensively, and is covered with considerable thoroughness by the end of the term. However, there are many classes that meet for shorter periods. In some sections, particularly where workers lack the patience, persistence or leisure to attend a prolonged course of lessons, classes are kept up for but four or five weeks. In such, there is generally a brief treatment of some phase of labor history or problems, or of a selected topic in some other subject. But these classes are continued beyond the allotted time, if the class shows sufficient interest. However, it is wise to announce that such classes will be conducted for a short time. This attracts workers who for some reason or other are unable to devote much time to study. But once they evince a disposition to continue, the class can be prolonged.

The Teacher

The teachers engaged for workers' classes generally possess three qualifications. They are competent to teach their subject, they know how to teach, and lastly, they have a sympathetic understanding of the labor viewpoint.

The absence of any of the three is a serious handicap; frequently it is fatal. The first two are obviously essential. As far as the third is concerned, it is not necessary or even desirable that the teacher be an advocate or propagandist of labor doctrines. But he must feel as well as understand the position of labor in modern society, and must have an emotional as well as intellectual appreciation of its aims and aspirations. If this is lacking, he cannot gain the confidence of his students.

Broadly speaking, the teaching is carried on in one or two ways. In the first, about an hour is taken up by the instructor in lecturing. Then questions are asked by the class, opinions expressed, criticisms made, and discussions carried on. In the second, students do not wait for the end of the lecture, but ask questions and express opinions whenever they find it necessary to do so.

The latter method is undoubtedly superior. When employed properly, difficult points are explained on the spot, and the interest of the class is aroused. There is danger, however, that some of the questions and criticisms may lead far afield, and destroy the unity of the lesson. To prevent this, the teacher must exercise considerable skill. He must not permit the discussion to wander away from the subject at hand, and must not permit the discussion to degenerate into a monologue by an ambitious, if not interesting, member of the class.

In some of the classes, as those conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, teachers prepare outlines of lessons; these are duplicated and distributed to the class. The outlines contain a syllabus of the lesson, and serve a double purpose. First, the student follows them during the lesson and gains a clear and concise idea of the subject matter. Second, at the end of the term, he is the owner of a syllabus of the entire course, and can use it for reference.

Culture and Economics

Some of the workers' classes are large, containing at times more than a hundred students. Some number but a dozen or less. Cultural subjects, like literature and psychology, attract more students than economics, history of the labor movement and labor problems. This is but natural, considering the appeal that the former make to the average man and woman. It is necessary, however, to stimulate interest in the social sciences by employing teachers of special ability, and by impressing continually the importance of these subjects. It must be made clear that the working class will gain in strength only as the rank and file gains increased understanding of the social and economic laws which underlie existing institutions, and learns how to utilize them to improve their own condition.

Workers as Students

The students who attend workers' classes differ in preparation and mental equipment. Some can follow attentively and comprehendingly the remarks of a college professor who uses involved English. Others can follow the lesson only if the instructor employs words of one syllable. Needless to say, the teacher must study the needs of the class and act accordingly.

In cities where foreign born workers are found in large numbers, it is necessary to employ their native tongue. In such places classes are conducted in Yiddish, Italian, Russian, Polish, etc. It has been found, however, that as soon as these workers acquire a sufficient familiarity with the English language, they join classes where English is used.

The attendance of students varies. There are many who attend classes faithfully and regularly week after week. There are others, however, who come and go depending on weather, fatigue, social engagements, interest in the work, etc. Obviously special attention must be paid to such. Personal appeals are of use. But more attractive courses and teachers are of greater help.

The amount of work put forth by workers outside of the class room is generally inadequate. While practically all teachers assign collateral reading and writing, but few follow the suggestions. The causes are many. Workers are generally too tired to do much serious reading at the end of a working day. They seek rest or recreation. A multitude of pleasurable attractions contend for their attention. In addition, because of absence of opportunities during childhood, they lack the habit of study and reading. It is remarkable that under these conditions, so many of them attend classes and work so conscientiously at their studies.

In considering the problem of workers' classes, it is important to remember that they must be democratic in character. They must keep their doors open to all who wish to enter, no matter what their qualifications may be. Labor needs skilled and well-informed leaders as well as an intelligent rank and file. Leaders come from the ranks. Only when instruction is available to all and can be had for the asking, is it possible to develop the latent abilities of workers. Some of them will serve their fellow workers as union officials, some as teachers, and some as efficient units in a capable rank and file. But in all cases they will contribute the results of their education to the cause of labor.

Again, in all these classes, the instruction must be such as will benefit not only the worker individually, but also the labor movement and society as a whole. Instruction for personal advantage has no place in workers' schools. The aim is not to prepare workers for success outside of the labor movement, but to prepare them for service to their fellow men and women.

Mass Education

Another effective method of workers' education is the lecture. Single lectures on important social and economic problems are offered to workers in various ways. In some cases arrangements are made with workers' schools or labor organizations to have speakers address members of unions before or after business meetings. The lecture is generally followed by questions and discussions.

The lecture is also the center of forums arranged by labor organizations. In these, an attempt is made to attract as large an audience as possible. A short musical program precedes the address. The speaker is generally a prominent

Drawn by Gropper. *I. P. E. U. 624*

labor leader, writer, educator, etc. He speaks for an hour or less. The chairman then throws the floor open for questions, discussions, etc.

In place of lectures, debates are held frequently. Their success depends to a large extent on the timeliness and importance of the subject, and the prominence and skill of the debators.

Forums are useful because they serve to attract large numbers, whose interest in labor education may be stimulated and developed. For it is necessary not only to conduct agencies for giving education, but also to create a strong sentiment in its favor. It may be said that today it is highly important to achieve the second aim. Those who realize the value of workers' education must exert great effort to convince many lukewarm leaders of its significance. Once this is done, there is no doubt as to the ultimate success.

It is important to note that the success of labor forums depends greatly on the amount of publicity given. In small cities, where there are but few distractions, large audiences may be drawn with very little effort. Perhaps the mere announcement in the labor press and at the union meetings, is sufficient. In large cities like New York, it is quite different. The worker is confronted with many attractions, theatres, movies, concerts, lectures, dances, etc. He will go to a labor forum only if properly stimulated.

Stressing the Social Side

Workers' education is also carried on through social-recreational activities. The worker is a social animal. His hunger for social life must be satisfied. The workers' school and organization can attend to this as well as any other institution. If they do it successfully, they have a stronger hold on workers and can attract them to their other educational activities.

Physical training classes, hikes, excursions, trips to museums and points of interest, social gatherings, amateur theatricals, choruses, dances, etc., are carried on by many workers' colleges and unions. They add to the joy and happiness of workers, train them to appreciate the beauties of nature and art, and finally create among them a sense of fellowship.

Present Achievements

It is difficult to judge of the results of workers' education in America. It has existed for but a brief few years. But it has achieved enough to show that it has a definite and valuable place in American labor life.

Thousands of workers attend workers' classes in New York, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, St. Paul, Philadelphia, Seattle, etc. In many of these, the students become acquainted with the history, aims and problems of the labor movement, the history of their country, the economic organization of present-day society, and with other matters vitally connected with their life and welfare. Many of the students carry the knowledge thus gained to their shop and union meetings, and are guided by it in making decisions on questions submitted to the membership. Many others become executives and doubtlessly act in the light of what they learned in the classes.

That all this is of great value to the labor movement cannot be denied. Labor has the power to achieve its aims. But mere possession of power is insufficient; it must be used intelligently and effectively. There must exist a body of information to guide, clarify and interpret. To furnish such information, the labor movement in America must bend its energies. There must be on the part of those who see and understand, a determined and continued attempt to stimulate American labor organizations to build up a splendid system of labor schools throughout the length and breadth of their country.

American Beginnings

Early Demands of The Workers for Education

By SPENCER MILLER, Jr.

THE real beginnings of workers' education in the United States are to be found not in the past few years, but in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It was this period of American history which witnessed the extension of manhood suffrage, the opening of new western lands, the growth of the factory system and of towns, and the consequent development of workers' organizations. All of these economic and political developments emphasized to the workers the need for education.

The result was a concerted effort on the part of working class groups for public school education for their children and for themselves. As early as 1821, we find the Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen opening a school for apprentices in New York, and an apprentice library, available for members "who had experienced the want of information on many points connected even with their avocation." Schools and libraries along similar lines were started in other industrial centers.

Effect of Ballot

During the next few years the activity and interest of the workers in regard to education increased in volume. The possession of the ballot further stimulated this interest. "The concept of universal free education as a powerful economic and social engine," declared Professor Frank Carleton, "did not arise to a prominent place in the social consciousness until the wage-earner became an important factor in political life. A demand for free, tax-supported public schools appears where the workingmen have the ballot."

In the city of Philadelphia in 1828, the workingmen's associations were active in their demands for public education. The following year each candidate for the Pennsylvania State Legislature was asked to make formal declaration on a program for an "equal and general education for the State." Two years later (1830), a committee of workingmen was appointed to investigate the status of education in the State, and after a five months' survey submitted a report of considerable value.

At a general meeting of mechanics and workingmen in the city of New York during the winter of 1829, the agitation for education for workers took the form of the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That next to life and liberty, we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind.

"*Resolved*, That the public funds should be appropriated (to a reasonable extent) to the purpose of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to each individual obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity."

The Case for Workers' Education

Pamphleteers of that period set forth the case for workers' education in language which must remind us of some of our contemporary writers. Thus we read in Seth Luther's pamphlet on "The Education of Workingmen," published in 1832, that "a large body of human beings are ruined by a neglect of education, rendered miserable in the extreme, and incapable of self-government."

Through the New England States, and in many other industrial sections in the North, the wage-earners' demand for free education spread rapidly, and led to the establishment within a few years of public schools in these States. Legislatures and legislators became responsive to the importance of this as an issue. In a letter to his constituency in Sangamon County, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln wrote in 1832: "Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject that we as a people can be engaged in."

Parallel with this support of a free public school system, one may find accounts of the establishment of institutes for the education of adult workers. For example, a convention of Trade Societies was held in Philadelphia in 1839 for the express purpose of forming "Trade associations for the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of mechanics." At this same convention a resolution was adopted for the organization of a literary and scientific institute "for the diffusion of useful knowledge."

The history, then, of this early period of the nineteenth century is a record not only of expressed desire of workers for education, but a record of accomplishment as well.

THE COMING CONFERENCE

WORKERS' EDUCATION—an unsubstantial dream a few years ago—has now become a permanent and vital force in the American labor movement.

The growing maturity of the workers' education movement is vividly indicated by the tentative program of the Second Annual Convention of the Workers Educational Bureau, to be held on Saturday and Sunday, April 22 and 23 at the New School for Social Research, 465 W. 23d Street, New York City.

The conference will be opened at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon. James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and of the Workers' Bureau, will deliver the address of welcome. Fannia M. Cohen of the International Garment Workers will preside. The following active workers in labor educational work will speak.

Agnes Nestor, Chicago Trade Union College; S. S. Tingle, St. Paul Labor College, E. E. Schwarztrauber, Portland Labor College; Earl White, Passaic Trade Union College; Paul Blanshard, Rochester Labor College; Stacy May, Amherst Classes for Workers;; A. J. Muste, Brookwood Workers' College; Bertha Mailly, Rand School; Max Weinsweig, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; J. M. Budish, United Labor Education Committee; Frank B. Metcalf, Milwaukee Workers' College; David Webber, Denver Labor College; Frieda Miller, Philadelphia Trade Union College; Mabel Gillespie, Boston Trade Union College; Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Bureau.

The big public meeting of the conference will be the Saturday night dinner, to be held at Beethoven Hall, 210 Fifth Street at 6 o'clock. The subject of this dinner will be "The Aims of Workers' Education." John Brophy, President of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, and Chairman of the Socialization Research Committee of the U. M. W. is scheduled to act as chairman.

