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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## THE GREAT MIRAGE

1. We Don't Need Unions!
2. In Australian Eyes
3. Threats of Coming War

( A. J. Muste—May Matthews of the Australian Delegation  
John W. Brown of the Int'l Federation of Trade Unions )

## Real Silk's Golden Fleece

### Who Should Organize Workingwomen?

### Textile Diseases In Passaic

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Mysterious Mr. Mason

Prosperity's Panic

White Collar Freemen

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The National Monthly

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



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## The Great Mirage



**W**ONDERS never cease. Lindbergh spans the Atlantic in the air. His father, scoffed at as "Von Lindenbergh" during the Great War, is thereupon resurrected and given a new fame.

Spurred on, a worthy Muscovite announces that he will shoot himself to the moon. J. B. S. Haldane, the scientist, says that the thing can be done. In time, "Nervous Nellie" will astound us with the news that this is a "red" plot to storm the heavens.

Mechanical progress marches on. The greatest wonder of all is that the public conscience does not march with it. There continues still the chasing of the Great Mirage: the idea that the individual worker can pull himself up by his bootstraps.

The reasoning goes something like this: Put your trust in the Great American Employer. Let him think for you. Let him provide for you. Let him hand out "high wages" on a silver platter to you. Then all will be well.

How "well" all things are going has just been disclosed by two economists who are strong defenders of the Profit System. "In spite of all these Aladdin-like achievements in technical processes of production, and in spite of all the discoveries of new resources, the gains which we make, decade after decade, in the distribution of wealth to the people generally are not at all comparable to the gains which we make in our knowledge of the

means of producing wealth. In the highly prosperous year 1920, the average of the annual wages and salaries for all industries only \$1,367. . . . In the following year, average pay of workers in all industries fell to \$1,121. Nearly everybody knows just about how much, or rather how little, can be bought with such incomes." (Foster and Catchings: "BUSINESS WITHOUT A BUYER").

Brother Muste exposes, with clear brevity, the stupidity of the present employers' propaganda in favor of bootstrapping. Miss Matthews gives a picture of America, as seen by Australian eyes. An observer with the Australian delegation, she has had unique opportunities to look into the heart of American industry. Her conclusions merit serious pondering. Brother Brown of the I. F. T. U. presents the necessarily resulting development: the re-alignment of nations in a war for new markets. The workers within the various countries, not being able to buy back their own product, their Masters must rush out into the world market with fire and sword. Messrs. Foster and Catchings warn us in their book, "PROFITS", that that is the inevitable outcome.

Unionism, pledged to an unceasing war against Open Shopper, Judgocracy, Imperialism and Reaction—is the only way out. It is the answer to that "Stabilization" which has made Europe an Employers' Paradise and a workers' prison. It is the answer to the "Stabilization" which is gradually seeping into the U. S. A.

# Why We Don't Need Trade Unions Any More

*A Meditation Growing Out of Visits of Business Delegations to America*

By A. J. MUSTE

NOTE: In the next few issues of Labor Age the Brookwood page will be devoted to a discussion of certain practical problems confronting American workers and unions. It is the hope that these pages will furnish our readers with ammunition against the high pressure non-union propaganda going on in this country and will furthermore stimulate them to work out their own methods for combatting this propaganda and carrying on the work of organization. The author of these pages, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., will welcome questions and suggestions.

SEVERAL delegations of business men from other countries (sometimes labor representatives have also been included) have been over here lately. The whole world is making pilgrimages to America. The reports of these delegations when they get back to the other side seems to indicate that two things impressed them most here: First, the efficiency, smoothness and peacefulness with which our industries operate and second, the fact that most of our big industries are conducted on an open shop or company union basis. These delegations seem to think that there is a very close connection between these two conditions, between the fact that the United States is very prosperous and seems to be experiencing industrial peace, and the fact that the United States seems to have learned for the most part to get along without unions.

One might conclude that American workers have also come to the conclusion that unions are no longer necessary. There remain one or two sore spots such as in the textile and in the coal mining industries, but apart from this the figures show that labor disputes are few and have been for some years past. In great industries such as steel, railroading, agricultural machinery, public utilities, manufacture of electrical supplies, the skies are fair and the weather calm. To outward appearances at least the employees working under company union schemes are content if not enthusiastic.

The reason for this situation, according to many of our writers and publicity men, is that management in America has experienced a conversion. We no longer have the old crude slave driver type of management. Gone also is the old type Taylor System manager who aimed at efficiency but "efficiency in the narrower sense of the word, without taking sufficiently into account the personality of the worker and his potential partnership." Gone also are those employers who instituted welfare work merely to conceal actual exploitation or brutality, or out of a spirit of paternalistic benevolence. The new management professes to provide for the workers as their right all that the unions have ever asked for them.

What, as a matter of fact, have constituted the main demands of the unions? They can be grouped under four heads: First, good wages; second, security, to be provided by some form of guarantee of work or by unemployment insurance; third, decent working condi-

tions by which is meant sanitation, good lighting, safety, reasonable hours of labor, and so on; fourth, self expression, freedom, democratic control, some voice in determining the conditions under which the worker is to be employed.

But is not management today giving all these things to the wage earners in abundance? Wages are high and the prevailing theory now appears to be that they ought to be. Through various forms of insurance as well as measures for the stabilization of employment, management is seeking to give the workers that sense of security, the lack of which has always constituted so great a factor in industrial unrest. In the year 1925, three and a half million workers were covered by group life insurance policies aggregating in value four and a half billion dollars. The first group insurance policy against sickness was written in 1919, but at present already nearly half a million workers are covered by such policies. Old age pension schemes were few and insignificant a few years ago. Today they protect between three and a half and four million workers. Promotion of schemes for stock ownership of employees in the corporations for which they work are also in part intended to give stability and security to the worker's position, and we are informed that already six and a half million workers own five billion dollars worth of stock in the companies for which they work. Even more impressive perhaps are the lengths to which modern management has gone to provide decent working conditions. To an extent undreamed of twenty years ago, lighting, sanitation and safety, shortening of hours of work, and the use of modern psychology and physiology to put the worker on the job fitted for him, are provided. Finally, we are told that management is studying the effects of monotony and similar conditions, as never before, is profoundly concerned about the human factor in industry, seeks to maintain the worker's self respect and to enlist his "creative cooperation", and in doing all this does not mean to patronize the worker but is simply giving what is his due and what is sound business into the bargain. In many instances, now affecting nearly two million workers, employee representation schemes or company unions are set up in order that the men may have an organized method for making grievances known and seeking their adjustment.

Let it be admitted that on the surface our industrial life is smooth and peaceful, the workers satisfied and quiet, more so than in many other years in the memory of some of us who are not yet aged. Let it be granted also that real industrial peace based on the achievement of the good life by all our people would be something to hail with joy. Of those in whatever camp who are inclined to think that there is such peace today, we may, however, ask certain questions.

Is it true that the new management is doing as much

for the American worker as it tries to make out? The answer is an emphatic no. Take the matter of high wages. LABOR AGE has already dealt with that subject in several other issues and we refer our readers to its back numbers. But in order to hammer in the facts in the case, let us repeat here that the high wages of the American worker are to a great extent a myth, a pipe dream. Their real wages are indeed higher than they were a generation ago, at least in many instances, but they are not as well paid today as a generation ago if you consider how much more they are producing now. And they are not as well paid as European workers when you consider the output of workers here and the workers across the Atlantic. In no important sense of the term is the American worker well paid.

Take another instance. Much is made of the willingness of modern management to consider the human factor in industry, to give the worker a voice in determining his conditions. And speakers representing managers or employers may often be heard to say that they have no one stated way to accomplish this. They are willing to accept any plan that works in a particular case—if it be a trade union, well and good, if an employee representation and company union plan, well and good. I am not going to raise here the question how much real voice in determining their conditions workers get under the company union schemes. That matter is being ably dealt with by LABOR AGE in all its issues. The question I want to ask here is this: If modern managers are so sure that mere science, and intelligence without any pressure from the workers at all are leading employers to consult their workers on conditions, to provide for collective bargaining and so on, then why have they not introduced company unions, not to mention trade unions, into those industries such as automobile manufacturing where they have carried their science and efficiency to the highest point?

The case of Mr. Ford is in point. His plants are quite generally regarded as about the last word in scientific management. The sixty-four page booklet on the Ford industries which is handed to the thousands of visitors to the Detroit plant, contains under the caption, Industrial Relations, the following statement: "The industrial relationship between the Ford Motor Company and its employees is purely individual and every policy is designed with the intention of keeping it so. Shop committees, unions, or labor leaders are unnecessary because there is nothing to argue about, except in individual cases, and these are settled man to man." Will exponents of the new management contend that this does not come pretty close to the ideal they are tending to achieve, factories so organized that most of the men perform highly standardized operations, each fitting perfectly as one cog in a vast machine, everything carefully planned so that the worker will have no grievance and will have no desire, and no opportunity (?) to say anything about the workings of the machine of which he is a part because that would interfere with its technical efficiency—in return for which the hunky in Mr. Ford's employ will get a minimum wage of six dollars a day and the right to have his grievances with the corporation settled "man to man"—whatever that may mean in such a case?

Just to make it clear that we have no hard feelings against Mr. Ford in particular, we may remind ourselves of the incident that occurred last summer in one of the Studebaker plants when one of the young college men who went to work there in order to get some industrial experience ventured to make a suggestion about working conditions to his superintendent. He was told: "When you were in school you did what the teacher told you; when you were in the army you did what the captain told you; now that you are here you do what the boss tells you: what is wanted of you is production, we will do the thinking for you."

Does it not remain true despite exceptions that under a profit system scientific managers as well as employers continue to be interested primarily in results, regardless of what becomes of the human factor?

This leads naturally to another question. If in some respects conditions are greatly improved for the American workers, what has brought this about? Some wayward impulse of good will on the part of the employers, an impulse to economic realities, or certain developments and pressures which have been brought to bear on management, removal of which might lead to the loss of the improved conditions? Surely the latter. What evidence have we had in recent years that employers generally are any readier on their own account to sponsor child labor legislation, to protect working women, to shorten hours of labor, to provide adequate compensation for injury, to cut down profits and to raise wages, than they ever were? If America were not the richest country in the world and did not have the hugest industrial machine mankind has ever developed; if in many of our industries competition had not been ruthlessly eliminated and power concentrated in the hands of large companies which can afford to pay a fairly respectable wage to workers in order that they may maintain their monopoly and their profits; if the very immensity of the production we are turning out every year did not compel payment of relatively high wages and the granting of considerable leisure so that the population may consume what it produces; if the workers through labor organizations or spasmodic outbursts of revolt against their conditions were not bringing pressure to bear on management—what assurance is there that American workers would maintain for five minutes even such conditions as they now have?

Finally, if the American workmen who are potentially organizable are not in unions today is it because they do not want to be, because they are convinced they do not need unions? In the case of some people who say that and believe it, I have been amazed at their innocence. In the case of other people who say that and don't believe it, I have been amazed at their ability to keep a straight face. Modern workers do not need unions, do not care to have them, though they are perfectly welcome to them if they want them! Occasionally some misguided worker thinks he does need a union, that some of his fellow workers would like to join with him in forming one. What happens then? Henry Dubb soon discovers that his foreman does not like an agitator and so discriminates against him in assigning work or fires him outright. If he should actually get an organizer

into the neighborhood and try to hold a meeting, he finds that his fellows are terrorized into staying away and that of the half dozen men who actually turn up at the meeting three or four are spies in the company's pay. If he should go on strike, some judge will throw an injunction at his head confident that the Supreme Court will back him up in imposing virtual slavery and involuntary servitude on the workers. The police beat him up and clap him into jail if he appears on the picket line. The papers denounce him as a Bolshevik and the preachers, many of them, tell him that he is a poor follower of the Carpenter of Nazareth, un-American. With all these forces arrayed against him, the strike is lost, he cannot get his old job back, he is on the blacklist of

the employers in his trade, his family is on the point of starvation for months perhaps.

After a few such experiences our good American worker swallows his pride and his principles, settles down to a sober, industrious and meek existence, pays his first installment on a flivver, a three room bungalow and a radio set, and has then conclusively demonstrated, you see, that he does not need a union, that he would not take one if it were handed to him on a gold platter, that the new management in America is so intelligent, scientific and well disposed that just as a matter of good common sense it will give him everything he needs, even before he asks for it.

When and where is the farce to end?

## In Australian Eyes

*In Which We See Ourselves as Others See Us*

By MAY MATTHEWS.

**Y**OU have a vast country. That has been said before, by many other visitors to America. In area it is no greater than Australia. That is not the part that strikes us who come from the Island Continent. It is rather those things which go to make up national power, in which the United States excels so greatly today.

You have a population over fifteen times as numerous as our own. You have a national wealth many times as large. You have introduced methods of management and production of which we as yet know very little. We are a pioneering land, as yet. You have grown out of the pioneering stage into the age of Empire.

It is what might be called a "dangerous age" for any nation. Empire brings wealth. It also brings many other undesirable things. We see evidences of both tendencies in your country. With a sympathetic eye, one can sketch both the strength and weaknesses, from a Labor viewpoint.

We might put side by side the items as they stand—to the debit or credit of Capital and Labor. Without sifting them out, we can set them down under the two heads as follows:

CAPITAL	LABOR
(Has Produced or Introduced)	(Has Secured or Accepted)
Scientific Management	Comparatively High Wages
Mass Production	Speeding up
Electric Power	Intense piece work
Open Shops or Co. Unions or weak trade unions	Craft unions or no unions
Vast corporations of Capital—Trusts	Grants—which appeal strongly to Individualism:
Great Home Market	a. Bonuses
Variety of nationalities among its workers	b. Welfare
	c. Group insurance
	d. Stock-selling

These are the items which most sharply impress those who come to see America. The mere summary does not tell the tale. The "high wages" in your country have

been greatly over-stressed. They are offset in part by the higher cost of living. They are offset further by the greater security that the worker in other countries has by reason of social legislation: Old age pensions, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, etc.

### Wages Not So High

Then, we are also aware that the wages in reality are not so high in themselves. Even in your most prosperous year, 1920, the average of annual salaries and wages was only \$1,367. That was for all your industries. It has fallen since then. That is not so much of a wage to boast of, considering the cost of living in the United States.

Your workers do get more in the way of things needed for life: Automobiles, electric washing machines, radios, etc., etc. That has made a large home market. But I note in many of your business journals that there is fear that this will not keep up. There is already talk of "depression".

The United States came out of the war almost unscathed. That is, in its economic life. It had an after-war let-down. But that was nothing compared to the chaos in many other countries. That has given your industry a great start over those of other lands. It has taken advantage of the opportunity, of course, and that has put it on top.

How you will be able to bear up under any long drawn-out depression is another story. Even now the American worker turns out much more than he is able to buy back. That cannot go on forever. To offset the gigantic combinations of Capital, your Labor Movement has been largely satisfied with craft unionism. In a friendly way, I might say that we could not understand that in Australia. Our most successful union—the Australian Workers' Union—is a powerful industrial union. It is divided into 30 sections, covering all pastoral workers. We could never have organized those workers successfully except by this form of organization.

### Machine Gun vs. Pop Gun

You seem to face the same situation in the big indus-

tries. Only in your case, the necessity for industrial unionism may be even greater. Capital is concentrated perhaps in no other country in the world as it is concentrated in these big industries of yours. To fight these combinations with craft unionism is much the same as trying to destroy machine gun fire with a pop-gun.

We have noted the several warnings printed in your country by students of economic subjects against the coming of a "new feudalism". If the workers are not organized, such a new serfdom is bound to come. It is more damaging to social welfare than depressed industrial conditions. Industrial unionism should give the workers the opportunity to organize, and thus shake off this slave spirit.

Your big population gives your industries their big home market. It also has provided those numerous nationalities, which Capital could play off, one against the other. That has hampered your organization work, undoubtedly. In Australia we have but 6,000,000 whites. These, however, are 98 per cent British Islanders by birth or descent. They can all speak the one language. The message of organization has been much easier to give to them than would be the case if they spoke many tongues. They all have much the same background. That has aided and eased the task of unionizing them.

With immigration halted, your chance to organize has been increased. But in the meantime, the big basic industries have loomed up. They require new methods. And the first of these, from our experience, is industrial unionism.

#### Value of Ideals

We have also felt that a Labor Movement cannot go forward, unless it have ideals and be prepared to take power. Our Trade Union Congress has been much impressed with the principles of Guild Socialism. It has put itself on record for Socialization of Industry, with Workers' Control. That is its goal. Such an ideal aids the spirit of a Movement. If depression comes, we know it is but temporary. If we receive a setback, we know that it will be followed by an advance. We understand fully that the destiny of the workers is to secure full control of industry—and that keeps us fighting ahead, even in black times.

Our aim for power is not merely industrial, however. We believe strongly in Labor political action. We have gone far in that direction and mean to go farther. We are certain that reliance on any capitalistic party is only going up a blind alley. It was in 1890 that we came to that realization. A big strike showed us the "love" that the capitalist politicians have for us, in any emergency.

From then until 1910 our Labor Party grew in strength. We captured this state parliament and that. Finally, after 20 years of battling, we took control of the Federal Parliament. Under the premiership of Andrew Fisher, the Labor Party carried through the entire political program of Labor. The workers received out of that administration more than they have ever received before or since.

When the Great War broke out, W. H. Hughes was the Labor Premier, having succeeded Mr. Fisher. He went over to the Tories in action, favoring conscription. Many other Labor Party leaders took a like attitude. The rank

and file of the Party unanimously shook off such false leadership. They voted a powerful "No." Mr. Hughes was expelled from the party. He then joined the Tories bodily, as he had been with them spiritually in the conscription business.

There was thus a spirit of freedom in Australia and the Labor Party which even the war could not crush. It is worthy to note that the boys at the front from our island voted "No" as strongly as those left behind. They believed in freemen fighting, not slaves. The voluntary enlistments from Australia, as a matter of fact, were greater than those from Canada.

#### Labor Party Growth

The break over conscription naturally weakened the Labor Party for a time. It lost federal control. But it quickly re-built itself. Five of the six state parliaments are now in its hands—and Victoria would long ago have been in line, also, but for the gerrymandering practices of the Tory Party there. It takes many more times as many Labor votes to seat a representative in that state as it does Tory votes. The present Bruce government, federally, is in a bad way. It would not be surprising any day to see its fall, followed by Labor Party control of the Federal Government again.

A number of American observers and visitors to Australia have proclaimed our Movement to be "the most powerful" in the world, so far as controlling our own economic and political life is concerned. We will make no such claim. But we have made happy progress under some difficulties. In the first place, we are as yet in a very isolated position, geographically. We are the one large white, "Europeanized" state, in the midst of countries with colored and "backward" populations. We have not yet sufficient population to make certain a large home market for our finished products. Our primary industries are wool and wheat. The export of raw materials is still our chief international function. Coal, copper, silver and gold mining are growing in volume; and iron and steel works are coming to the fore.

#### Difficulties Overcome

Therefore, to start with: We were cut off from the rest of the world with a working population largely pastoral, rather than industrial.

To these apparent difficulties was added a pretty well worn-out system of governing. The governors of our various states are appointed by the Crown. The upper houses in our states are appointed for life by these governors. These upper houses are crowded with Tories. They are the chief check on Labor. Theoretically, the governors are supposed to appoint new representatives from a list named by the party that happens to be in power. Recently, the Governor in New South Wales refused to appoint enough Labor nominees to give that party complete control of the upper house. That has caused much dissatisfaction with this method of "governing", particularly as the Crown appointees are all Britishers.

It is interesting to note that every Labor man appointed to the upper house is pledged to vote for the abolition of that body. The crisis in New South Wales came when certain Labor men in that body broke their pledge. It was then the intention of Premier Lang to flood the upper body, so that there would be enough Labor men—even

with deserters—to cause the vote for abolition to be carried. At this, the governor balked.

It is only a question of time, nevertheless, until these upper houses are abolished and the Crown appointment system changed.

Those were some of our difficulties. That we have overcome them to the degree that we have is largely due to the things I have mentioned: 1. Our goal is certain. We aim for complete control of industry and government. 2. Our form of organization in our big industry is industrial. 3. Labor political action, with all its difficulties,

has given us more power than were we at the mercy of capitalist politicians.

While advice is very easy to give, we think that every Labor Movement could well profit from the adoption of similar policies. From my observations, I believe that the American Movement could so profit. At any rate, our experience is offered for what it may be worth. Australia, in spite of many initial handicaps which America does not have, is today much more powerfully unionized—with Labor a dominant factor in our public life.

## Threats of Coming War

*The World Prepares for New Slaughter*

By JOHN W. BROWN

**W**HEN the Treaty of Versailles was signed, even the most ardent militarists believed in a long period of peace. Germany was disarmed; the victor states had sworn eternal friendship. An alliance so far-reaching, covering the mightiest nations of the world, and "sanctified" by four years of the closest comradeship in arms must surely be the best guarantee of peace. So was it after the battle of Waterloo, when was formed a similar "Holy Alliance", thought to be eternal, and lasting—how long? And now, after the 20th century Waterloo, the great Entente has vanished into thin air, and the Little Entente, formed somewhat later, is in no better case.

If the Balkan countries are to be again the bomb whose explosion is to be the signal for a new war, the Great Powers are certainly lighting the fuse there without the smallest regard for alliances of any kind, early or late. Self-respect and prestige are alike thrown recklessly to the winds. Italy is the most eager for a new era of "blood and iron" and she it is therefore who has been the first to give cry in the Balkans. She is using Albania as a jumping-off board, and she has won over Roumania as an ally by accepting her annexation of Bessarabia, and granting her a loan of 300 million lire for armament purposes. The Bessarabian deal has aroused a sharp protest from Russia, who denounces it as "shameless robbery". But there are also rumours of German mediation between Russia and Roumania; it is said that Russia is not unwilling to come to terms with Roumania, and might conclude a Mutual Non-aggression Treaty.