The following will speak:

Charles Beard, "The Historic Role of Labor and the Commonwealth"; Albert Mansbridge, "English Workers' Education"; John J. Sullivan, "Labor Education in New York City"; Hugh Frayne, "Workers' Education and the A. F. of L."; Rose Schneiderman, "Women Workers and Education"; James H. Maurer, "Forty Years in the Labor Movement"; Benjamin Schlesinger, "The Relation of the International to Labor Education."

The Sunday meetings will be devoted to more technical problems of the educational movement, as follows: Morning Session—Chairman: James H. Maurer, Subject: "Labor Movement and Labor Education." Speakers:

Michael A. Murphy, "Central Labor Body and Labor Education"; C. P. Ford, "The Need for Labor Education"; A. H. Huddell, "The Growing Need for Workers' Education"; W. H. Johnston, "What Will Labor Education Accomplish for the International Machinists?"; Paul Scharrenberg, "Relation of the State Federation of Labor to Labor Education"; Joseph Schlossberg, "Problem of Workers' Education"; John Brophy, "The Miners' Program and Workers' Education"; Matthew Woll, "The American Federation of Labor and Workers' Education"; Charles Stillman, "Labor Education and the Teacher"; J. J. Hanley, "Middle West and Labor Education"; Discussion.

Afternoon Executive Session—Discussion led by Abraham Baroff. Evening Session—Chairman: Mr. H. W. L. Dana. Subject: "Teaching Methods in Workers Education." Speakers:

Everett Dean Martin, "The Forum"; Paul Blanshard, "The Debate"; H. J. Carman, "Schoolroom Methods"; A. Fichlandler, "Discussion Method"; E. J. Brock, "Trade Union Meetings"; Theresa Wolfson, "Health Education"; Workers' Health Bureau, "Visual Instruction in Health Education"; Sara Stites and Helen Kyrk, "The Teaching of Economics"; J. B. Salutsky, "Journalism"; Algernon Lee, "Mass Education"; Robert Wolf and John Dewey, "Educational Aspects of Work"; George W. Snyder, "Correspondence Education"; Leo Wolman, "Text Books"; Sheffield, "Public Discussion."

The program throughout should serve to inspire the movement to further achievements in the days ahead.

For further particulars write Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary
465 West 23d St., New York City

What The British Are Doing

The Workers' Educational Association and Its Work

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD

THE recent formation of the Workers' Education Bureau of America was received with the greatest interest in England, where there exists a well-established movement for the education of adult workers. Though the United States must work out its own problems in its own way, it may be of value to outline the development of the British movement.

Background of the British Movement

It is not necessary for me to trace the history of the higher education of working people since the Industrial Revolution. The forerunners of the Workers' Educational Association were the co-operative movement, the university extension movement, and the working men's colleges.

The co-operators, it has been said, were "the one working class body which continuously and persistently stood for a humane education as an essential element in the social aims of democracy."

The university extension movement grew out of a desire to carry learning to the general public. The courses of lectures organized by the universities in various parts of the country were in many places largely attended by working people, but, speaking generally, just as the Mechanics' Institutes of the early part of the nineteenth century were gradually "swallowed up in the vortex of gentility," so university extension came to be dominated in the main by the middle class.

The working men's colleges, founded largely under the inspiration of the Christian Socialists of the middle of last century, were an attempt to offer the workers opportunities for humane education, on the ground, as F. D. Maurice expressed it, that a workman "is a person, not a thing; a citizen and not a slave or even a wage-earning animal."

It was during the great educational revival which began at the opening of the twentieth century that the Workers' Educational Association took its rise. A generation of public education, the diffusion of cheap literature, the development of public opinion on the question of higher education, and the widening outlook of trade unionism—all contributed to create an atmosphere more favorable to the spread of adult education.

The W. E. A. Joins with the Universities

The Workers' Educational Association was founded in 1903 and adopted its present name three years later. It sprang into existence on the initiative of a handful of trade unionists and co-operators under the inspiration of Mr. Albert Mansbridge, who became its secretary. It drew upon the educational traditions of the co-operative movement; it imbibed the catholic outlook of the working men's colleges, and built upon the experience of the university extension movement. In 1907, when it was yet unknown to the wider world, the Association brought into being the "University Tutorial Class movement." Since that date every university in England and Wales has established a Tutorial Classes Joint Committee, normally consisting of equal numbers of university representatives and workers' representatives nominated through the W. E. A.

These committees, of which the W. E. A. District Secretary is generally the joint secretary, are responsible for the provision and development of university tutorial classes, which are university classes conducted by a competent tutor. Each class continues for three years, and meets at least twenty-four times each session for two hours. The students are expected to do systematic reading and written work. The classes are financed as a rule by university grants, grants from the State through the Board of Education, and local contributions, generally in the shape of a grant from the local education authority. The classes are open to both men and women, and the proportion of women has steadily increased during the last few years. In 1907-8 there were but two such classes, with a membership of 78. The movement steadily developed until 1914-15, when there were 155 classes, attended by more than 3,000 pupils. During the war the classes dropped (1916-17) to 99, with 1,996 pupils. After the armistice there was a rapid recovery, however, and in 1920-21 some 6,820 students attended 293 such classes.

Demand for the Social Sciences

The most popular subjects of study are industrial and social history and economics, but the range of studies is increasing year by year. The subjects taken by the tutorial classes during the session 1919-20 were as follows:

Subject	*No. of Classes*
Economics, Industrial and Social History	114
English Literature	44
Psychology and Philosophy	24
Modern European History and History of Political Freedom	11
Political Science	6
Studies in Social Science	5
Biology and Natural History	5
Music	5
Problems of Reconstruction	4
Sociology	3
Local Government	2
Other subjects	6
Total	229

Summer schools are also held annually under the auspices of this movement. Students go into residence for a week or more, and pursue their studies uninterrupted by the daily round of wage-earning toil.

In addition to co-operating with the universities in arranging these three-year tutorial classes, the organization and supervision of which it undertakes, the W. E. A. conducts classes running for but one session, co-operates with local education authorities in the establishment of similar groups, and conducts study circles, courses of lectures and educational conferences.

It has, however, another side to its work. Originally founded to promote the higher education of work people, it soon extended its interest to education in all its phases, and now the W. E. A. definitely works for the realization of a democratic system of education and full equality of opportunity for all. Its ideal is "a broad highway" of education whereon all may travel as far as their desires and capabilities may allow. It, therefore, carries on propaganda in order to strengthen working class interest in education.

How the W. E. A. Is Organized

The organization of the Workers' Educational Association rests upon its branches, which are federations of working class organizations and educational bodies, and which also make provision for individual members. Great Britain is now divided into a number of districts, in each of which there is a full-time Secretary. The district is governed by representatives of the branches in the district, of societies affiliated directly with it, and of individual members.

The National Association is governed by a Council, consisting entirely of representatives of the districts and of the national organizations affiliated with it. These latter include, besides individual trade unions and educational bodies, such important bodies as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Co-operative Union, the National Adult School Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union and the Y. M. C. A. The last four themselves carry on educational work.

Some idea may be gained of the progress of the Association from the fact that the number of branches grew from 13 in 1905-6 to 317 in 1920-21, the number of affiliated societies from 283 to 2,896, and the individual members from 2,612 to 23,880.

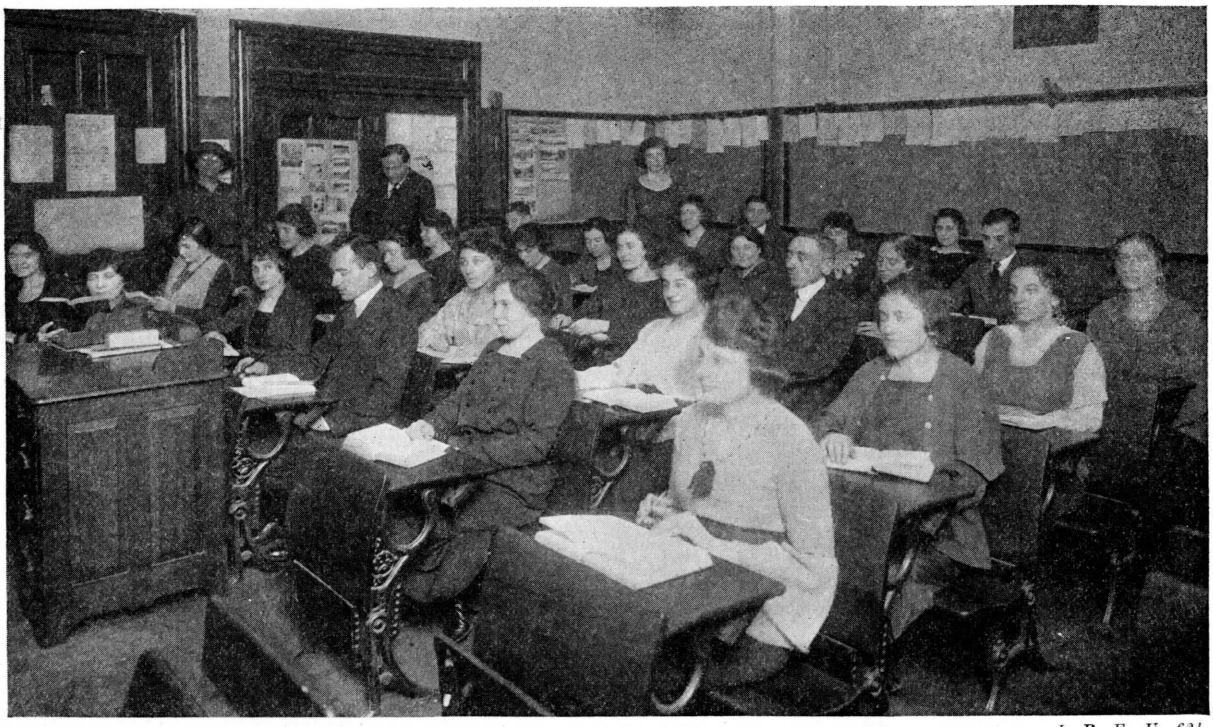
The character of the organizations which form the W. E. A. may be gathered from the following analysis of its membership in 1920:

Trade unions, trades councils and trade union branches	1,280
Co-operative Societies	485
Adult Schools, etc.	191
Working Men's Clubs	135
Teachers' Associations	230
Educational and Literary Societies	100
Local Education Authorities	40
University Bodies	8
Various	291
Total	2,760

Closer Relation with Trade Unions

One of the most recent developments of the W. E. A. was the formation of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee. This committee developed as a result of the demand of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, one of the unions affiliated with the W. E. A., for some scheme which would provide educational facilities for its members. A joint committee of the W. E. A. and the Confederation was set up in October, 1919, and immediately commenced operations. The work has developed on a large scale, and the W. E. T. U. C. has now been joined by the Union of Postoffice Workers, for whose members educational facilities are being provided.

In October, 1920, the W. E. T. U. C. convened a conference on trade unionists and education, as a result of which a committee was formed



WORKERS' EDUCATION UNDER WORKER CONTROL *I. P. E. U. 624*

Class in Economics in Waistmakers' Unity Center, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, New York.

to investigate the question further. The committee presented a report which was endorsed by the conference and approved in principle by the Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and by the Trades Union Congress itself, in September last. This development holds out great promise of a big growth of educational work amongst trade unionists.

The W. E. A., it will be seen, has made remarkable strides since its obscure and unheralded origin less than twenty years ago; it stands today as the most powerful and most influential workers' educational movement in the world.

Ruskin and the Labor Colleges

There has, however, been another line of growth to which reference must be made. In 1899 Ruskin College was founded at Oxford through the initiative of three Americans, Dr. Charles A. Beard and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman. It was the first residential college for working men, and its object is "to equip the students in such a way as to increase their usefulness to the labor movement in general, and to the societies who sent them to the college, in particular."

As a result of a schism, the Central Labor College (now called the Labor College) was founded in 1909. Ruskin College continued its activities, and since the war it has admitted women students. It is affiliated with the Workers' Educational Association.