### "Guns Must Decide"

Although Greece has already been impounded by Britain, France still thinks it worth while to put in the mouth of her newly-sent ambassador to Greece honeyed words about the intellectual kinship of France and Greece, and to advocate a Greek-Yugoslavian alliance. This has nettled the Greeks, forced as they are by Britain to maintain their friendship with Italy. Meanwhile Italy is hurling reproaches at Yugoslavia for warlike preparations, although it is matter of common knowledge that she herself has long been planning war on Yugoslavia. Italy's

note concerning the warlike preparations of Yugoslavia, and the reassuring communiques from Yugoslavia and Britain are nothing but a mere playing to the gallery. Even if, for obvious reasons, Italy and Yugoslavia are not thinking of immediate war, yet the staging of this trial scene will at any rate have had the effect of forcing the various powers to put their cards on the table, and make their choice of partners; with the result that the cards will have been only shuffled, and everything will be ready to begin the game when the right moment comes. And when it does come, everyone will be able to say, with infinite self-satisfaction: "Yes, we warned the world; but now it is too late; the guns must decide."

In Yugoslavia, which has an alliance and treaty of friendship with France, not a day passes without the press giving vent to its hate of Greece. Roumania's new alliance ranges her alongside Hungary and Bulgaria, with whom also Italy is seeking to ingratiate herself. In Bulgaria Britain is putting her spoke in; she is supporting Bulgaria's defence against Yugoslavia. And from Sofia comes the further news of negotiations for a 300 million loan between Bulgaria and a British bank, which, so it is said, are to be continued in London in the near future by the Governor of the Bulgarian National Bank. If we cast a glance back on the not very remote past, when Roumania, now in the net of Italy, was the loyal ally of France, whose strained relations with Italy are now notorious; and if we also remember that neither Hungary nor Bulgaria can realize their hopes in respect of foreign policy except at the expense of Roumania, we shall be able to form some idea of the extraordinary complexity of this regrouping, and of all the dangers inherent in it. As for Turkey, to whom there is an obvious reference in the new British-Italian agreements, she has, after 3 years of delay, suddenly decided to conclude her treaty to join. She is therefore, like Germany, wondering whether it would not be better for Russia to be admitted to the League of Nations, and attain all the rights pertaining to such proceeding. Meanwhile, France is planning to make a little demonstration of her power and friendship by sending a squad of warships to Constantinople—the whole of the Mediterranean Sea is at



the moment the theatre of little sideshows of this kind! With so much intrigue, and amid such a whirl of grouping and re-grouping, the very worst may be expected.

#### Britain in China—and America

So much for the storm-centre of Europe. In Europe things have gone so far that France finds it necessary to spend untold millions on her defence. There is no denying that France is again to some extent, isolated. Each of the Great Powers is seeking to use the one-time Entente for its own ends; this is plainly to be seen from recent events in China. Britain is playing a lone hand in the East, only because she sacrificed her alliance with Japan; an act which was promptly followed by a Franco-Japanese rapprochement, which in its turn threw Italy into the arms of Britain. But all these alliances and improvised friendships are cast into the shade by the dawning Anglo-American understanding, which was, of course, the main cause of Britain's change of policy towards Japan.

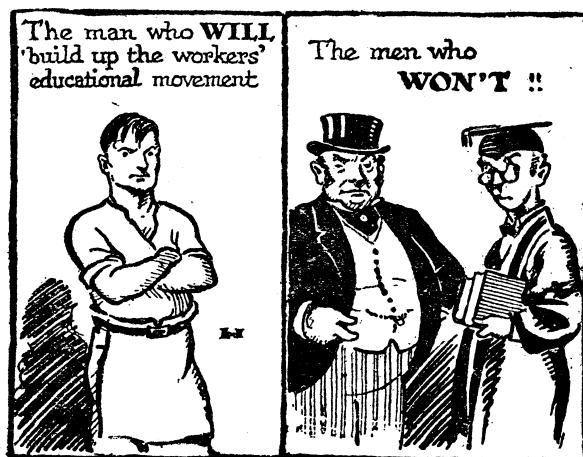
What this new Anglo-American "friendship" prefigures is hinted at by an English writer, Garvin, who reflects the opinion of ruling circles, and has been writing very warmly of late about the "big brother" in America. In this game of world politics, it is Europe itself, not this or that country of Europe, which is at stake. Not long since, Erich Obst, a well-known German professor, declared it to be his opinion that the British Empire has no prospect of peace and progress unless it throws itself wholeheartedly on the side of the United States of Europe of the future, and forms an all comprehensive alliance. Garvin replied that Obst greatly underrated the strength of the bonds holding together the British Empire. He completely misunderstood the ocean-wide character of the English-speaking world, the power of the moral and practical links between Britain and the United States, their common language, their thousand points of kinship, etc., etc.

In his belief that a united Europe would be bad policy for Britain and the United States, Garvin is only carrying on Britain's age-long tradition. The continental countries are, in his eyes, of no use except to pull British chestnuts out of Russian ovens.

Reverting to Europe, it is plain that there have been great subterranean upheavals among the Powers; already we can discern the lines on which they will regroup. There will be still further changes—especially as Germany is still a dark horse. No one knows what Germany will do. Will she draw closer to Britain? Will she make friends with Poland? Will she start a new friendship with Russia (with whom she already has treaties) or will she cooperate in earnest with Mussolini? (She was recently on bad terms with the latter, but now a Non-Aggression Treaty has been concluded—and sealed with good hard coin of the realm!)

#### The War Factories

And all this time armaments are being heaped up. Britain is spending an additional £900,000 in building warships, making a total of £9,983,000; another £619,000 has been granted for the naval base at Singapore. Italian armament factories are working at high pressure. For



Thus does the "Plebs" Magazine of Britain envisage the business of Workers' Education in that land. It is much the same here. We have not so much the question of academic education aided by State funds, as they have. But we have the problem of whether education shall tend to aid the Movement in its fight, or merely add to a "student's" culture and thus make a petty exploiter of him or her. Guess the answer!

the last 11 years Czechoslovakia has had an Armament Fund, to which 350 million Crowns are allocated every year. Russia has trebled her military budget in the last 4 years; this year it totals 1,200,000,000 gold marks; and she is doing intensive work in the direction of a gas war. Germany is doing its best to goose-step as much as ever. Even the pious chief of the general staff in little Switzerland is rattling his federal sabre, and pulling on a stern countenance. And everybody is solemnly declaring, quite truly, of course that "The times are unstable—we must be prepared for anything."

But perhaps the recent French Act shows most plainly what is before us if it does come to war. In case of war every French citizen, irrespective of age or sex, must take his share either in actively defending his country or "preserving her materially and morally." This is to put down in black and white that in the next war it is not only the men at the front who will be mown down; not only the villages and towns on the front and close by will be doomed to destruction—the whole country will have to be defended, for otherwise the whole land will be destroyed and every living thing within it.

Wells wrote in his "History of the World" that "states organized for war will make war as surely as hens will lay eggs." The same author also wrote: "The more interesting question is not why the Great War was not anticipated and prevented. It is a far graver thing for mankind that scores of millions of people were too 'patriotic', stupid, or apathetic to prevent this disaster by a movement towards European unity upon frank and generous lines, than that a small number of people may have been active in bringing it about."

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

# A Prosperity Panic

*Why Is Depression Here in the Midst of High Profits?*

## AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

**I**N traveling through the country at the present time, one is struck by the "slack" period of work reported by workers in widely differing industries.

"If this weren't an age of prosperity," one remarked, humorously woeful, "we would call what we are up against a Panic."

The ceaseless "prosperity" advertising has produced a peculiar psychological aftermath: Each section, in the main, thinks that it is the particular "hard-luck" community and is a bit ashamed of it, thinking or trying to induce itself to think that every other community is engaged in hustle and bustle.

Why is it that we are running into this gradual depression in the reign of the Good King Cal and of Open Shoppery? Why is this paralysis hitting industry in the midst of high profits—the highest ever known?

Well, we have already given the answer on a number of occasions. The paralysis is here and coming, precisely because of high profits. The workers, in other words, have never been really introduced to the fruits of Prosperity. They have not been paid wages in accordance with their production. The product which they feverishly turned out has flooded the market. They, with their insufficient wages, have not been able to purchase it. The millionaires, fattening off the high profits, cannot possibly consume all the automobiles, radios, food products and clothes being turned out. We, therefore, begin to have that remarkable phenomenon dubbed "over-production."

Look at the railroads of the country, as an example. In 1926 their total receipts, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, came to \$270,128,589 over 1920. But the wage bill of the carriers was much less in the past year than in 1920. It ran up to \$3,742,936 in the earlier period, and only to \$2,990,441,936 in 1926. Among these employees there were 418,767 earning less than \$1,000 a year—80 per cent of these being able bodied men entitled to be heads of families. Those earning less than \$1,200 per year came to 534,904. Are these the miraculously high wages heralded to a gaping world as the product of American pep and go? They are exactly half of the computed living wage for workmen in America, with family obligations.

Then, there comes the report of the U. S. Department of Commerce on the census of manufactures for 1925. What does it show? That production has increased, but that jobs have decreased. Horsepower has gone up, cutting out the necessity for manpower. Increase of horsepower was 22 per cent over 1919, while the number of workers decreased 6.7 per cent over the earlier year. Further: the workers secured, out of the value added by their labor to the raw product, less return in 1925 than in any year that the census has been taken. They got

but 40.1 per cent of the value added, in 1925, while in 1923 their share was 42.6 per cent—and back in 1849, before the thought of mass production, it was 52 per cent.

It is now beginning to penetrate into the most unexpected quarters that much of the hullabaloo about our "prosperity" was based on a myth. The New York JOURNAL OF COMMERCE—organ of business interests—has been pointing for some time to the growing "undercurrent of pessimism" in business and industrial circles. In its issue of April 4th, it takes occasion to speak out with unexpected frankness. The title of its editorial statement is "A Mythical Land of Plenty" and the cause of the utterances is the report of the British Industrial Commission on American prosperity and methods. The editorial is most sarcastic in its comments on "friendly relations between capital and labor", given by the Britishers as one reason for America's lolling in wealth. But its summary is the important thing. After all the bellowing of Babbitry, heard round the world, about the super-intelligence of our industrial kings, it is refreshing to read the following:

"What really stands out as prime reasons for our well-being is, of course, our possession of natural resources and of a great, unhampered domestic market built up upon that natural wealth and developed without restraints of trade. It is upon these primary advantages that our industrial efficiency is based . . . (As to mass production, concentration of manufacture, trusts, etc., etc.) they are sporadic manifestations. Why Europeans try to make a mystery out of an essentially simple matter is a puzzle to Americans who look below the superficial manifestations of our industrial prosperity."