The Labor College makes no claim at non-partisanship. It is avowedly Marxian in its outlook, and has refused to co-operate with universities and other educational bodies and institutions. The college itself is small, but associated with it is the Plebs' League, which is an association of ex-students and supporters of the college. The League exists to propagate the educational principles and policy of the Labor College, and its activities include the formation of classes up and down the country.

During the war the Scottish Labor College was inaugurated and under its auspices classes are held in various parts of Scotland.

A further step in organization has just been taken by the decision of a conference called to consider the co-ordination of the various classes in the country, that a National Council of Labor Colleges be set up "to bring together the various colleges, districts and groups already in existence, with a view to extension and mutual help." The labor college movement, however, is not nearly so extensive as is the W. E. A. Its large work is of the future.

Fighting the 54-Hour Week

The Textile Revolt in New England

By EUGENE LYONS

THE New England textile strike has been wrenched out of focus by the wanton bloodshed in Pawtucket, R. I., on February 21st. But it is important to view it in its true perspective as an integral part of the national open-shop campaign and the frank movement to reenforce industrial feudalism in America. The extent to which the situation is so viewed, especially by organized labor, will determine the financial support that will be brought to the strikers and therefore the successes or failure of the struggle.

The forty thousand strikers are making a desperate fight not alone for themselves but for 200,000 cotton operatives in New England and in a measure, for the whole working class population of the section. If the 54-hour week and the 20 per cent wage reduction go into effect despite the organized resistance at several points, these lower standards will be extended to the rest of the industry and will be the signal for similar, if not more serious, impositions in other trades. Sporadic wage cuts in the shoe factories, the woolen mills and the street railways are indicia of what may be expected in case the strike fails. The textile strike centered in Rhode Island and New Hampshire is a crucial test.

Labor Unorganized

The choice of these states, especially of Rhode Island, was not haphazard. The mills clustered along the Pawtuxet and Blackstone rivers were practically unorganized. They were weakened by repeated submission. A general cut of 22½ per cent was accepted last year without protest; so were supplementary reductions in isolated mills from time to time. The only semblance of organization in the Pawtuxet valley was an Amalgamated Textile Workers local of some 90 members. While in the Blackstone district here and there could be found a few members of the United Textile Workers of America, the A. F. of L. organization. In Manchester, N. H., the situation was better, but not materially so.

There is reason to believe that the mill owners did not foresee determined opposition. In their preliminary conferences a prominent manufacturer argued for a 33 1-3 per cent reduction. That their confidence was partly justified is testified to by the fact that the number of workers who submitted to the new conditions is still larger than the number of those on strike. Even in the Blackstone valley, the workers did not walk out in earnest until two and a half weeks after the new wage and hour schedule had been put into operation.

The Pawtuxet valley strike was more dramatically spontaneous than any downing of tools in recent years. The Amalgamated leaders did not arrive until the strike was well under way. On Thursday, January 19, the announcement of the new schedule, to go into effect the following Monday, was posted in the mills. Dissatisfaction began to crystallize throughout the entire valley; but there was no open talk of strike. Even at the mass meeting on Sunday in Natic, the largest of the towns, nothing was said about striking. Dr. James P. Reid, of Providence, and others who addressed the gathering merely urged the men and women to organize.

Monday morning, the employees of the Natick mill reported to work, but didn't take off their coats. The air was heavy with expectancy. Who would make the first move? Suddenly someone raised the cry, "Let's strike," and they filed out. Next day the Valley Queen workers followed, then the Pontiac, Phenix, Arkright, and Harris operatives, and within a week the strike had spread to the entire valley, involving about 8,000 workers, 40 per cent of them women.

The "Iron Battalion" and the "Shock Troops"

The story of the walk-out in this sector would be incomplete without mention of the part played by the self-styled "Iron Battalion" of Natick and Pontiac, the Crompton "Shock Troops" and the Royal and Valley Queen "Flying Battalion." These "units," overlapping to some extent and totaling from 500 to 700 men, were the militant minority which started the stampede from the mills and maintained the morale for some time thereafter. The "Iron Battalion"' it was which spoke the first words in Natick, then marched in turn to Valley Queen and the other mills. The "Shock Troops" took the initiative in Crompton, the last of the towns in Pawtuxet valley to come out and now among the most determined to re-

main out. The groups were organized somewhat along military lines. There was the bugle call at 4 A. M., and military formation in marching. A majority in these organizations—90 per cent, according to over-enthusiastic strikers — are ex-service men.

Blackstone Valley Follows

The neighboring Blackstone valley, of which Pawtucket is the leading town, continued at work, chafing under the new burdens, waiting for leadership. Impatient Amalgamated organizers hinted pointedly that, unless action was taken quickly by the A. F. of L., they would assume the responsibility for calling out Blackstone valley workers. However, International President Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers arrived and about 7,000 answered the call for a strike. Several mills were completely tied up, the working force in others was seriously reduced. The ranks of the strikers have been swelled by new recruits every day.

During the first week in February, the announcement of a wage and hour schedule similar to the one attempted in Rhode Island was posted in the Amoskeag and Stark mills in Manchester and in smaller mills throughout New Hampshire. Mass meetings were called, not only of the textile workers but of working people generally, under the auspices of the Central Labor Union. A strike vote was taken. Of 12,250 votes cast, only 118 said "No." Early on the morning of February 13, when the new schedule was to go into effect the huge Amoskeag property was completely encircled by a picket line. In the afternoon several thousand more joined the parade, and two concentric circles of marchers were formed, moving round and round in opposite directions. Dennis Fleming, President of the state organization of the United Textile Workers, took charge. He places the number of those who struck at more than 18,000.

If the temper of the strikers is any gauge, there will be no compromise on the question of hours, and the writer ventures to assert, after a close view of the situation in that locality, that at least the Pawtuxet valley strikers will not arbitrate the question of wages either, except under the compulsion of starvation.

The Books Must Not Be Opened

The initial attempt at mediation indicated how fearful the mill owners were of opening the books even to a friendly State Board. They had hinted that they might permit one member of the Board, provided he pledged himself to secrecy, to look into their ledgers. The chairman, Judge J. Jerome Hahn, therefore offered to settle the dispute single-handedly if both sides would entrust him with the job, mill operations to go on during this investigation. Governor San Souci endorsed the idea, but the mill owners refused to accept him as arbiter. His intimate association with the controlling political and industrial interests of the state also led the strikers to reject his offer.

Why have the manufacturers persistently refused to make public any of their records of profits and wages in support of their contention that the mills cannot be run at a profit under present conditions? Strike leaders have a ready and obvious answer to the question. "We know the manufacturers do not want the investigation," says McMahon. "It would show them up." And Fleming points out that in 1920 the workers in the Amoskeag mills earned $8,000,000 for the owners and $2,000,000 in excess profits put into improvements. He says that a big dividend was declared about the same time that the new schedule was announced.

The Amalgamated leaders are gathering statistics through various channels and hope within a few weeks to make public some significant figures. As to wages, thousands of pay envelopes in the union headquarters reveal an average wage of about $17.00 a week for operatives working full time. In many instances the wage is as low as $10.00, and proportionately lower where the operative worked on a part-time arrangement.

"Like Feudal Serfs"

The ironic tragedy of the whole situation is that the strikers are fighting not for amelioration of their lot, but for the maintainance of the status quo; for the squalid, muddy life, the overcrowded houses, the starved diets that totaled existence for them before the new burdens were announced. Some inkling of the prevalent conditions may be obtained from the fact that the *Providence News* (prompted by hatred for the Republican administration rather than any special love for the striking workers) can print such front-page headlines as the following without exhausting the full horhor of the circumstances:

"Like Feudal Serfs, Workers in Pawtuxet Valley Mills Tied to Squalid Homes by Owners: While cattle get the best of care, human wards of great cotton companies are held in quarters un-

Underwood & Underwood. *I. P. E. U. 624*

PRESIDENT McMAHON OF UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS
Addressing Strikers on Capitol Steps, Providence, R. I.

fit for modern habitation and these conditions produce immorality, ill health, and counteract efforts of operatives to struggle upward to a higher plane of living."—(February 27, 1922.)

The Strikers Need Help

A big majority of the strikers are already dependent on outside help. The strike found most of them worse than penniless. Soup kitchens and relief stations have been organized and a Commissary department is being formed for collective purchasing of food. The holiday spirit still pervades such towns as Crompton.

There have as yet been no notices to vacate in the Company houses. But it is a club over the heads of the strikers which may descend at any time and do a lot of damage. In any event, every week that passes without a settlement further obligates the strikers to the owners, and it will be many months, no matter how the strike ends, before they will have emerged from the mire of debt.

From the efforts to import scabs and the house-to-house canvas of strikers by overseers it may be judged that the Rhode Island textile manufacturers are anxious for a resumption of work. The same thing does not hold true for Manchester. Officials of the Amoskeag mills assert when pressed that the curtailment of production at this time does not worry them. They are short on orders, still in receipt of profits falling due from past orders, and hopeful of cutting down the price of raw cotton by diminishing the demand. Possibly it explains why no attempt to bring in scabs has been made in Manchester and the consequent peacefulness of the strike there.

While the kitchens are kept supplied, there is every reason to suppose that the strikers will stick. They look to labor to help. The action of the Jewish bakers of New Bedford in sending 1,000 loaves of bread weekly to the strike area is symbolic of the spirit which, if it spreads, will assure victory to the strikers.

The Militia Bring Violence

Space limitations prevent a detailed discussion of the military occupation of the strike district. Suffice it that there was no bloodshed until the arrival of the soldiers. The armed forces were mobilized and held in readiness long before there was the shadow of an excuse for their services. The first excuse came like a godsend, the troops hurried down and straightway proceeded to shoot into a crowd. The coroner's inquest of the death of Joseph Assuncao, the grocery clerk who happened to be near the scene of the shooting and was shot in the back seven times, has placed on record acts of brutality worthy of fellowship with the Ludlow massacre.

Providence, R. I., March 9, 1922.

The Coal War Breaks Out

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

The sixth big strike in the American coal fields will have begun by the time this issue reaches many of our readers. Never has the chaotic and wasteful condition of this autocratically conducted industry been shown up more clearly than in the discussions preceding the strike. The Survey Graphic of April, through the co-operation of the Bureau of Industrial Research, presents a striking review of the situation, from the viewpoint of the "public," the operators and the men. The facts underlying the struggle, from labor's viewpoint, and the tactics to be adopted, have been shown in previous articles of LABOR AGE, *particularly that by Heber Blankenhorn in the February issue. Here we present a concise statement of the outstanding facts, which gives a pocket-picture of the status of things.*

APRIL 1ST marks the breaking out of real hostilities in the coal fields. Confronted with the demand that they return to 1917 pre-war wages and with the arbitrary refusal of the operators to negotiate, the members of the United Mine Workers have decided to lay down their tools. This action means a complete paralysis of the industry. For the first time in history, the contracts in the anthracite (hard coal) fields and the bituminous (soft coal) fields expire on the same day, March 31st.