Europeans have made a mystery of it simply because American Employerdom has made a mystery of it—seeking to show that "destruction" of unionism, super-brain power on the part of management, etc., have been the causes for "superficial prosperity". Some of our labor men, unfortunately, have been taken in by such bunk and blah.

Beyond and above all this, however, it is no mystery why depression is inevitably following the orgy of speeding-up, which netted the employing groups everywhere profits unheard of before. (The International Harvester Company reports the greatest profits in its history for 1926—and its "normal" returns have always been colossal.) The workers are the great consumers. When they cannot buy up the product, industry must slow down—and the workers bled again, through unemployment and semi-starvation, until things right themselves and the "surplus product" is slowly disposed of.

A larger return for labor is the first step in the answer to Depression. Such larger return can only be secured through widespread unionism. Union organiza-

# Professional Patriots

Security League, Civic Federation, Et Al.

**H**ISTORY is ever repeating itself. On the plane of another class struggle, reactionaries go through the same motions as did their spiritual forefathers in other crises. They employ the same ancient battlecries. None is more popular than: "He is not loyal to Caesar."

When Mr. Ralph Easley, of the National Civic Federation, attacks Father John A. Ryan as disloyal and too radical, we know that Mr. Easley is crazy. Or, perhaps, he thinks other folks are crazy. In his case, it is a madness that is profitable, to say the least. It keeps Ralph in a job. Father Ryan's sole offense is that he speaks out courageously for the oppressed workers of this country and urges them to join their unions.

When Ralph further attacks the members of Organized Labor themselves as "disloyal", we can merely say he is a liar—and let it go at that. During the war, Ralph gave forth this utterance:

"Organized Labor has in its own ranks some of the disloyal elements, the pro-German Germans and the anti-English Irish who will play the Potsdam game at every possible opportunity; but disturbances will be reduced to a minimum because there are plenty of laws and machinery for seeking out treasonable persons and handing them over to a firing squad.

"To talk about education or Americanization as a method of dealing with such people is a waste of time, effort and money. Only the fear of the law, backed up by the police, the militia, the Army and Navy if necessary, has any terror for such terrorists."

This foaming at the mouth is characteristic of Mr. Easley. It is little wonder that we now see him playing the employers' game, in attacking Old Age Pensions by Legislation. These pensions would be the greatest blow at the employers' industrial pensions that could be devised. Mr. Easley rushes to the defense of Open Shoppery by striving to kill the Old Age Pension Movement.

Then, there is the National Security League. Organized Labor already knows of its anti-union efforts. In 1925 it went so far as to induce a business men's luncheon and the Y. M. C. A. of Hartford, Conn., to cancel speaking engagements of Arthur Henderson, the British labor statesman. His crime was that he was preaching "socialistic doctrines." It also made itself ridiculous in Indianapolis last year in its attack on Mr. Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Upon

being challenged to produce proofs of its statements, the League backed out. It had got its information from R. M. Whitney's famous nightmare pamphlet, "Reds in America."

But that is merely the beginning of the roll call of professional patriotic societies which now infest this country. Better American Federation, American Constitutional Association, American Defense Society, United States Flag Association, Sentinels of the Republic, Industrial Defense Association, Utah Associated Industries—are the names of some of them. Of course, there is now Mr. Fred Marvin's Key Men of America. This includes on its executive board some of the most aggressive Open Shoppers in the country. It has interlocking directors with other "patriotic" associations.

The whole business of professional patriotism has been set down in a delightful little book, "Professional Patriots," just issued by A. and C. Boni, New York. The editor of the book is the distinguished journalist, Norman Hapgood. The material was assembled by Capt. Sidney Howard, the playwright and co-author of "The Labor Spy," and Mr. John Hearley. (The book can be obtained from the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Its price is \$1.50).

The ignorance of the patrioteers is astounding. The number of well-known folks attacked by them as "disloyal" is legion. Among them is President William Green of the American Federation of Labor. "Jim" Maurer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Helen Keller, the blind writer and lecturer; Walter Lippman, editor of the "New York World"; William Allen White, editor, "The Emporia Gazette"; Rev. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary; Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy; Roscoe Pound, Dean of Harvard Law School; A. J. Muste, Dean of Brookwood Labor College; Bishop Charles H. Brent, Episcopal Bishop of Western New York; Prynce Hopkins, of our Board; Senators Brookhart, Borah, Frazier, LaFollette, Norris, Shipstead and Wheeler.

(The editor of "Labor Age" is also in this list.)

When one of these organizations begins its attack upon local labor men or labor unions, it would be well to have this book around. It can be used publicly to laugh off the attack. For, these poor souls are most amusing in their wild statements. From that point alone the book is worth while. The professional patriots are such a simple-minded lot.

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tion here and union organization there cannot do the trick; it has but little effect on the system. When that desirable condition of predominant unionism, particularly in the basic industries, has been realized, there will be other steps ahead. For unionism inevitably brings in greater efficiency of the workers and compels greater efficiency on the part of management. The further step

will have to be, inevitably, a widespread venture of the workers into control of industry. But we haven't "made" the first part of the program yet. Until we do, we must resign ourselves to being the playthings of periodical Depression.

What man who calls himself a man, we ask, will "re-sign" himself to any such "solution" of his problems?

# Cartoons That Speak for Themselves!

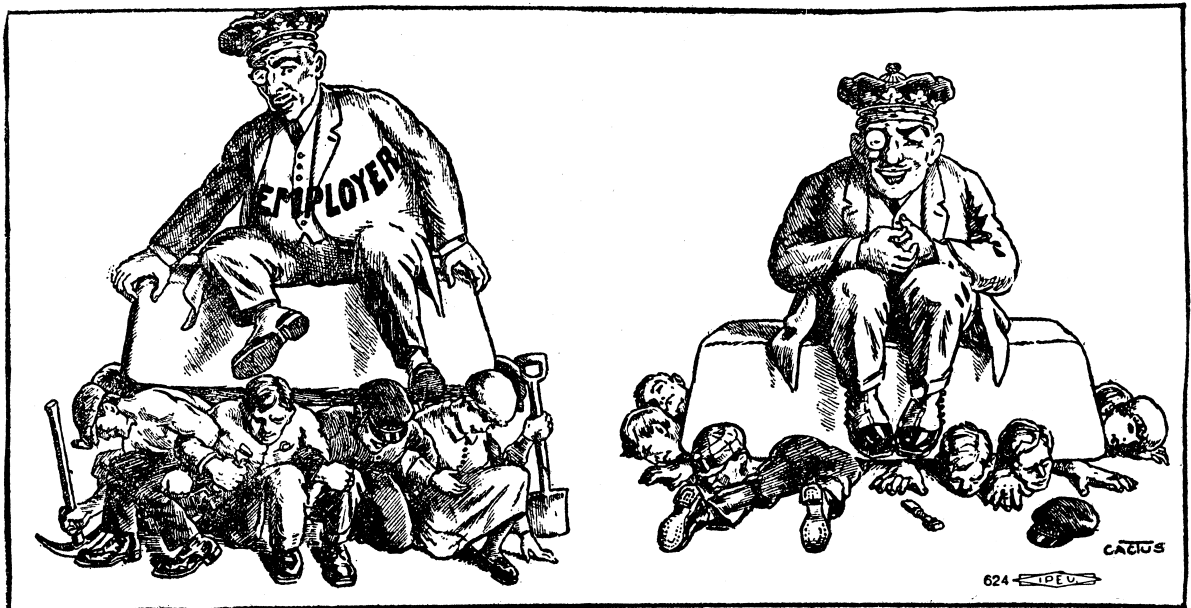


Life



N. E. A. Service

## THE HOPE OF A DIEHARD TO-DAY'S FACT— TO-MORROW'S POSSIBILITY



London Daily Herald

If the Anti-Trade Union Bill Becomes Law

# Textile Disease In Passaic

*What the Mills Do*

By GRACE M. BURNHAM

**E**XPOSURE to poisons, heat, steam, denial of the most elemental sanitary provisions . . . hours averaging 59 a week . . . low wages . . . such are the degrading conditions of work which produce on the one hand the brilliant display of colored silks, velvets and other attractive fabrics in our shop windows . . . and on the other hand break down the bodies of the men, women and children employed in the dyeing and finishing of textiles. These inescapable facts are brought out in a report on "Health Hazards in the Dyeing and Finishing of Textiles", just issued by the Workers' Health Bureau, as part of its study of 404 textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey and vicinity.

The dyeing and finishing of fabrics is becoming an increasingly important part of the textile industry. The strike committee of the Textile Strikers estimates the number of workers engaged in this branch of textiles in New Jersey in 1926 at no less than 11,000. Dyers make use of a great variety of poisonous substances such as coloring materials and bleaches. The workroom is often intensely hot and filled with steam. In addition to breathing the hot vapors and fumes, skin irritations are common and the scalding dyestuffs may spatter into the face, burn the skin and injure the eyes.

These conditions need not exist. Poisonous fumes can be controlled so that they are discharged into the open air, instead of into the workroom. Steam can be carried away by means of mechanical systems of ventilation. Hours of work in unavoidably hot processes can be reduced and other provisions made for the health of workers.

The 77 dye workers given medical examination by the Workers' Health Bureau reported working conditions which disclose a flagrant disregard on the part of many of the employers of these essential protective measures, and an utter contempt for even such minimum standards as have already been written into the New Jersey Law. Reported hours of work are far in excess of union standards, running as high as 72 in one week. In many instances workers are deprived of their lunch hour. They complain bitterly of the heat, steam and fumes, and of the fact that there is no place to hang street clothes and no possibility of changing from their soaking wet garments to dry ones before going home. Unspeakable sanitary conditions exist—relics of the early days of factory production.

The results of the medical examinations give ample proof that human beings cannot withstand such exploitation.

**Heart Disease . . . High Blood Pressure . . . Tuberculosis**

Not one of the 77 dye workers given medical examinations by the Workers' Health Bureau was free from physical defects. One third were found with heart disease, high blood pressure or both. These workers are the

fathers of families who are dependent on their wages for support. Over exertion may mean invalidism for life. Yet these very men are doing the most exhausting work, exposed to poisons, heat and steam from 50 to 72 hours a week.

Three dye workers were found to have active tuberculosis and arrangements had to be made for immediate sanatorium care. Seven more have serious respiratory disturbances, which on further examination may prove to be tuberculosis. Ten or twelve hours of labor a day or night in soaking wet clothes, breathing the irritating fumes of acids and bleaches, can only mean inevitable breakdown to lungs already injured.

Eight out of every ten of the workers examined complain of severe irritations of the eyes, nose or throat . . . over one third were no longer able to digest their food, complaining of belching, cramps, nausea and frequent vomiting . . . over one third had constant headaches and almost as many more were suffering from rheumatism or muscular pains.

Twenty three dye workers reported that they had been the victims of industrial accidents. The injuries were caused by burns from caustic soda, acids and steam, falls, sprains, strains, falling of heavy weights, and the ripping of arms and hands by machinery. Some of these accidents resulted in permanent injury and disfigurement, and in one case, that of a boy 18 years old, a wrist broken by the frame machine, was so severely injured that this child is not only permanently disfigured but has lost the use of his hand for life.

Dye workers have a higher percentage of high blood pressure than painters who are exposed to all kinds of poisonous materials, a higher percentage of heart disease than painters, furriers or bakers, a higher percentage of tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases than printers, painters, food handlers or furriers. Compared with a representative group of general workers not exposed to general hazards such as Life Insurance Company Policyholders, dyers show 20 times the percentage of active and suspected tuberculosis . . . 3 times the percentage for high blood pressure . . . and 14 times for heart disease.

## Typical Cases of Exploitation

The histories of two workers examined tell a story of suffering, want and physical collapse for much of which the industry is directly responsible. The first, age 48, worked for 4 years in the boil off room. He starts work at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and quits at 20 minutes to 7 in the morning. During the night he gets 20 minutes for lunch. In the busy season he averages 70 hours a week. He complains of the heat, steam and fumes. His clothes are always dripping wet and there

## LABOR AGE

is no place to change before going home. Year before last he had the "flu", and last year his thumb was caught in the machine and he was out of work for 4 months without a cent of compensation for the accident. He told the doctor he had headaches, pains in the legs and his ears bothered him. He didn't think there was anything special the matter with him. He was found to have TUBERCULOSIS, PLEURISY, bronchitis, diabetes, anaemia and hardening of the arteries.

The second worker earns from \$15 to \$20 a week for 65 hours labor. He has a wife and two children dependent on him. He had worked in the washing and drying department for two and a half years. Sixty-five hours work a week . . . so that "people sleep on the wet floor" from exhaustion. The toilets are described as a "trench in the ground, out of doors", and "you go out in your wet clothes." Wooden shoes are worn because the water and the steam "gives you rheumatism". Other complaints were headaches and stomach trouble. The doctor found this worker 12 pounds underweight, anaemic, with an enlarged thyroid, probably diabetes and a blood pressure far above the normal for his age. He is now 47 years old.

### Stories of Mill Conditions

Descriptions of mill conditions given by the workers seem unbelievable, yet many similar to them were reported by the Consumers' League of New Jersey in a Survey of Textile Mills in 1918.

The dye houses work day and night. The heat in some of the processes such as dyeing and drying is that of the tropics. The steam is so thick you cannot see the worker opposite you. Dangerous machines stand in this fog, and workers constantly run the risk of serious accidents from walking into them. The atmosphere is unbearable, filled as it is with the fumes from bleaches, acids and other chemicals. Floors are running with water, so that workers must wear rubber boots or wooden shoes for protection. Clothes are dripping with steam and perspiration. Yet workers are forced to work, ten, twelve, even fourteen hours a day or night during the rush season, and are left totally unprovided for in slack season when the market is glutted and mill owners hold their stocks of materials for better prices.

Twenty one workers reported that they were given no time for lunch but had to gulp down what they could as work goes on at the same time. Imagine eating lunch, day after day in a steaming hot room filled with the fumes of choking acids. No wonder that one third of the workers were found to have digestive disorders.

Rest rooms, wash rooms, places to keep street clothes and to change into dry garments before going home are in most instances unheard of. Mrs. Kelly in her report for the Consumers' League in 1918 says: "Many workers were dressing before their machines at closing time. One of the women said: 'You have to walk through the room with your eyes shut!'" . . . She also reported "that women were trying to steal a few minutes rest by sitting in the primitive toilets, which were narrow boards, in which holes were set over a common trough, flushed

automatically at intervals." Fifteen workers stated that they were forced to use such troughs in 1926 . . . thirty workers stated that toilets were foul or filthy.

With even these common decencies denied it is not surprising to find the basic hazards of the industry—heat, steam and poisonous fumes—still largely uncontrolled.

### These Occupational Diseases Preventable

Dr. Alice Hamilton, acknowledged authority on industrial poisons in the United States, and author of a standard text book on the subject, referring to the Workers' Health Bureau report says: "The unhealthful conditions described as existing in these New Jersey dye works are almost entirely preventable . . . the atmosphere in these plants resembles that of the tropics, and yet men are expected to work at full speed ten, eleven and even twelve hours a day. "The high rate of tuberculosis, heart disease and other serious defects found is probably traceable to the working conditions in the industry."

Tuberculosis in dye works . . . the result of long hours of needless exposure to fumes, sudden changes in temperature, heat, steam, and the denial of provisions for bodily comfort and hygiene is PREVENTABLE. Heart Disease and High Blood Pressure . . . from poisons, over-exertion, rheumatism are PREVENTABLE. NOT ONE of the 77 dye workers examined is free from physical defect.

No wonder these workers rose in mass protest, determined to win for themselves a union which will wrest from the employers decent standards of hours, wages and working conditions.

In contrast to the 60-70 hour week of the dye workers, a Survey of Organized Trades in 1925 showed an average working week of 45½ hours. Organized painters and furriers have established the 40 hour week. The garment workers are determined upon a reduction in the work week from 44 to 40 hours. Organized labor knows that every improvement in hours, wages and better working conditions has been wrung from hostile employers through the weapon of the strike.

The battle of the dye workers of Passaic is the battle of organized labor throughout the country. It is a heroic struggle against ruthless exploitation, and disregard of human life. It is a splendid challenge to the employing interests that workers refuse any longer to be treated as so much raw material to be utilized with dyes and acids for the profits of the mill owners.

The medical findings among the 77 dye workers examined were compared to the following studies previously made:

Dr. Emery R. Hayhurst: Study of 267 Painters examined by the Workers' Health Bureau—1923.

Dr. Louis I. Harris: "A Clinical & Sanitary Survey of the Fur and Hatters Trade, N. Y. Dept. of Health—October, 1915.

"The Health of Food Handlers", L. I. Harris & L. I. Dublin—1917.

Report on the Examination of 1,044 Printers, Dr. L. I. Harris—1923.

## WORKERS' EDUCATION THAT WORKS

### Successful Effort Should Begin at the Beginning

**W**ORKERS education in this country has been considered primarily the business of educators. It should be primarily the business of workers.

The recent Workers Education Bureau conference at Boston brought something of this to light. There was some demand for simpler text-books. There was some demand for more practical text-books. There was recognition of real workers' education in the elections of A. J. Muste, Paul Fuller and Charles L. Reed to the Executive Board.

Along with that, there was also insistence upon workers' ideals in education. President James H. Maurer struck this note in his opening address, when he came out flatly for a "new social order" as the aim of workers' educational efforts. Some of the delegates did not seem to grasp that idea, but it will be more and more prominent of necessity as the movement progresses. Either that, or the movement dies.

On the basis of these two principles, our local efforts can go forward: Education by and for the workers, and education inspired by workers' hopes for a new social order. On that basis we can draw up a plan that will work in local communities. Much of the "cultural" and evasive kind of "workers education" has never worked. Indeed, it has not attracted unionists, but only hangers-on of the movement.

In the first place, let us begin at the beginning. Before getting down to the job of setting up "classes", we should have some idea what it is all about. The term "education" has confused many of us—not the least of all, some of those who have become the very apostles of workers education.

"Education" is not sitting in high-backed chairs, at hard well-surfaced desks, mouths agape, listening to a tyrant teacher display his or her lack of real knowledge. That is not even the new understanding of child "education". Much less is it the idea of workers education.

The sole reason for workers education is to furnish the alert members of the unions with the mental tools with which to organize the unorganized, negotiate successfully with the employers,

and continue the battle on and on until complete workers' victory be attained. The object of workers education in Eastern Massachusetts—and we refer to that, because "Buck" Reed of Salem is doing about the best job of anybody anywhere—is to keep firm and intact the textile workers of the Naumkeag, to organize the leather workers at Peabody, to attack the "yellow dog" contract for the boot and shoe workers and show how it can be defeated. The task for the same line of effort in Portland, Ore.—and H. Aaron Director is striking out in the right direction there—is to stimulate the organized workers to meet the problems of the unorganized in their city, to spur them on to securing widespread publicity against Company Unionism and Open Shopper, and to get them solidified in the job of educating the unorganized. So it goes in every local center. The question to be answered by your local educational effort is not: "How many workers have we taught to be charming, cultured, and cheap editions of lounge lizardry?" But it is: "How far have we solved the problem of organizing the big Open Shop places in this town, and how far have we stirred our organized brothers to the task of attempting to do the job, militantly and intelligently?"

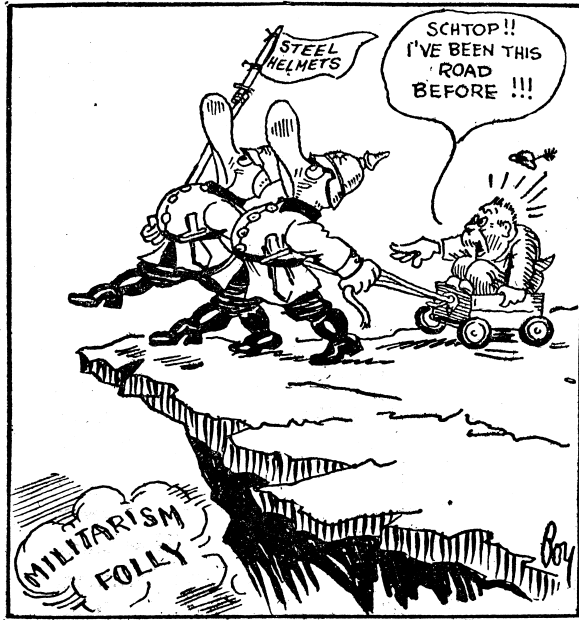
Without endorsing in full for this country the program of the British PLEBS LEAGUE, because of slightly differing conditions here, we quote with full enthusiasm the definition of "workers education" as given by them recently:

"We have now to see to it, more than ever, that the education we give is designed to be a weapon in the workers' fight. Never was real working-class education more needed than now. Never was it more necessary that that education should concern itself, first and foremost, with the actual needs of the struggle in which we and our fellows are engaged."

In that statement is a triumph for the idea LABOR AGE has been hammering at for years. Out of bitter experience, the British workers know what they must do—to WIN the fight. If we base our activities on a like program, we can go head, confidently, to do the needed things—the first steps in which we will note next month.

# In Memoriam

TO THOSE WHO WARRD TO END WAR—IN VAIN



London Evening News.



Matthews Service.

May 30th was—and is—Memorial Day. It should be a day of reflection on the bloody business of War. As it is, it generally passes as an occasion for the glorification of the gloss and tinsel of war-making.