The two branches of the industry are not Siamese twins by any means, as conditions in each are dissimilar from the other in a number of ways. Anthracite is mined by 150,000 men in but one state, Pennsylvania. The miners are strongly organized and the operators a unit. Soft coal is dug by 500,000 men in thirty states. In what is known as the Central Competitive Field—Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania—the soft coal diggers are strongly organized. The Birmingham, Alabama district, large portions of West Virginia and the Connelsville, Pennsylvania district (in all of which the rule of the United States Steel Corporation is directly felt) are the big non-union soft coal regions, and are counted on as the sources of supply to break the strike, if injunctions and other governmental machinery do not turn the trick. The big facts back of the struggle are as follows:

1. Wages—The operators demand a 30 to 40 per cent cut and open shop conditions in the soft coal fields and a 10 per cent cut in anthracite. The miners counter with a proposed 20 per cent increase for hard coal mining. The National Industrial Conference Board—financed by manufacturers—sends broadcast a statement that the average hourly earnings of all mining wage earners in the anthracite fields, except contract miners, rose 166 per cent from 1914 to 1921. But the Board sticks to percentages, and does not state what this means in actual average yearly wages paid, when non-working days are considered. As a matter of fact, the loss of wages because of non-working days is enormous in the mining industry. Of course, this is particularly the case with soft coal, which over a period of thirty years, shows an average of only 215 working days per year. For 1921 and 1922 the number is much lower. Ellis Searles, editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, in a letter to Secretary Hoover on February 7th, states that the average number of days worked in 1921 in the Pittsburgh district, was 123, and the average earnings for the year in this strongly organized section were approximately $763 per man. Ohio miners worked only 118 days and averaged $550 per man for the year. The other central districts showed similar conditions. The highest average wage ever received by American soft coal miners was something less than $1,400, the war rate for one year in Illinois, when the cost of living made its purchasing power much less than that amount. According to the operators themselves, the average wage in the anthracite field in 1919 was only $1,551—certainly not a living wage for that year.

2. Hours—The miners' demand calls for a six-hour underground day. Although the United Mine Workers' Journal of March 1st declares that this was adopted by the February convention in order to injure President Lewis, it is the same demand that was made in the crisis of 1919, when the miners were silenced by Judge Anderson's resurrection of the Lever Act, which had proved ineffective against the profiteers. The miner does not now get in many more working hours per year than this six-hour day would mean, and some years he gets much less.

3. The Check-off—This practice must be retained by the miners, no matter what may be the outcome of the struggle on any other point. It has prevailed in the soft coal fields for almost 100 years. It is the means by which unionism secures the funds with which to carry on its work, not only in the field in which the check-off takes place, but for work in unorganized fields. It is the life blood of the United Mine Workers.

4. Waste—Secretary of Commerce Hoover—certainly not prejudiced in favor of labor—designates the soft coal industry as "one of the worst functioning industries in the United States." In anthracite, much better organized as it is, it is estimated that there is a loss of one million and a half tons of small coal per year.

It is this waste in industry which the miners must attack. The position indicated by John Brophy, president of District No. 2 and chairman of the Nationalization Research Committee of the U. M. W. of A., before the Public Ownership League, should be swelled to a battle-cry. "No wage cuts while waste exists!" The practical results that will follow from such a stand will be: 1. Insistence upon a thorough federal investigation of the entire mining industry, its wastes and financial control; 2. The constant demand for socialization of the industry, as the only means to meet the labor situation and to eliminate wastes. This is the meaning of that "larger program" which the Central Pennsylvania miners called for a year ago. It is a program that will bring both immediate and final victory.

The Chicago Political Conference?

Thus far in the United States labor has been, with few exceptions, politically inarticulate. Practically every country of Europe has developed a powerful labor party. America has had, and still has, a number of parties devoted to the interests of the workers. These groups, however, have never secured the adherence of the rank and file of labor. The American Federation of Labor has officially adopted the policy of rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies. The policy has led down a blind alley.

On February 20, 1922, a number of progressive trade unionists—including the great railroad brotherhoods—socialists and farmers, met in conference in Chicago to counsel together. They adopted a bill of grievances. The majority decided to try again to capture the old party primaries. They appointed a representative committee, and will meet again in December for further counsel. Many hope that the December conference will see the beginnings of a real independent political movement of labor.

Was there anything hopeful in the Chicago gathering? Did labor take a stride forward? LABOR AGE has asked this question of every shade of labor thought. The replies received are of more than passing interest.

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON

President of the International Association of Machinists

It is significant of the crystallization of sentiment that has been taking place the past two years, that the Conference for Progressive Political Action held in Chicago February 20-21 should have met with substantial approval from the divergent elements represented at the gathering. Every phase of liberal opinion was represented. There were socialists and trade unionists, members of the Non-partisan League and of conservative farm organizations like the Equity; there were co-operatives and leaders in the Farmer-Labor party. One would have expected vigorous attempts from one section or the other in an effort to translate the conference into a movement for the support of some one of the organizations already in the field.

No such attempt was made. There was no controversy over principles or over the procedure to be followed. The conference confined itself to a declaration of principles in the form of an Appeal to Action and an outline of activities to be followed by progressive organizations in the several states. The nearest approach to the formation of a third party was a direction to the National Committee to call a second conference December 11, 1922, to act upon the results of the experiences gained in the elections of this year.

The conference seemed to say that any effective work must come from the bottom; that if a new party is to be formed it must be a natural growth rather than a creation, and that with such divergent elements to be harmonized that the harmonizing process must be worked out in the individual communities rather than through a national movement. It was this motive that led the conference to direct that existing organizations should be recognized and that delegates should go back home and affiliate with them. Where no such organizations exist delegates and others were directed to call a state and congressional conference in sympathy with the general principles laid down at Chicago. They were directed to be aggressive and proceed as rapidly as possible in the planning of their activities.

It was assumed that, in many states, efforts would be made to capture the primaries of one or both of the dominant parties or to nominate and elect men in sympathy with the general program of the conference. Where such attempts were futile and efforts seemed to justify it, delegates were to take steps to act independently of the existing parties and to bring their own candidates into the field. Undoubtedly, there will be a wide diversity of action in the several states, but the training and experience gained from such activity will be of tremendous value to the movement. Already organizations are in being or are being brought into being in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho, Washington and Oklahoma. Beginnings are being made in other states.

It is not improbable that an active campaign will be carried on in a dozen states, while isolated efforts to create a congressional bloc will be carried on in many congressional districts. While I do not mean to prophesy, it is not impossible that a substantial farmer labor bloc may exist in the coming Congress and some changes in the personnel of the United States Senate may be brought about.

At any rate, whatever the outcome of this year's elections may be, the railway employes, numbering two million, and the miners, numbering five hundred thousand more, have taken the initial steps to an alignment with the farmers of the country on the assumption that there is a natural basis for co-operative political action between them. They are both producers; they have both been sacrificed by existing political parties, and experience is demonstrating that they can work together for their common political interests.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(From April "Labor Herald")

The conference for Progressive Political Action, formed in Chicago, February 20-21, marks an important de-

velopment in the Labor Movement of this country, not so much for its actual deeds (for it did not do much), as for the fact that here, for the first time, representatives of unions and radical groups with membership running into the millions, met to consider the political problems of the workers' organizations.

The gathering pointed out the political backwardness of the labor movement here, but it failed entirely to point out a definite path of development, or to put its finger upon any of the reasons for our backwardness. One of the reasons, the mention of which was carefully avoided, is Mr. Gompers. The whole world knows, or should know, that he has been the inveterate enemy of every progressive movement, political or industrial, started in the A. F. of L. or outside. He has for many years thrown the whole of his great power against progress and for reaction. He will be one of the obstacles which this conference must overcome, if it is to really get any effective action started. Some one should have stood up in the conference and said so. That the entire gathering was lacking in this respect is not particularly to be commended. A different spirit will be demanded in the national conference called for the second Monday in December, if this movement is not to go the way of similar movements of the past.

JAMES ONEAL

Of "New York Call"

The significance of the Chicago conference lies not in any particular action taken. It is found in the fact that it is the first large mass movement in nearly thirty years that has become more or less conscious of the fact that the old party organizations are the keepers and guardians of capitalist interests. In 1894 most of the national unions, eleven state federations and many city central bodies decided in favor of independent political action. But this decision was emasculated by clever parliamentary maneuvers of its opponents in the A. F. of L. convention of that year.

The Chicago conference revealed the fact that there is again a drift towards independent action. It is timid, uncertain and hesitating, yet it is here. It did not have the courage to break with the past at Chicago while at the same time it is not confident of the old methods. The dominant idea seemed to be, "Let us try just once more." After this trial the conference will meet again in December to take stock of results and to determine a future course of action.

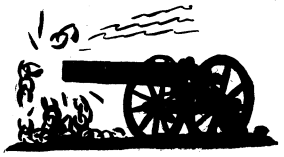
The conference made one concession that was a departure from the old policy. It was agreed that where the working class took independent political action in any districts there would be no interference by endorsing a "good man" on a capitalist ticket. Although not a big step in advance, still it is a break with the past.

Socialists in the conference look forward to the possibility of a more advanced position being taken in future conferences. They believe that actual experience with the old policy will accomplish more in the way of education than argument. The value of the next conference lies in the fact that it will meet soon after the November election when the results will be fresh in the minds of those who attend. A survey of these results will certainly convince some of the men who attend that little is to be gained by supporting candidates who owe allegiance to party machines controlled by the enemy.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH

Managing Director Farmers' National Council

No sane person expects the end of either of the great political parties overnight. The period of reaction which followed the world war was the result of the almost inevitable let-down from the high tension of genuine patriotism and spurious paytriotism. During such a period it is unusually difficult to secure agreement among the great forces of organized farmers, organized labor and the general public.



The non-partisan political conference held at Chicago in February achieved a phenomenal success in demonstrating for the first time in the history of co-operation between farm and labor forces for political action, the common interest in securing representative government and the submergence of individual opinions for the common good. The declaration made by the conference arraigning existing economic and political conditions was unanimously agreed to. A specific and definite program might not have been agreed to.

The great achievement of the conference, therefore, was the creation of an organization and committee pledged to use political common sense so as to secure the election this fall of men and women committed to the honest purpose of intelligent service to farmers and wage-earners. It is futile to attempt to capture either of the political parties or to organize an effective third party in a few months, but a "bloc" devoted to the public welfare can be elected, and conspicuous servants of special privilege and monopoly in both the Senate and the House of Representatives can be defeated, through the active and intelligent work of the forces represented at the Chicago conference, and by the methods to which they committed themselves for this fall's campaign. The action will doubtless have vital influence, also, upon many state elections.

WARREN S. STONE

Grand Chief, B. of L. E.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, recently held in Chicago, marked a new milestone in the progress of the American labor movement. American workers long ago learned that they must unite their efforts in order to secure economic justice. Everything that labor has gained in this country has come through organization and collective bargaining. But years of experience have finally convinced us that the economic power we have gained through mutual sacrifice and constant effort is being continually undermined and destroyed by those who have seized control of the political power of the nation. Because large business interests wield this political power, taxes are shifted from the pockets of the rich to the stomachs of the poor, constitutional guarantees are denied minors and the workers striving to maintain a de-

cent standard of living, and judges are appointed to the Supreme Court who are more concerned with the protection of property privileges than the preservation of human rights.

Organized labor in Europe has used three weapons in achieving its progress: (1) It has organized its labor power through trades and industrial unions; (2) it has mobilized its financial power through co-operative labor banks; (3) it has secured political power by collective political action. Organized labor in America has in the past used but the first of these weapons. It is just beginning to appreciate the vast possibilities of mobilizing its financial resources under its own control. The Chicago Conference marks a new epoch,—a realization that the workers must unite and combine for political action in order to protect their economic interests and create anew a government truly representative of the best interests of the common people.

The Chicago conference went a long way toward securing this necessary political unity on paper. The next step is to translate it into practical political action. Let us forget party labels and the artificial barriers that have separated us, and get together to nominate and elect men who will dedicate themselves to the preservation of a government of, for, and by the people.

BASIL M. MANLY

Director of the People's Legislative Service

In my opinion, the conference for Progressive Political Action was the most important and effective meeting ever called for such purpose in this country. It was not a convention for the dissemination of oratory, but a conference to secure unity and action. It achieved both.

There was greater political strength represented at the Chicago conference than at any similar gathering during the present generation. I have attended conventions at which the number of delegates was five or six times as great which did not represent one-tenth of the political strength represented at Chicago.

The conference very wisely placed its greatest emphasis upon organization, rather than upon platform. Previous conferences have usually produced a large and elaborate platform but nothing else.

The keynote of the Chicago conference, in my opinion, was the realization on the part of the various groups represented that it does not matter so much how far we move in our political action at any one time provided we move in the right direction and move together.