What gains come out of War? Absolutely none. We are reminded of this serious fact in the above cartoons. The one, from a British capitalist paper, alludes to the march of the 16,000 steel helmets this past month in Berlin. German militarism is not yet dead. More than that: France has just passed the most vicious measure of militarism that the world has ever seen. Conscription of labor is included. Conscription of intellectuals, so that they will be compelled to praise the war and the war machine, has been added. Imperialism everywhere has raised up armaments undreamed of before 'the war to end war.'

Even in its new oil province of Irak (Mesopotamia), Britain has introduced conscription. The French continue to slaughter the Syrians, in the name of the mandate given them by the League of Nations.

Mussolini rattles his sword in the scabbard against

Yugoslav'ia. His virtual alliance with Hungary, just signed and sealed, threatens the peace of the Balkans, Pompously he announces that Italy has buried forever "the lies of universal democratic suffrage."

When the proper moment arrives, we shall hear the old lies and behold the same terrorism that pushed us into the last Great War. Do we remember the faked stuff about the Belgian children which the Belgian government officials themselves denied later on? Do we recall the concoction about the Germans hoiling dead soldiers for fertilizer? Before the National Arts Club in 1925 Brigadier General J. C. Charteris—the British Secret Service—boasted that he had invented the story out of whole cloth! (Consult C. H. Hamlin's "War Myth in U. S. History", Vanguard Press, New York.)

James Maxton's cry in the British NEW LEADER of February 4th is not out of place today. "Refuse to be Cannon Fodder!" advises this member of the British Parliament, facing possible war with China and Russia. "Refuse to be Cannon Fodder" is the only cry that will bring Imperialism, frightened, to a halt.



# Real Silk's Golden Fleece

*Fruits of Company Unionism for the Company*

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**M**R. William C. Kobin is much of a modern Jason. He started out from no such pretentious a place as a king's palace in Thessaly. It was from the Sidewalks of New York that he arose.

But he persistently sought the golden fleece, even as Jason did. And he found it.

Rumor has it that he is the man who "made" Real Silk. Rumor is probably correct. Wherever you go among business men or salesmen, at all conversant with the hosiery business, the fame of Kobin has preceded you.

It was during the Great War that he linked himself up with the Goodman fortunes. Back in 1911 a small concern had been opened in Indianapolis by Abraham Goodman and his sons, J. A. and Lazare L. It was known as the Goodman Hosiery Mills and had a very nominal capitalization.

Out of this modest beginning there arose a new corporation in 1921. It was soon succeeded by the present corporation, organized under the laws of Illinois but operating in Indiana.

Real Silk selling methods were Kobin-made. They have launched 100,000 door-to-door salesmen on the country. These salesmen work out of 250 district sales offices and through a branch post-office located at the mills. The salesman makes his sale to the lady of the house, collecting a deposit which is his commission. The goods are then shipped C.O.D. parcel post.

To whip up the salesmen, bonuses are offered. One of these is a trip to Indianapolis, to see the mills. On one of my numerous *incognito* trips through the country, I came upon one of these salesmen just out of Youngstown, Ohio. He was all a-flutter, at the opportunity he had to go to Indianapolis and see the "plant". Evidently, opportunities had been very few in his hum-drum life. It is men of that type who form the backbone of the Real Silk selling staff.

Another Real Silker over in Massachusetts informed me with some show of zeal how he had taken advantage of the unwary New England housewife. He carried a finger nail file among his equipment. To demonstrate the iron quality of Real Silk, he would run the blunt edge of the file along the silk, with no sad results. But if the lady offered to show that another piece of hose was of equal quality, he would run the sharp edge through the hose. It would tear in shreds.

Such sales practices are not countenanced by the company. But they indicate the latitude which roaming salesmen can allow themselves. A store-keeper, firmly rooted in one spot, with a store on his hands, could scarcely resort to such practices.

## Flow of Golden Coin

Whatever the strength or weakness of these methods, they have brought golden coin into Real Silk coffers.

Before me there lies a report of the LABOR BUREAU, INC. on the company's financial record.

It is worth while pausing over. Largely, it is the handiwork of W. C. Kobin. From 1922 to 1926 inclusive the record is as follows:

Year	Net Profits (After Federal, States and taxes)	Earned per share of Common
1922 .....	\$ 716,321	286.52
1923 .....	791,300	297.89
1924 .....	1,369,291	9.13
1925 .....	1,800,342	9.00
1926 .....	750,523	2.72

The lower profits per share for 1924 and 1925 do not mean a smaller profit, as the LABOR BUREAU points out. They merely indicate that the stock of the company was largely increased. In 1925 a 33 1-3 per cent stock dividend was voted, indicating that the company had been building up a formidable surplus out of which to award such a dividend.

As to 1926: the purchase and re-sale of the Thieme interests, the purchase of the Albert Hosiery Co. in Philadelphia and the building of the new addition to the plant in Indianapolis had all played their part. These maneuvers were part of the program for Real Silk to invade the full fashioned game. They had seen the handwriting on the wall for seamless hosiery.

President J. A. Goodman himself explained the situation in that way. "Real Silk prospects," he declared, "are very bright."

The growth of the physical plant of the company offers further evidence of this increasing prosperity. From very crude beginnings it has developed into seven buildings of mill type. They are of steel and concrete construction, modern in design as well as in date of erection. The oldest was completed in 1920. The newest, in May, 1926.

When this almost over-night development of the company is grasped, the dominant position of Mr. Kobin in Real Silk can be thoroughly understood. He is the man behind the gun.

Although nominally vice-president in charge of sales, the shadow of our Jason falls over the whole concern. It was he, we have reason to believe, who was the first among the management to sense that a mill could scarcely be part-union and part anti-union. The company's fear was his fear: That the loopers, unionized and reinstated, would be a signal for a completely unionized plant.

## Kobin vs. Kaplan

That probably accounts for the fact that labor relations at Indianapolis are much different from those at the Philadelphia plant. Mr. Joseph Kaplan, the executive head at Philadelphia, is not merely a sales expert.

## LABOR AGE

He is an administrator of much ability. He has always made special efforts to deal justly with the union. He has not made promises today which he forgot tomorrow. It is interesting to note that his completely unionized mill has beaten all records for production in the industry.

The struggle in the Real Silk Co. for decent or indecent labor relations is a struggle at this date, largely, of Kobin vs. Kaplan.

Kobin's philosophy (and that of Real Silk) is much the same as that of the Hahl family in Emanie Sachs' RED DAMASK. The company executives are intent upon philanthropy. It is almost a duty. They are also intent upon business. That is a duty.

To give a ragged newsboy a dime or quarter is a great humane act, in their opinion. To give thousands of dimes or quarters to hospitals or relief drives is a greater act. But, at the same time, to haggle with employes about wages or conditions and to throttle unionism is something that must also be done. Around this throttling must be thrown the same cloak of "charity" that distinguishes these other acts.

It is, therefore, that we see an elaborate system of "philanthropy" organized for Real Silk employes. It is the "knockout punch" that is supposed to "sell" the E. M. B. A. to the faithful and loyal. Set out in Section III of the MANUAL OF THE E. M. B. A., it runs:

### MATERIAL BENEFITS ACCRUING FROM MEMBERSHIP IN E. M. B. A.

1. After an employe has been here 21 days and has proved satisfactory to the Department Head, both as regards efficiency and the right spirit, he is then eligible to membership in the E. M. B. A. There are two classes of membership: Class A and Class B. Class A are those who have dependents and, therefore, their dependents are entitled to free medical service. Such members pay 75 cents per month. Class B members are those who have no dependents, and these pay 50 cents per month.
2. It provides medical service and sick benefits for its members.
3. It offers the services of an Eye Doctor at greatly reduced prices. It also offers the services of a dentist who visits the Mill every week and makes examinations free of charge. Any dental work that is necessary is offered at greatly reduced prices.
4. It offers educational and recreational activities, such as a Glee Club, athletic teams, dances and entertainments. It also establishes contact for employes with local educational institutions.
5. It negotiates loans without interest for members of the E. M. B. A.
6. Employes may purchase, through the E. M. B. A., household necessities such as coal, furniture, etc., at reduced prices.
7. It provides Group Insurance for its members at a cost to the employe of approximately one-fourth of the usual premium rate.
8. It advances premiums for those who are on the sick list.
9. It operates an Emergency Fund.
10. It affords the employes an opportunity to express

ideas in writing through the REAL SILK BUILDER, the official organ of the E. M. B. A.

11. It encourages personal contact with individual members, so that they may be free to discuss their personal problems and as far as possible every effort is made to help them solve it.

12. It maintains a restaurant for the workers under the supervision of a Luncheon Committee appointed by the Executive Board of the E. M. B. A. Because of the Management's generous contribution of the magnificent, spacious hall for our lunch room, saving us a monthly rental of several hundred dollars, we are in a position to sell the best quality of food at the lowest possible prices. Should there be any profit at the end of the year, it is to be shared by those who patronize it.

The Management's "generosity" and "the right spirit" among the workers are ever in the spotlight. "Loyalty", "job protection", etc., are the words forever dinned in the workers' ears. It is the psychological way of throwing fear into the serfs, by always suggesting that they are afraid.

### "Protect Your Jobs"

In each REAL SILK BUILDER—which comes out weekly—there appears a column entitled "J. A.'s Message". J. A., of course, is none other than President J. A. Goodman. "Protect Your Jobs" is the heading for March 25th. It reads in part as follows:

About the worst thing the average worker fears is the insecurity of his position. When you are not sure of your job, you are not fit for work. You cannot plan for the future, and you are of no use to anybody.

There are two reasons for this fear, says this employer philosopher: Fear of the Department Head (foreman) and the bad influence of "disloyal workers". The E. M. B. A. "protects" you from the Department Head, says he. But—

Who protects you against the influence of disloyal workers? Against such, you must protect yourself, just as you have to fight a fire which might break out in the building. You pitch in and do anything in your power to extinguish the flames, and this is the way you should do when you know of certain disloyal workers in your department. You must all come to each other's assistance and prevent these bad influences from spreading, as you would destroy fire, and so protect your job.

It requires no expert psychologist to see the implications of this sort of stuff. Fear, fear, fear. "Keep clear of the unclean." And he is "unclean" who becomes a union man or woman, and asserts his or her rights. Stand with the management, you slave-minds, and assist it to throw out any freeman who dares stand for justice! It is this fear, more than any of the "selling" side-lines which maintains discipline and "loyalty" in the Real Silk forces.

### Watch Your Step!

All sorts of devices are employed to keep this fear uppermost. In the REAL SILK BUILDER for April 1st, a large scarehead appears across the front page. "Only the Best for Real Silk," it reads. Below this legend there appears a picture of a number of girls and boys,

## THE LAWLESS "LAW"

### Sacred Cow Sends Jefferson to Jail

What a new face courage puts on everything! A determined man, by his very attitude and the tone of his voice, puts a stop to defeat, and begins to conquer. "For they can conquer who believe they can."—*Ralph Waldo Emerson in SOCIAL AIMS.*

**I**F ever courage were needed, it is needed now. The courts, headed by the Supreme of them all, become ever more brazen in their destruction of our liberties.