EDWARD KEATING

Manager of "Labor"

The big achievement of the conference was that it succeeded in getting the representatives of what Wilson called the "forward-looking" men and women of this country to agree on a plan of action and an appeal to the people.

Heretofore when trades unionists, single taxers, Socialists and the rest of us who call ourselves "liberals," "progressives," "radicals," or what not, have been gathered in one room we have generally engaged in a battle royal. Our performances have afforded much entertainment to the common enemy, but have not contributed to the advancement of the cause we all have at heart.

At last we have manifested sense enough to get together. May the good Lord keep us in that frame of mind!

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

(In "Advance")

The Chicago conference was at sea. It had gathered in obedience to labor's cry for relief, but the conference dared not propose a program. The leaders dared not lead. Instead, they preferred to follow the American workers into the old capitalist parties and ask them to make those parties behave.

The Chicago conference brought no encouragement to American labor. It failed to raise itself to the heights present conditions call for. Nor was it a disappointment. It was just one more meaningless gesture. Few, if any, expected more this time. American labor is still unable to stand on its own feet politically.

The above was said without any antagonism to the conference. On the contrary, it is the writer's firm conviction that the conference served at least one good purpose: It again drew the attention of the American workers to the necessity of political action. Another conference will be held in December. Perhaps that conference will outgrow the present child's prattle and begin to speak constructively.

We, who have faith in American labor, know that it will find itself. The American labor movement has a great future. There are underground rumblings denoting the urge of new life. The Chicago conference might be the cause of more than was intended. The rank and file might instruct the leaders whither to lead. In the meantime we must be patient.

JAY G. BROWN

National Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party

It marked the beginning of a change in the political policy of the producers of wealth in the United States. The plan of action unanimously adopted provides for aggressive and constructive political action, in contrast to the more or less negative policy of the past. The first step was taken towards a unification of the various forces striving for the same ends but which have heretofore nullified their strength by going each one a separate way.

Realizing the limited progress possible in this one conference, future ones were provided for, out of which something more concrete, more substantial, more advanced, more hopeful will come.

Difficulties With Sister

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

THROUGHOUT history women's work has been the mechanical, the unskilled, the monotonous work,—in short, the drudgery. The condition of women workers today differs but little from that of the long ago. Their wages are low and their hours of labor, long. Their surroundings in many industries are unhealthful. The job that means something to the one that does it, the job that inspires or calls forth creative faculties, is not yet theirs.

The woman worker is expected to go home after a day's work to do her own sewing, washing and cleaning. That is "woman's work," and on the whole, the working woman fulfills her "natural" duties without protest. Neither the employer nor the community expects a working man to do these things. On this account his wages are higher than those of the woman, even, though both are doing the same kind of work. To complicate the problem, women are not looked upon as a permanent factor in industry, and both trade unionists and the state seem to formulate their policies upon the assumption that the industrial woman is but a temporary "evil."

The Lot of the Unorganized

Of the working women, the lot of the unorganized is the most tragic. Their jobs are dull and insecure. They are the poorest paid and the most exploited. They are helpless because they rely on individual effort. Their lack of home or school training and their shop environment have made them susceptible to the sophistries expounded by their employers: "Hard work will bring its own reward. Be loyal and you will attain a career. Be content and your mind will be at peace. Be thrifty and you will get along on what you earn."

This "fatherly" advice the unorganized women workers accept without much hesitation or reasoning. The result is that they are not as yet regarded as a force of any significance in industry or politics.

The Advance of the Organized Worker

On the other hand, the organized working woman, through long years of effort in her organization, has overcome many of the problems which still confront her unorganized sister. Through her union she has secured for herself higher wages and shorter hours. In a few instances she is even getting equal pay for equal work with men. She has raised her standard of living. She has more time for self-development, for self-culture. Through necessity she has acquired the spirit of cooperation. She is less selfish. She has learned the meaning of the principle that "An injury to one is the concern of all."

From bitter experience she understands the need for self sacrifice—she is ready for it when the time for action comes. She knows that individually she is helpless and is willing to fight for what is due her. Her voice is often heard, not only in the industrial world, but in the legislative halls as well. She is expected to have an opinion on economic, political and social questions. In short, she has gained the respect of the community, and in many cases even of the employers of labor. As a group, therefore, the organized women workers are a source of inspiration and strength. And as a group, they are the hope of the future of the women workers.

And yet!

Trade Union Neglect

The women in the trade unions, have not solved certain vital problems. They have practically no representation on the governing bodies of the labor movement. They are not encouraged to take positions of leadership and responsibility. They are not being trained to administer their own affairs or to overcome their own difficulties. Even in the trades where women form the majority of the trade union membership, the management is almost entirely in the hands of men.

It is true that most of the women themselves, perhaps, are quite content to leave it all to "Brother." The labor movement, however, if it lived up to its principles, would discourage this. But, it argues, why not leave well enough alone.

As a result of this attitude very few women in the labor movement are able to cope with its problems and responsibilities. The women who can deal with employers, formulate agreements, sit on adjustment boards, logically defend their position during strikes, intelligently argue for their rights not only as working women but as citizens, and contribute toward the formation of ever broader and sounder trade union programs,

constitute less than a hundred throughout the country.

Moreover, actual hostility toward women working at "men's" trades is alive in the labor movement, with the result that there are organizations in this country, in this day and age, which do not accept women into membership. I have talked to many of the leaders of these unions and I am convinced—some of them were frank enough to admit it—that not only are they opposed to having women in their unions, but that they would, if they could, eliminate them from those industries which "rightfully" belong to men.

Reasons for Antagonism

The underlying cause for this attitude is fear that, if the women come into an industry, they will lower the standard of wages established by men. This fear can easily be understood, but it cannot be justified, any more than can the attitude of those who fight against the installation of a new machine.

Many urge that women should be eliminated from certain trades on the ground that these trades are not healthful for women. The brothers seem to know a great deal about industrial hygiene; in fact, they often dispute world authorities on this subject in order to justify their position.

But "Brother" will say that women in industry cannot be organized. The task, he complains, is too difficult. It takes too much money, too much time and energy. In reply to this argument, may I say from fifteen years of experience in the labor movement that, while it is difficult to organize women—and no one knows it better than I do—it is not impossible. All that it requires is a knowledge of how to overcome problems peculiar to women workers. It requires a willingness to continue the work year after year until she is brought to the realization that in organization lies her salvation. It requires constant agitation and education. It requires patience. It requires an understanding that the unorganized women can be—and often are—used by employers of labor as mere scabs against the men. This is a simple proposition. Yet very few of the labor leaders have made any effort to understand it.

Organization of women indeed presents peculiar difficulties. The home environment of the working girl is very often indifferent, if not antagonistic to trade unionism. The labor movement is seldom discussed at home—especially with girls. This silence occurs "in the best of families," even of good trade unionists. Nor is the training which they receive in the schools often of a kind that encourages independent thinking.

The Function of "Social" Agencies

It is not to be wondered at then that certain "social" agencies succeed in enlisting these girls by their appeal to the general human desire for recreation and sociability. The opportunity for satisfying these legitimate interests is not furnished by the home or the union. She joins these other groups because they offer that which the unions, with one or two exceptions, have thus far failed to provide for her.

By their policies and methods, these agencies, perhaps unconsciously, have become the tools of the employing class. They try to keep the girl worker "happy and contented"—a state of mind which rejoices the hearts of exploiters of labor. Usually they are subsidized by the capitalist group. They are often able to provide the women workers with cheap rooms and cheap food, thus enabling these workers to live on a low wage. They compile meager budgets which make no provision for many things necessary to an independent, self-respecting existence.

Labor Must Meet Women's Challenge

Labor must find an antidote to such narcotics. It will have to point out the difference between welfare secured through a union organization and that handed down to the workers in place of a living wage. Labor can overcome the obstacles—difficult as they may seem—if it so desires. But until it does, it is useless for "Brother" to tell us that the women are not organizable. This is merely evading the issue. Let us be frank enough to admit the truth, and the truth is that the coming of women into industry is regarded by the male worker as a necessary evil. Just as long as this attitude prevails will we have less than a million women in the American trade union movement.

The labor movement cannot develop without the support of the working women. For the sake of its own future, labor must develop leadership among its women. It must encourage them to share in the planning and executing of its campaigns in its innermost councils. It must include women's point of view, their interests and their problems. In the years ahead, Labor's task must be to live up to its declaration of principles—that of providing equality of opportunity for both men and women.

Psychology and the Workers

The Acquisitive Instinct

By PRINCE HOPKINS

THE acquisitive instinct, like the hunger instinct discussed last month, is evidenced in all forms of animal life. A thousand illustrations from the lives of animals, of squirrels, birds, dogs, magpies, etc., of the prevalence of this instinct among the lower animals, crowd into one's mind. In children we note from the very beginning a strong sense of possession. You must tell children many times, it has been well said, that an object belongs to someone else, but once only that it belongs to themselves. The significance of this remark, however, is somewhat lessened by the fact that the child often finds it difficult to distinguish clearly between himself and others. But the recognition of others' rights is a matter of slow growth. Among some this recognition never develops.

Suppression of Acquisition Instinct

While modern civilization gives rise to an abnormal development of the acquisitive instinct, its modern expression is useful. It is true that this usefulness is denied by numerous saints of the old and the new world, whose fame has largely depended on their willingness to live the life of poverty. Yet, it must be recognized by those who urge that the present generation follow these examples, that we are today living in a wholly different civilization and climate, and, furthermore, that we are not able to judge from this distance to what extent the stories of their lives are anything more than idealizations of the dreams of their followers. Residents of southern India, of southern Italy or of Judea need little in the way of clothing, shelter and food. When Tolstoy, however, sought to imitate the example of his master, trusting to Heaven for protection against the cold, he met his death. The truest prophet is not he who tries slavishly to imitate another prophet living in another age and under other climatic conditions, but he who reverently follows his own clear light. He will subordinate his possessive instincts to the instincts of service, but he will not make a fetish of complete self-abnegation.

The fact that such selective groups as are seen in monasteries have succeeded in denying completely the power of the possessive instincts does not indicate that an extreme communistic regime which ignored this instinct could work. Some private ownership of personal possessions, private possession of a place which could be regarded as home, would probably be necessary under any regime if ambition, hope and self-respect were to be maintained. The trouble with the present system, as far as great masses of citizens are concerned, is its disregard of this very instinct.

What the Propagandist Should Realize

In propaganda, it is well to realize the power of this desire to possess. Ignoring this, many today seek to appeal to the public spirit of the propertied classes as such to remedy the present social ills. Why, we are asked, do we appeal to the masses and stir them to revolt, rather than to "the best people?" The answer is found in innumerable experiences. Even such a man as Robert Owen, himself a successful large scale manufacturer, found it impossible to interest even a handful of his fellow-employers in practical measures of amelioration which cut into their profits. In general, one's appeal, to be successful, must not run counter to the acquisitive instincts of the group of those whom one wishes to reach.

This does not mean that the individual whom you want to convert must be shown that he stands to profit financially by the measure which you advocate. But, generally speaking, he must see that his clique, his "gang," his social class—which is, in a way, his expression of ego—will prosper thereby. We are herd animals and act unconsciously in terms of the herd. The upper-classes are keenly class conscious, and, without any intentional hypocrisy on their part, instinctively regard as subversive to all morality anything which their intuition tells them is subversive to their class. Unfortunately, by the power of their position, their prestige and their ability to control the channels of information, they superimpose their ideals on other classes. Thus privilege is perpetuated with moral and legal sanctions. The result is the present condition in America where 2 per cent of the population own some 65 per cent of the wealth.

The Value of Class Consciousness

The masses must be free to see that their economic interests have nothing in common with those of the upper classes. They should be awakened to this difference, and to the need of safeguarding themselves through the organization of their own culture. Only by so doing, we are helping to promote the happiness of the greatest number,—the goal of social development.

Organization for the purpose of contesting the privileges of the employing classes, awakens class consciousness among the workers in the same manner that military organization awakens national consciousness at the time of a foreign war. The difference between the two kinds of consciousness lies in the possibilities of constructive action as a result of working class unity.

Need for Constructive Action

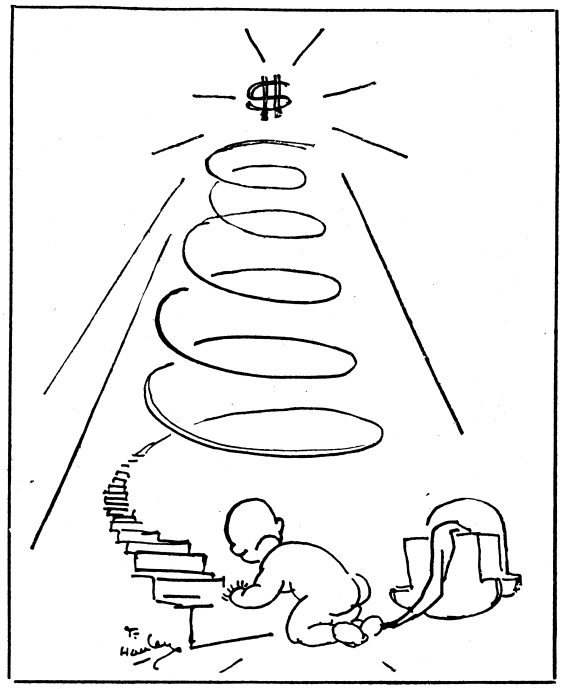
It is our duty to see that class consciousness *does* so lead to constructive activity at the earliest possible moment. For such activity is not only a good in itself, but is the necessary next step in the education of the masses, who must sense their ability to do for themselves before they will place sufficient confidence in their ability to get along without capitalist-employers.

The great value of the co-operative movement and of certain side-line activities of trade unions is this strengthening of labor's confidence in its own abilities. The Russian revolution, it has been alleged, would never have had the measure of success which it attained but for the business training which the co-operatives gave to the workers. Many denounce the co-operatives on the ground that they are not sufficiently revolutionary in their nature. However, unless the workers have been previously trained in some such institution, no revolution can maintain itself.

Not only must workers actually engage in these constructive enterprises, but other workers must be told of the progress of their fellows. It is poor propaganda and poor psychology to concentrate on the activities of the enemy. In the World War, a country would have gone mad if it had not been told of the achievements of its own comrades. And in the industrial conflict, the workers must be encouraged by accounts of the wonderful, constructive achievements of the working class. This should be a special mission of this magazine.

The Law of Diminishing Returns

There is a law of diminishing returns co-operating through life. Our first mouthful of bread, when we are hungry, gives us an immense amount



I. P. E. U. 624

FIRST STEPS

The Acquisitive Instinct, as seen by Art Young's Service.

of pleasure. As we eat, we derive less and less pleasure, and if we continue the process long enough, our pleasure is converted into pain. If we have a slight sensation of heat, a small increase in heat is easily felt. Should, however, we start with a more intense heat, a larger amount must be turned on before we can feel the increase. The same principle holds true of the pleasure to be had from satisfying the property instinct. Practically every man wants, and should have, a few possessions that he can call his own. His first satisfaction of the acquisitive instinct gives him much pleasure. His desire for more continues—in fact the acquisitive instinct differs from the instinct of physical hunger in that it is never entirely satisfied—but each new gain affords its possessor less and less pleasure, and is less vitally necessary to his well-being.

Acquisitions of the Mind and Spirit

The acquisitive instinct relates itself to the acquisition of habits of skill as surely as of material things. The advantage of acquiring these things is that no one can rob us of them. There is still another class of possessions even more deserving of notice—acquisitions of character. The more we acquire of these values, the more are we likely to give to others. Their possession enables us in some degree to acquire, and in a still more important measure to be content with a minimum of wealth of a more material nature.

How Labor Has Fared in Legislation

1921—1922

By JOHN B. ANDREWS

IT IS too early to summarize the legislative acts of 1922, but it is already apparent that there are to be counted several gains not unmixed with losses. The state legislatures have been under more reactionary control than has Congress, and fortunately several of them have already adjourned. Accident compensation laws —the most important labor legislation of the past twelve years — have been improved by minor amendments in half dozen states, but in New Jersey co-operation of state chamber of commerce and federation of labor in presenting modest amendments to remedy obvious defects, resulted in unanimous victory in the Assembly followed by a pigeon-hole death in Senate committee. Other changes already notable are the passage of a maternity protection bill in New York and the repeal of the full crew law in New Jersey.

Labor laws enacted in 1921 by Congress and more than forty State Legislatures show continued gains in the protection of safety and health of wage-earners, though on the pressing issue of unemployment the legislative record is practically blank.

In fact, though they met in a period of the most acute unemployment, almost without exception these forty-odd legislative bodies adjourned without making any constructive provision for relieving the current distress, or for combating disastrous results of industrial depressions in the future. North Carolina and North Dakota, to be sure, created public employment agencies, and Nebraska authorized their creation by metropolitan cities. But California alone took a direct forward step by enacting a law providing that the state should plan and distribute its public works in a manner calculated to assist in preventing and relieving unemployment. The Kenyon bill, recently introduced in Congress and favorably reported by the Senate Committee to which it was referred, aims to set the Federal Government upon a similar course of distributing public works intelligently.

Facing Unemployment

In Wisconsin and Pennsylvania bills were introduced embodying the plan of unemployment insurance. This is the most challenging occurrence of the legislative year, since the passage of the bill in Wisconsin was urged on the ground that it placed the burden squarely on the shoulders of those most responsible for unemployment, namely, the employers, and that unemployment is the greatest menace to the capitalistic system. This bill was reported favorably by the judiciary committee of the State Senate, but, it, as well as the Pennsylvania bill, failed of passage. The introduction of a similar bill in the 1922 Massachusetts Legislature shows that interest in these measures continues, and stimulates the hope that this generation may yet see slipshod and spasmodic attempts at relief supplanted by a statesmanlike system of preventive work in this field. The President's unemployment conference set unemployment prevention before the country in an official way as a problem of industry.

Maternity Care

Turning to other phases of the industrial problem, we find a more satisfactory legislative record for the year. Of particular importance is the progress made in maternity protection and vocational rehabilitation. In both fields there has been co-operation between the Federal Government and the state. During 1921 twenty-three States accepted the provision of the 1920 act, which granted federal funds to States carrying on rehabilitation work. This makes a total of thirty States. In November, 1921, after a three years' intensive campaign, Congress passed the Sheppard-Towner bill, which adopted the successful methods of the rehabilitation act in order to stimulate state action for maternity care. Four states anticipated the passage of the act by adopting resolutions accepting the benefits beforehand, and one additional State Legislature has accepted since the act was passed. The Governors of many States have since taken steps for at least temporary receipt of benefits.

Encouraging progress was made, too, in workmen's compensation legislation. Twenty-eight States, Porto Rico, and the United States Congress improved their workmen's compensation acts. Changes included coverage of more persons, reduction of waiting periods, increase of

benefits, improvement of administrative machinery, and in four cases, inclusion of occupational diseases.

Workmen's Compensation Progress

In Congress, the Johnson-Mills bill to restore the protection of state compensation laws to injured longshoremen and other harbor workers has been advanced well on the way to passage. There is every reason to believe that this important measure, drafted and pushed by the American Association for Labor Legislation, will be enacted in the near future. Progress has been slower with the Jones-Fitzgerald bill, which provides workmen's compensation for private employees in the District of Columbia. Although employees of the Federal Government and the public employees of the District are covered by an excellent workmen's compensation law, there are more than 100,000 workers in private employments there who are still unprotected in this respect. Inhabitants of the District of Columbia have no vote, and must depend on Congress to legislate for them. Congress, busy with nation-wide affairs and never over-zealous in the protection of labor, has neglected this problem entirely. While forty-three of our States have awakened to the need for workmen's compensation legislation, the seat of our national government remains one of the "black spots" on the map, an area where injured workers and their dependents are subjected to inexcusable suffering, and have not even the scant protection of a liability statute. Even now, when the matter has been called to the attention of Congress and agitated ceaselessly throughout the year, the compensation bill is delayed and its passage is seriously endangered by the opposition of commercial insurance interests. Whether justice for these workers or profits for the casualty insurance interests makes the stronger appeal to our representatives in Congress will shortly be known.

There were some distinctly retrogressive steps in the workmen's compensation field last year, though, fortunately, they were few. Texas and Idaho exclude ranch laborers from the benefits of their acts. In Arizona an excellent law, widely amending the present one and creating an industrial commission, was passed, but declared unconstitutional because of a peculiarity in the state constitution. The new workmen's compensation law in Missouri was at least temporarily suspended from operation by a second referendum petition. The long-drawn-out fight against this legislation in Missouri is the work of the claim agents and ambulance-chasing lawyers, encouraged by a factional fight in the labor movement. Action has just been instituted to obtain an injunction preventing the submission of the new law to a second referendum vote.

Old Age Protection

Meantime, another social insurance problem, that of old age protection, is slowly securing attention. Although 1921 brought no actual legislation for pensioning aged private employees, the growth of public opinion in favor of these laws was illustrated by the introduction of bills on the subject in the legislatures of eleven states, and the appointment of a commission to investigate the subject in Montana. A few pension laws for city employees were passed, and several state employees' pensions laws were amended.

Although in a few cases standards were relaxed, still, on the whole, legislation on hours, safety, and health was of a progressive nature. New Mexico enacted child labor and women's hour laws for the first time, and many other states improved existing statutes. Considerable progress was made with safety laws covering mines, transportation, building trades, and general fire hazards, and with sanitary codes for various industries. More unusual were laws requiring protection for employees' eyes, forbidding the lifting of heavy weights by women, requiring safety devices on tractors, and extending factory regulations to home work.

Collective Bargaining Attacked

Of especial interest to organized labor were laws dealing with collective bargaining. Most of the 1921 legislation in this field was, however, not of a character to arouse much enthusiasm in labor circles. Alabama made "unincorporated organizations"—trade unions, in other words—liable to suit. Illinois made it unlawful for representatives of labor to extort money from employers as a consideration for settling labor disputes. Nebraska declared all forms of picketing unlawful. Colorado made its compulsory conciliation law more stringent, and California abolished its State Board of Arbitration.

In summary, then, the past year brought few startling gains or losses in labor legislation, but perhaps as much quiet progress as one should anticipate in a period of conservative reaction.

The Month

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Labor in America

THE threatened miners' strike and the strike in the textile industry occupied chief attention in the labor field during February and March. Labor discussed extensively its attitude toward political parties in the coming election. The railroad workers fought with might and main for the maintenance of their old standards, and vigorously protested against the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. The garment workers prepared for possible trouble in many industrial centers.

MINERS during the month prepared for the April 1 walkout. Among the important developments were the continued refusal of the bituminous coal operators to meet the miners of the central competitive district in joint conference despite the repeated requests of the government; the threat of President Farrington of the Illinois miners to conduct separate negotiations with the Illinois operators; the beginning of conferences between operators and miners in the anthracite district and the return of Alexander Howat to jail.

On March 31, 1920, the coal operators signed an agreement, at the instigation of a Federal coal commission, that they would meet in conference with the miners before April 1, 1922, and negotiate a new wage agreement. This winter, the bituminous operators served notice on the miners that they would not confer, thus violating their 1920 agreement. On March 9, Secretary of Labor Davis urged both parties to get together "in the name of common sense, and save the country from the costly results of the strike." The miners immediately notified the secretary that they were willing to meet the operators. The mine owners, however, refused to change their former position.