Last month it was the Stonecutters case, re-establishing "involuntary servitude" in America. This month it is the criminal syndicalism laws. Despite the strenuous fight made against these repressive measures by the American Civil Liberties Union, they are declared constitutional by the Sacred Cow at Washington.

Charlotte Anita Whitney, a woman who has given her entire life to social work, must go to San Quentin to from one to fourteen years. Her offence: She was a member of the Communist Labor Party for a short time, although she disagreed with their advocacy of force and violence.

We need have no patience with the ideas advocated either by Miss Whitney or the group with which she was temporarily connected, to see which way this decision tends. Governor Alfred E. Smith saw it clearly when he pardoned Jim Larkin under New York's criminal anarchism act. Punishment for opinion is against fundamental American rights. Our laws will follow the German, Prussian and Czarist Russian precedent in that respect. Once

a law against the advocacy of violence or sabotage is on the statute books, it will gradually be extended and used to suppress all forms of dissent.

This decision of the Supreme Court would have imprisoned Thomas Jefferson, third President of these United States. The author of the Declaration of Independence is reputed to have said that a country needs a revolution every 50 years. Jefferson, standing at the bar of the present-day Supreme Court, would have been speedily dispatched to prison.

With prophetic vision he saw this future. All his life he was a determined opponent of the Supreme Court's gradual usurpation of power in defiance of the Constitution.

Injunctions have become so firmly rooted in our "law" by mere court decision that no legislature can remove them. Courage demands that we interpret the "law" a little on our own account. Courage demands that we follow the advice of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, delivered this past month at the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers convention. He referred to the "interpretation" put on the injunction in the International Tailoring Co. case. Through that interpretation, thousands of workers faced jail. The injunction was rendered futile.

It is only in that way that the courts can be brought to their senses. Aggressive non-resistance is the part of Labor to play in the face of Judicial Reaction.

Quiet courage in the face of Tyranny has always been finally victorious.

crowded before the Employment Department of the company. (This is also the E. M. B. A. office.) Of the picture, this explanation is given:

During the last week we have had hundreds of applicants applying for jobs in Real Silk, and while we engaged a large number of them, a still larger number had to be turned away because we could not accommodate all. One day we had a large group of particularly good looking girls and boys of select types, and we thought it would be a good thing to have their picture taken in order that Real Silkers might see the type of employes that come to us for jobs. The Employment Department is particularly proud in the careful selection it makes of the applicants for jobs here.

The running of the picture is, of course, a "good thing" for the company. It puts the fear of the boss in the hearts of the "Real Silkers". Watch your step, is the clear implication, or one of these boys and girls of "select type" will be in your place!

A further example of the engendering of the slave mind in "Real Silkers" is seen in the bronze plaque of

Abraham Goodman, in the main building. It is the first thing one sees on entering this building. A picture of Mr. Goodman is on it, with these words: "Abraham Goodman—An Inspiration to All Who Labor." One would naturally think that this was put up there by the company. But no. It is the work of the E. M. B. A. The workers chipped in to secure this memorial to their late overlord. "We felt we had to do it," is the way that Robert Broyles, recent member of the executive board of the E. M. B. A. put it. "When the collection was taken up, the workers thought they had better stand in good with the company and department head by throwing in something."

If ever there was feudalism, this is it. The slave mind is becoming a permanent American institution. In the case of Real Silk, it has provided the lambs whose fleece has been plucked for the golden benefit of Messrs. Kobin, Goodman, et al.

Of the trouble ahead for these gentlemen, we will have something to say in our next installment—a consideration of "How the Real Silk Spirit Worketh."

# Who Should Organize Women?

*The Girls Agree on Miss Thompson*

By FANNIA M. COHN

“DO you know, Jennie, I did go to the meeting that Miss Thompson called, and I enjoyed myself immensely.”

“But Gert, didn't you say you'd never go to a union meeting?”

“Oh, that was long ago. You're talking about the time when a committee came around to our shop and gave out literature and fairly dragged us to a meeting.”

“Yeah, that's the one,” says Jennie, “what made you change your mind?”

“Well, you know I didn't like the people who ran the other affair. I didn't like the way they looked and then it seemed to me they were trying to talk me into something.”

“Well,” says Jennie, laughing, “what about Miss Thompson? Didn't she try to talk you into something?”

“Not at all, Jen. She's altogether different. First of all she gave out literature that was really interesting. I read it going home from the shop the night she gave it out, and believe me it gave real reasons for joining the union—telling us how women could build organizations just the way men did if we stuck together, and that we could have more pay, shorter hours, more leisure and a better life altogether, all through our own efforts. You know, it made me feel worth while, like a person who really amounted to something.”

“And then, the night after she gave it out, I met her on the street car, accidentally. She began to talk about the literature she gave out the night before and asked me what I thought about it. Then she talked about conditions in the shop—and she knew more than I did, it seemed. She was so interesting that when she asked me whether she could visit me at my house some day, I told her she could. Then I got cold feet. When I told mother about it, I was sort of scared, but she only said, ‘Well, of course, if you asked her, you'll have to let her come. But you know what I think about union organizers.’”

“Well, she came around a few nights later, and she talked to my whole family about unions. And would you believe it, my family who've always warned me against union agitators because unions only make troubles in the shop and make you lose your job and everything, were so impressed by what Miss Thompson said that Mother told me I could go to the meeting Miss Thompson was calling.”

“Well, I promised to bring some more girls, but I had some time getting them. I knew all the girls on my floor would come if that red headed Betty McGowan would, but she's dead set against unions. I worked over her for days. She said union organizers are fakers—but I told her my mother liked Miss Thompson so much she said I could go to the meeting. Then Betty said she didn't want to go because the halls were always far from the

trolley, and the meetings lasted forever. I told her Miss Thompson had promised this one would be short, and the hall was only a block from the trolley. So at last she said she'd come.

“I knew she wasn't convinced and she was only going because she thought she could have some fun with me afterwards. She said *she* wouldn't be taken in by the roughneck speeches of the organizers. ‘All they do,’ she said, ‘is swear and smoke cigars like chimneys. And the meeting rooms are filthy and filled with cigar smoke!’”

“Well, were they?” Jennie breaks in.

“No, clean as a pin. I told Miss Thompson what I'd been promising Betty and I told her that if the place was dirty or the meeting long she'd never come again and she'd make all the other girls stay away. Miss Thompson just laughed and said she was sure everything would be all right. Betty had passed around the word in the shop for everyone to come along and for the girls not to talk about the meeting in the shop, because it might get to the foreman and make a lot of trouble.”

“How was the meeting?” Jennie interrupts.

“Hey, don't rush me. I'm getting to it. The only thing I'm sorry for is that the girls in your place could not have been there. When we came to the hall, that red-headed Betty got the first surprise of her life. 'Cause the room was large and clean and light—even a soft sofa in the corner. And Miss Thompson's committee who met us were some fine bunch.”

“What do you mean, Gert?” asks Jennie.

“Oh, you know, Jen—acted as if we were guests and they were a reception committee. One of them did ask us briskly if we'd give them our names and addresses. But Betty McGowan pipes up ‘What do you need them for?’ The girl who'd asked for our names said she wanted them so she could keep us all informed about meetings and send us literature. ‘Well,’ says Betty, ‘We don't give strangers our names and addresses. You wait until after the meeting and we'll know whether we want you to have them.’”

“Then after we sat down, Miss Thompson got up and spoke, and believe me, though she did speak only a short time, she certainly did cover ground.”

“What did she say?” asks Jennie.

“Oh she talked about conditions in our shop, and it seemed as if she knew more than most of us. Then she began—girls like us who work so hard deserve to earn at least enough for a living and that didn't mean not paying your family full board.”

“Sounds like sense to me,” says Jennie.

“Sure is. She said look at your brothers, and believe me I was thinking; take a boy, like my brother Jack,

he works hard for a living, all right, but at least he gets paid decently. He earns enough to pay Ma more than twice as much as I do; he buys his own clothes, takes some girls out and he even saves a few dollars for when he gets married. And believe me it certainly sounded like sense when she said, none of us girls could do that."

"Well," says Jennie amazed, "she certainly sounds clever."

"She is," Gert says proudly. "And she went on and said our brothers pay for their board, so when they come home from work they are free. In the evenings they can do whatever they please. And they have enough money to buy clothes and to send their things to the laundry and the cleaner. But us girls just begin working when we leave the shop. There's cleaning and washing and scrubbing, not to talk about serving dinners and washing dishes."

"Gee, I wish my brother Bob could hear her talk that way," ejaculates Jen.

"Don't interrupt, Jen," Gertie reproves. "You're making me forget what Miss Thompson said and I want you to hear it all. She said before we're through cleaning house for mother, we haven't any time left to read a paper or a book or do something for ourselves."

"Well, say, after all, we've got to help our mothers," Jennie is dubious. "I couldn't let mine do everything."

"Not at all," says Gert. "She didn't mean that. She even thinks our mothers oughtn't to work so hard. She said our mothers could have leisure only when we girls got paid as well as our brothers and fathers and could have enough money to pay our share of the expenses. Then we could quit work when we left the shop, because mother would have enough money to hire someone to help her."

"Sounds swell," says Jennie. "Can you imagine not having to clean house, scrub floors, wash clothes and iron, and wash the windows? What I wouldn't do if I didn't have house work to do. Only taking care of my clothes. Gee, what bliss!"

"Miss Thompson said we wouldn't even have to spend so much time on our own things. If we earned more money, she said, we could send our clothes to the laundry and the cleaner's and buy things instead of trying to make them and have them look like the devil. With all that off our minds, just think what we'd be able to do."

"Only, Gert," Jennie says in a puzzled way, "how would we learn how to run a house for when we got married? You know we can't expect servants, and we have to learn by helping mother."

"Well, Miss Thompson had an answer for that. She said a girl doesn't have to spend almost twenty years learning how to run a house when she could learn how to run it more quickly when we needed to. Our mothers would be glad to give us advice, she said."

"That's true. Certainly sounds wonderful. But how can we get all these wonderful things?"

"Oh," Gert replies, "she kept saying that all we need

is to get together in a union and compel our employers to recognize it and deal with it the way our brothers' bosses deal with them—collectively, she said. Make our employers pay us for our work the way they pay men. She said our bosses would respect us more because they knew we could stand up for our rights, and she said, even our folks—our fathers, mothers, brothers, and even our boy friends would, too, because we didn't need their help any more. And it certainly sounded like sense to me."

"Say, Miss Thompson must be some educated lady."

"Not at all," says Gert. "She told us she worked in a shop from the time she was a *girl*. But she was active in her union, worked hard for it and she was elected to her local Executive Board. So she learned a great deal about trade unions. In the evenings, she told us, she went to a labor college in her town and she learned how to speak well and much more about the labor movement. So it's no wonder she can talk so sensibly—she knows the kind of life we lead and she knows how to tell us about it. She's really a corker."