In the meanwhile, President Farrington, and the Illinois miners decided that they would begin separate negotiations with the Illinois operators, unless Mr. Lewis could get the mine owners of the four states to confer; that they would not agree "to any drifting policy that has but one purpose, that being suspension of work on April 1." The main demand of the bituminous miners was that the present wage scale would be continued. The operators demanded a wage reduction.

The anthracite miners, who demanded a 20 per cent increase in wages, in order that they might bring their wage scale to the level of the bituminous workers, began negotiations with the operators on March 14. A. S. Learoyd, the spokesman for the anthracite operators, declared that the latter had not receded from their stand for wage reductions, but that they "would enter the conference with open mind and with friendly spirit." Mr. Kennedy of the miners urged a "real investigation" by the government of the anthracite industry. Suspension of work for several weeks was probable, it was stated, since it would take at least six weeks to make a new agreement. On March 15, returns sent into the international office of the United Mine Workers indicated an overwhelming vote for a strike in the bituminous district in case no agreement was arrived at.

The Supreme Court of the United States refused to pass upon the constitutionality of the Kansas Industrial Court Act and dismissed the appeal of Alexander Howat and his followers for relief from contempt of court sentences, in its decision of March 13. As a result of this decision, Howat and 150 other labor leaders will have to serve their year in a Kansas jail for contempt of court. The court held that an injunction duly issued by a court must be obeyed, "however erroneous the action of the court may be, even if the error be in the assumption of the validity of a seeming but void law going to the merits of the case. It is for the court of first instance to determine the validity of the law." A petition for rehearing of the case will be filed immediately by counsel for Howat.

The Federation of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council and other church organizations during the month protested against conditions in the mine industry. The Catholic Council declares that such principles as those of the living wage, collective bargaining, arbitration of disputes, and the participation of workers in industrial management, to which the Catholic Hierarchy adheres, are rejected in the coal industry. "The underlying principles of the guilds of the middle ages—ownership by working people of the things with which they work,—should be applied to industry."

In 1908-9, the Federal Immigration Commission learned that 85 per cent of the bituminous workers and 93 per cent of the anthracite workers were receiving less than $600 a year. Such wages were less than decent living wages. These wages have since gone up about 85 per cent and 95 per cent for hard and soft coal miners respectively, while the cost of living has advanced 100 per cent.

The Railroad Labor Board Attacks Eight-Hour Day

THE RAILROAD LABOR BOARD conducted further assaults on the eight-hour day for railroad employees during the month. In late February, the board decided that the 80,000 railway express employees must work nine hours a day, if required, without obtaining overtime after the eighth hour. The workers would also be compelled to extend their eight-hour workday over a twelve-hour period, if the companies saw fit.

Beginning with March firemen and oilers are to be paid time and a half only after working for ten hours, according to a further decision. Train dispatchers must work nine hours at the same rate as during the first eight hours.

On March 7, the American railroads, acting as a unit, began their attempt, at the hearing of the Railway Labor Board, to cut the wages of the million and a half workers on the railroads. The chief argument for a reduction of

wages made by Executive Secretary Higgins of the Association of Western Railroads was that high railroad wages "artificially stimulates wages for men doing like work" in other industries. This results in friction and dissatisfaction. Decreases of from 4 cents an hour to 27 cents an hour, and from $10 to $14.28 a month were asked.

Failing to agree on fundamental demands, regional conferences were adjourned during the month between the eastern railroads and the firemen, enginemen, trainmen and conductors.

On March 16, the Railroad Labor Board rather surprised the workers by ordering an immediate investigation of the Erie Railroad's action in leasing its shops and contracting shop work to the Meadville Machinery Company. In these shops the workers are getting from 8 cents to 30 cents less an hour than under direct railroad control.

In an earlier hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Frank J. Warne, statistician for the railroad employees, declared that, while freight rates had increased throughout the country 113 per cent since 1913, wages had increased by only 64.6 per cent, and that the recent freight rate reductions affected only 2 per cent of the traffic.

Stung to the quick by recent decisions which they regarded as eminently unfair, the Eastern Federation of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, at their annual convention, held in New York City on March 19 urged President Harding immediately to abolish the United States Railroad Labor Board. The convention particularly protested against the decision of the Board which permitted the Lehigh Valley Railroad virtually to reduce the pay of the clerks one-sixth by cutting them down to a five-day work week.

Another Garment Strike?

THAT another strike in the New York cloak and suit shops was probable on June 1 was the opinion expressed by Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, at the March 18 meeting of the union's officials. "On January 17," declared Schlesinger, "the first act of the play was finished. On June 1, the second act will begin, for I expect the manufacturers then to ask again for the piece-work system and again ask for a wage reduction."

President Schlesinger urged the union to complete the million dollar defense fund which it had started to collect. He denied the charges of Secretaries Davis and Hoover that the union's replies to their request for an investigation of the clothing industry were "tortuous." "Participation of our union in the proposed investigation," he declared, "is entirely voluntary, and we have not only the right but the duty to condition it upon such safeguards as are, in our opinion, absolutely essential for the preservation of the vital interests of 50,000 workers in the industry." He said that the union stood for a real investigation of the garment industry from the manufacturer of the raw material to the finished product, including profits of all concerned. "The union nominated Messrs. Hourwich, Chase and Beyer to represent them in the proposed investigation.

Lewis W. Hine *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE SMILE THAT WON'T COME OFF

Local official of miners' union, who sees the bright side even of the present crisis.

The Amalgamated in Conference

FOR the first time in the American clothing industry," declares the *Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "the Chicago clothing workers are fully represented as a great and powerfully organized body at conferences with the organized employers in negotiation for a collective bargaining agreement."

The A. C. W. are contending for a renewal of the old contract. The employers are making twelve demands for changes, including those for the extension of hours to 48 a week, 25 per cent reduction in wages, the restoration of piece work, etc. The present agreement expires on May 30. Similar demands have been made on the Rochester workers, who are in conference with the employers.

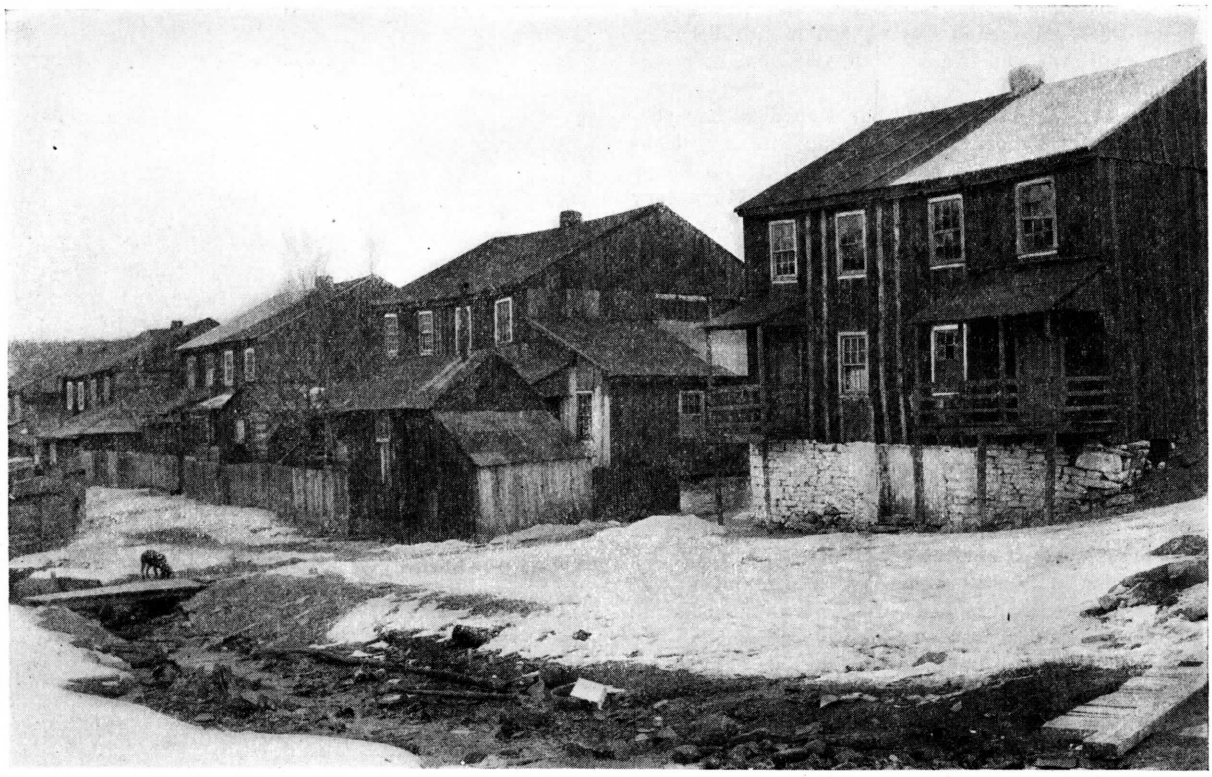
The Amalgamated is preparing for its Fifth Annual Convention, to be held in Ashland Auditorium on May 8. In his call for the convention, Joseph Schlossberg declared that the union during the last two years could point with pride to "the winning of the life and death lockout struggle, the most bitterly fought struggle and the first to be won by labor in the present period of

industrial depression; the raising of a $2,000,000 fund to sustain the lockout fight, and, despite terrible strain and unemployment, the collection of nearly $170,000 for the relief of the Russian famine victims. . . . We are coming to this convention with banners waving as proudly as ever over the invincible Amalgamated Army."

that more than $6,000,000 had been paid out in strike benefits.

Farmer and Labor

The convention of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League of Oklahoma, held in Shawnee City in early March is one of the many attempts of the rural and city workers to make common cause against big business. At the convention were represented the farmers, city workers, railroad men and miners. The platform proposed to "establish political and industrial democracy" in Oklahoma. It demanded the entire farm bloc program, the Plumb Plan, a referendum in case of threatened war, etc. For the first time negro farmers participated in an Oklahoma convention.



Lewis W. Hine — *I. P. E. U. 624*

HOMES OF MINERS

In Enterprise, Pa., near Shamokin—Palatial residences of "the highly paid workers" the employers' press agencies are talking about.

Pressmen Maintain Eight-Hour Day

The eight-hour day for union pressmen was officially established as a result of a decision handed down on March 7 by Judge Martin T. Manton of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, as arbitrator in the case of the newspaper publishers and the New York Web Pressmen's Union No. 25. The rate of wages was retained at $8.50 a day for pressmen in charge and $7.50 for pressmen. The publishers can assign the men to any work in the pressroom. The contract is to run to September 1, 1923.

This decision of Judge Manton was followed by one of Chief Justice McCoy of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, arbitrator between the Associated Publishers and the union, who declared that the employer shall not have the sole right to determine the number of men necessary to operate the presses.

Printers

In late February, John McPartland, the president of the International Typographical Union, reported that the strike of the Union for a 44-hour week had already been four-fifths won, and that a 100 per cent victory was inevitable. He declared that the union had in its treasury over a million dollars more than when they went out and

Corruption and "Loyalty"

August Claessens, socialist candidate for assembly, was seated in the New York legislature in early March. On the first count immediately after the November election, Claessens was counted out. He demanded a recount. The recount showed that hundreds of ballots had been falsely counted for his opponent and that the Socialist had won by 6,072 to 5,619. In the subsequent fight in the Assembly for the retention of his seat, Claessen's opponent did not deny that he had been unjustly seated, but declared that Claessens should be kept out of office on account of "disloyalty"! No proceedings have as yet been instituted against those who took part in the stealing of votes.

Release War Prisoners

The month in civil liberties witnessed, among other things, the release of Harry Breen, a member of the I. W. W., from prison—Breen had been sentenced under the Kansas syndicalist law to thirty years imprisonment—further appeals by labor and socialist forces to President Harding to release 113 I. W. W., now serving sentence in Federal penitentiaries and the use of armored cars in an attack on the striking workers at Newport, Kentucky.

On March 14, President Atwood of Clark University, interrupted Dr. Scott Nearing in his talk at the University, and declared the meeting adjourned. The president took the position that the university students were too immature to listen to the remarks of the speaker. Large numbers of the students have protested, maintaining that they had the right to listen to whomsoever they chose. The affair is causing a widespread cleavage in the college body.

Protests are still coming from the student body in the University of Wisconsin against the University's action in refusing the use of one of its college halls to Dr. Nearing. The college paper, the *Cardinal*, recently declared:

"The student body deems it its right to demand that it be not everlastingly coddled with pussy-foot ideas or that its vision will be warped and its will and reason become walled against progressive thought. They have the right to hear both sides. They have the right to decide what to believe and what not to believe. That is at the bottom of our democracy."

Industrial Courts

Organized labor in New York killed the Charles Miller bill on March 2 which proposed to hold up strikes for sixty days pending investigation. By a unanimous vote the Assembly committee on labor and industry, following a bitter attack by the labor forces of the state, decided to abandon the bill. A similar fate later met the Duell-Miller bill.

(The textile strike and the conference on political action are mentioned elsewhere in this issue.)

Labor Abroad

AMONG the most striking events of the month abroad were the miners' blaze in the South African gold mines, the arrest of Ghandi, the preparations of European labor for its conference in Rome, the increased tendency of the three political internationals toward unity and the fight among the workers throughout Europe to hold their own against wage reductions.

Great Britain

BRITISH LABORITES have been both encouraged and discouraged by recent elections. The Parliamentary by-elections at Clayton and Camberwell lent a new zest to labor's activities. At Clayton (Manchester), the Labor candidate, J. E. Sutton, a member of the Miners' Federation, secured some 14,662 votes, a majority of 3,624 over his Coalition opponent,—about double his vote at the last general election. At North Camberwell (London), the Labor candidate turned an adverse majority of 4,000 into a favorable majority of over 1,000. While Labor lost at the Cambridge by-election, it cut down the adverse majority from 7,764, to less than 4,000.

As a result of these elections, the Labor party now possesses 73 seats in Parliament. Since the general election of 1918, Labor won 12 seats and lost but two, while the Coalition lost 18 seats, and gained but two!

On the other hand, Labor just about held its own in the London County Council elections of March 2. As a result of this election, Labor secured 16 seats, the same as in the previous Council, the Progressives 26, and the Moderates 82. However, the popular vote of Labor was 190,466—over double that of the Progressives (94,049) and of the Moderates (286,122). With one-third of the popular vote, Labor secured but one-eighth of the total number of seats. A feature of the election was the fact that trade unionists, socialists and communists all united upon Labor party candidates. The *Daily Herald* attributes the failure of Labor to gain to the united opposition in many districts of the Moderates and Progressives, and the fact that the public was misled into the belief that Labor proposed a policy of blind spending. "Labor is not disheartened," it declares. "It will learn the lesson of more strenuous organization and more intensive propaganda, and it will return to the fight with good heart and high hopes."

The Joint Council of the trade unions and the Labor party on March 1st demanded that the government refuse to enter into any pact with France involving naval or military co-operation. It declared:

"Only an international understanding having for its aims disarmament by land and sea and air, and the guarantee of peace between peoples, can preserve the peoples from the menace of new war."

On February 23 the National Joint Council issued a resolution calling upon the government and the Indian Democrats to join in a conference to consider the possibilities of peace, this peace to be based on (1) amnesty, (2) dropping of the practice of non-cooperation, (3) a time limit for the transition stages of partial self-government, and (4) new elections.

The Council deplored "the political arrests that have taken place and the 'blood and iron' policy which the recent speech of the prime minister seems to foreshadow." It also regretted the action of the Non-Cooperators "in boycotting those Parliamentary institutions recently conferred upon India by means of which grievances should be ventilated and wrongs redressed."

On March 11, some 300,000 machinists in the engineering trades stopped work in 2,500 factories as a result of a general lock-out. The issues involved concerned, for the most part, overtime pay and the rights of managers to assign certain classes of workers to particular duties.

If this lock-out is extended to the shipbuilding and foundry industries, England will be faced with the gravest crisis experienced since the miners' struggle of last year.

In February, the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation demanded that the wages of the workers be cut, beginning March 15, and that a further reduction be made later. The unions balloted on these demands and rejected them by a 11 to 1 vote. The employers later refused to submit to an official inquiry.

"It is plain," declares the *Daily Herald*, "that the issues before both the engineering and the shipbuilding workers threaten the very existence of trade unionism."

These attacks are leading to demands among the workers for greater solidarity. On February 20, the Northumberland Miners' Council passed a resolution urging the Miners' Federation to hold a national conference "with a view to taking concerted action with all other trade unions in the country to resist this inhuman attack on the workers' standard of life." The recent amalgamation of the Transport Workers' Union and the National Union of Dock Workers united in one strong union more than 470,000 members, is indicative of progress in this direction.

South Africa

ON March 15, the miners' strike which held South Africa in its grip for two months, and which placed South Africa on the front page of the world's news, was called off by the old South African Industrial Federation. The Federation's old executive—as distinct from the enlarged Executive—announced that the general strike was null and void and repudiated complicity in the "revolution against government."

During the course of the strike in the mines around Johannesburg, the gold miners captured numerous towns, and in turn were driven out by the government troops who employed bombs, airplanes and all of the appliances of modern warfare. Some 6,000 miners were taken prisoners and many were killed. Many dynamite explosions took place during the strike. The labor members in the South African Assembly declared that the conflict had not assumed revolutionary proportions until the government had used force and killed the workers in attacks upon peaceful meetings. They demanded that the government negotiate at once with the striking gold miners in the Rand to the end that the "ghastly slaughter' may be ended.

Germany

FOLLOWING charges of employers in various European countries that the German manufacturers were ignoring the eight-hour day, the Dutch government recently sent a commission of inquiry to Germany. The commission concluded that there was little truth in this charge and that the normal number of working hours in that country, with few exceptions, was not more than forty-eight. A further investigation by the trade unions show that, out of 1,389,413 workers under investigation, 601,594 worked at the maximum number of 48 hours, while 787,819, worked a less number of hours.

The Leipzig Congress of the Independent Socialists, held in mid-January, declared its opposition to the policy of entering into coalition with capitalist parties, and its belief that labor must present a united front. At the Congress a majority voted against reunion with the Majority Socialists. Karl Kautsky favored such a union on the ground that it only could "bring back a healthy party life and restore the proletariat to its full power." The ideal of Marx was a Labor party functioning as a section of the Labor parties of all countries; within it should be the Marxists, on the one condition of freedom for their propaganda. He feared sectarian organization above all things.

In late January, the Social Democrats abandoned their financial program of taxing capital at its source, and have agreed to the balancing of the budget by a forced law. "The defeat of the Majority Socialists on the field of finance is absolute," declares Phillip Price in the London *Herald*. On the other hand they have kept the Wirth government in power, and have not granted any political concessions to the Stinnes' party.

Russia

RELIEF of the millions of suffering Russians and preparations for the proposed Genoa Conference occupied much of the attention of the Russian Soviet Government during the past month. Following the statement of Archbishop Yevlikim that, in this hour of need, even church property should be sacrified, the Soviet government decided, in early February, to take the religious treasure of the church for the benefit of the famine sufferers.

In describing the Russians' aim at the economic conference to be held in Genoa or some other Italian city, Tchitcherin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared:

"Our aim will be to secure for Russia the aid which she requires from Europe, and for Europe the aid which it requires from Russia, while at the same time preserving for the Russian workers the control of Russian industries and resources, and prevent anything in the nature of 'colonization' or the exploitation of Russia.

"Certainly our entrance into such relations with the west must involve compromise. But we are compromising consciously, knowing what we do. The present stage must be one of equilibrium, and equilibrium is only obtainable through compromise."

Lenin, Krassin and numerous other officials are planning to attend the conference. The commission will submit a statement of the compensation due to Russia as a result of the armed intervention undertaken or fostered by foreign powers.

On February 3, it was announced that the "Tcheka," the all-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, had been dissolved, as there was no longer any danger from internal or external enemies. The conventional secret service, used by all governments, has been instituted in its place, under the Department of the Interior. In late January, 300 Mensheviki were released from Russian prisons, on condition that they spent two years in certain Russian provinces or outside of Russia. The Social Revolutionaries and anarchists are still in prison. It is reported that their condition has been improved.

India

THE arrest of Mohandas K. Ghandi at Ahmedabad on March 10, and his prison sentence to six years are likely to have a profound effect on the Indian revolutionary movement. Ghandi urged his followers to continue their non-violent non-cooperation policy. Whether this advice will be followed is doubtful.

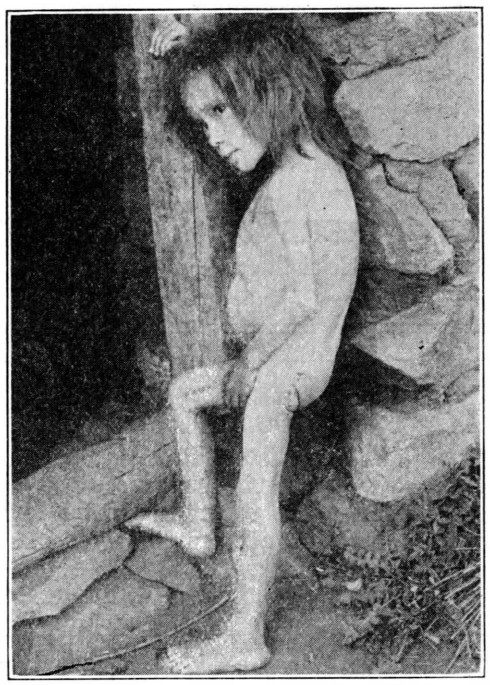
The arrest was made a short time after the All-Indian Congress Committee meeting in Delhi, which resolved that civil disobedience is the right and duty of a people whenever the state opposes the declared will of the people.

Towards International Unity

FURTHER steps during March were taken toward international unity in Europe. At present writing preparations are in progress for an informal meeting of the members of the three political labor internationals to be held in Berlin on March 25. This meeting will arrange the details of a joint congress of socialist and communist organizations for later in the spring. One of the important questions for discussion at the March conference will be the release of political prisoners from Russian jails and the character of the Soviet rule in Georgia.

Attention of European trade unionists was directed during the month toward the International Trade Union Congress to be held in Rome on April 20. Discussion at the congress will center around methods of preventing war, economic reconstruction, and defensive weapons against capitalist reaction and the attacks on the eight-hour law.

Sign THE ROLL CALL



Give Her the Bread You Hold in Your Hands

All Relief Agencies are even now feeding only one-fourth of the famine stricken in Soviet Russia.

The scanty food reserves are rapidly disappearing, and thousands upon thousands are being added to the ranks of the famine stricken.

The next two months will be the most crucial.

Your help must be DOUBLED and TREBLED.

You must, in fact, give your limit or stand responsible for the death of those you could have succored.

You have a personal responsibility.

More than this, if you sympathize with the aspirations of Soviet Russia, you have the integrity of your opinion and sympathy to preserve.

Sign the Roll Call. The Roll Call Book will go forward with shipments of food made in these critical months. Your name in the Roll Call Book will attest your friendship. The Roll Call Book will constitute a document revered by Soviet Russia and the forward-looking people of the world. SIGN THE ROLL CALL—USE THE COUPON.

GIVE! AND GIVE AGAIN!!

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Collections

Collections made to date to date by the Friends of Soviet Russia totaled $735,000.00. Money collections from workers and others in sympathy with Soviet Russia, $460,000.00. Collections in food, clothes, medicines, tools, estimated at $275,000.00.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th Street, New York City.

My contribution for famine relief in Soviet Russia is $..... which sum is herewith enclosed. Please insert this coupon with my signature in the ROLL CALL BOOK registering me as a friend of Soviet Russia in the hour of her greatest need.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

(Labor Age—April)

Send for a Page Out of the Roll Call Book—Help Secure Signatures and Contributions