"Say," says Jennie, "I'm sure sorry I couldn't come to your meeting. And I'll be at the next one, come what may."

"Hope you will. Miss Thompson has brains and she *knows* more about our troubles than we do. She made us all feel that we'll try a union anyway. After she got through talking, even that red-headed Betty McGowan was convinced. She passed the word for all of us to give the Committee our names and addresses, and she promised Miss Thompson that she'd try to get the girls to join the union at the next meeting."

It seems hardly necessary to explain Gertrude's enthusiasm about Miss Thompson—her approach is so obviously fitted to the needs of the present day girl. A new approach is needed; young people nowadays whether in college, office or shop respond to new stimuli. Women nowadays are conscious of their emergence into a more important place in society; they refuse to accept the old notion that their activities be confined to the home alone. To succeed, the labor movement must utilize this new point of view.

Why should not the labor movement utilize ~~the~~ *the* energies of millions of women, let loose since the war to a very considerable extent, for their own interests. We all know that the growth of the labor movement depends upon the new blood it can infuse into its veins. Youth stands ready and willing to offer it, as we all recognize when she speak of the "revolt of youth", a revolt not confined to schools, colleges and universities, but present in mills, factories and shops. We can draw on that new blood if we have the vision and understanding for the task; if we can utilize this rejection of the old and searching for the new, especially apparent among women because of their long suppression and their *realization* since the war that they, too, are a great power in our economic, social and industrial life. For that task we need a new type of organizer to bring into the labor movement this new type of workingwoman—and workingman—and to direct their efforts along constructive lines.

# Mysterious Mr. Mason

*To Florida—With A Labor Spy*

*(As told to the Editor by Geo. E. Gendron)*

IT was the second day of the strike, toward evening. Snow lay on the ground in great heaps. The air was biting cold. The streets were all but deserted.

A stranger, nevertheless, could be seen picking his way toward one of the mill workers' settlements. He swung his brief case back and forth as he walked, to help keep up circulation.

At the high school he paused. Getting his direction, he cut across its yard. Then, up a little side street lined with two and three story buildings, in each of which dwelt three and four families of mill folk. Scanning the house numbers carefully, he finally came to the place he was seeking.

"Is Mr. George Gendron in?" he inquired of the housewife, who came to the door.

She nodded affirmatively and beckoned him into the house. Her knowledge of English was slight.

"Mr. Gendron," said the mysterious stranger, on seeing that gentleman come into the room, "I am Mr. Mason—Mr. James Mason. We have a proposition to offer you which cannot be overlooked."

Mr. Gendron was only mildly interested. He was dead-tired from his hours of work on the strike. The police were hostile. The mill had set all sorts of evil rumors afloat. There was the spirit of the strikers to be kept up. There was the business of picketing to be maintained. As one who had been an alderman in the city's government at one time, and who was looked up to by the mill people, he had more than an ordinary responsibility on his shoulders. And he looked it.

But Mr. Mason was not to be daunted by any small thing of that sort. "We have a great tract of land in sunny Florida," he continued. "It is the most delightful of spots. Our company wishes to secure settlers there of the highest character. We know you to be such—a man of substance in this community. It would be a great opportunity for you and we would consider it a very fine beginning in this community to have you as one of our customers."

"But we are on strike," protested Mr. Gendron, "I have no money for buying lots now, even if I wanted to. It is impossible."

The mysterious stranger argued a short time further, in a half-hearted way, and then departed. He was all politeness, and regretted "that we can not do business with such a well-known man."

## The Stranger Returns

Another day went by. And toward evening, again, the mysterious stranger made his way toward the Gendron dwelling. This time he had a new thought in mind.

He was all enthused with it—much more so than he had been with his first proffer.

"Our company wants you to join our sales forces," he said. "We will guarantee you \$100 a week and ex-

penses. You have great influence around here and can more than make good."

Gendron again negated the idea. "These other workers are no more in shape to buy real estate than I am. Men on strike cannot think of such things. Besides, my duty is to stick with them and help win the fight."

Mr. Mason was not to be put off, if he could help it. "But you can go to other towns in Maine. You are now well-known everywhere. Your name has been in the papers. People will be glad to meet you and to buy from you."

It was a hopeless job. Gendron would not budge. Mason had to retire again, as cordial as ever in his going.

Thereafter followed many visits by the self-confessed real estate agent to the Gendrons. He seemed never to make any headway with his undertaking with other people in the town. Indeed, he made no apparent effort to visit anyone else on the Florida business. Gendron was his lone quarry.

If he did not see the said quarry on one excuse, he found some other. A girl who knew the Gendrons well brought him to their house one night. She announced the charming Mr. Mason as her fiance. Which Mr. Mason confirmed, good-naturedly.

The strike dragged on, as strikes sometimes will. Weeks passed. One of the strikers warned Gendron that Mason had accidentally displayed a private detective's badge on his manly breast, one day upon getting something from his pocket.

When Mason turned up smiling at the Gendron's a few hours later with his "executive superior", Mr. James Sheldon of Boston, they got anything but a friendly greeting. Gendron frankly told them that he suspected them of being labor spies.

"Naturally, naturally," assented Mr. Sheldon, who carried about with him an air of great dignity. "At this trying time you might be tempted to think that. But we assure you, you are wrong. Ours is a legitimate business proposition. We will not disturb you about it until the unhappy affair here is all over."

The agreeable Mason remained about town. But Sheldon hied himself back to Boston, so far as Biddeford knew.

Then, out of the clear skies came the settlement of the "difficulty". With no warning the American Federation of Textile Operatives called the thing off, from Boston. By wire their secretary broke the "good news" that it was all off through an agreement with the mill officials. Under the terms of that "agreement", Gendron was blacklisted forever as a worker in the Pepperell Mill.

Scarcely had the news come, when Mason and Sheldon were knocking at the Gendron door. Now that the "unhappy affair" was over, they hoped that Gendron would accept their offer. At the least, he could take a trip to Florida at Mr. Sheldon's expense and look the field over.

## WHITE COLLAR FREEMEN

### Technical Men, Office Workers, Teachers!

Do not become like the horse and mule, that have no understanding.—PSALM XXXI.

**W**E are moved to the above quotation by a cartoon in the current organ of the Union of Technical Men. It pictures a mule, braying that he will not join the union.

For a long, long time the man with the white collar has been known as the WHITE COLLAR SLAVE. Will we yet be able to call him a White Collar Freeman?

There have been some motions in that direction. In Chicago only a while ago, the engineering forces of the city walked out—and got what they wanted. In New York, a similar rising occurred last month. The Union of Technical Men stepped into help, and the matter is now in the process of negotiation. The union is extending its activities with vigor to men in private industries. It is surprising that these men have not revolted before this. Equipped with special training, they have been exploited to the *nth* degree. It is their moral training which has been lacking—the courageous belief that organization would gain them something. Now, that is becoming remedied—in part, at least.

Teachers are white collar folks, too. A group of them in New York City have borne the brunt for the rest. The Teachers' Union of New York has been unceasingly on the job. In the face of all sorts of rebuffs, they now see a partial triumph in

their recent battle for wage increases. The Mayor's Commission is inclined to grant the demands—to a degree! It is significant, however, that the high school principals are to receive a 53 per cent rise, while the lesser lights are to get increases ranging from 9 to 19 per cent. As Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz says, "Evidently the schedules are based upon the theory that to him that hath, more shall be given."

To the extent that something has been gained, the outcome is encouraging.

In the midst of even greater difficulties, the New York office workers are also busy. They have obtained the check-off from the International Union Bank, in addition to the Amalgamated Bank. They have organized the Federation Bank, likewise after some difficulties. Feeling pretty good over these successes, they are again busy on the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Mr. Haley Fiske, the president of that corporation, has been very generously distributing his views on unionization all over the map. He is in favor of unions and the strike. We are pleased to note Mr. Fiske's conversion to these ideas. It was only a few years ago that he and his corporation were very busy, using the police against organizers of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union. Had they not resorted to such plug-ugly methods, the Metropolitan clerical forces would now be organized.

Gendron, stunned by the strike agreement and having nothing ahead of him, accepted. Now he was convinced that the offer had been a legitimate one.

#### The Cloud on the Title

So off to Florida they went—Mr. Sheldon and himself. On the train Mr. Sheldon let him into a great confidence. An unfortunate cloud had come over their title. But it was only a temporary difficulty. As soon as the legal snarl was untangled, they would be ready to set to work. For the present, they could look over the land and lay plans for the great and golden future.

They had a most pleasant time. Mr. Sheldon was a delightful host. They frequented the best hotels. They inspected vast acreages of all sorts of land—the possession and gold mine of Mr. Sheldon "if only the title will be cleared." Gendron began to have a real sympathy with the enterprise and to feel some of Sheldon's indignation at the "rascals" who were blocking his way to fame and fortune.

Two weeks of this junketing brought the expedition to a close. They returned to Boston, to part as possible business associates of the future. "It will only be a short time now," were Sheldon's good-by words.

The short time has stretched into a long time. And Gendron has heard no more of either of his "real estate" friends. Mason had decamped by the time the Florida trip was over. He left his fiancée, never to return. Not

a line of sad longing did he leave behind, to trace him.

Gendron quickly saw through the entire enterprise, on his return. Those two weeks of his absence were weeks of the greatest importance to the Pepperell Mill. During that period, they smashed the morale of the returning workers. They broke all the half-promises they had made. Within those two weeks the heretofore belligerent workers, leaderless, were beaten into a pulp.

That Mason and Sheldon were paid agents of the mill, no one can say with assurance. For the proof of such a charge is not at hand. But no men did the work of the mill better than these two. Whoever paid them and advanced the money for the Florida expedition did a big service to the Pepperell corporation.

At that time the company did not know that another and bona fide union—the United Textile Workers—would follow hard on the heels of the strike. They could not know that this union would join up with Gendron and allow him to stay in Biddeford, a thorn in the side of the Pepperell company. They could not know that he would go about, re-organizing their beaten slaves. Yet, that is the miracle that has happened.

No happier man will exist than George Gendron on the day that the Pepperell Company is compelled to submit to decent conditions in their brick penitentiary. One conclusion he has also come to: Never to make a trip—to Florida or Timbuctoo or anywhere else with gentlemen whose past history he does not know.

## OUR NEGRO BROTHERS

We Must Win Them All to Unionism

**W**E cannot ignore the Negro, if we would. He is a fixture in industry. He is working beside many a white workman. He is entering the skilled trades as well as the unskilled.

The question is: Shall he come as an alien or a brother? Shall he be a menace or a help to unionism?

There can be only one answer. The Negro must be unionized. He must be brought into the Labor Movement, more and more. That movement cannot refuse to perform its duty. It is dedicated to freedom for all workers. That freedom can never be attained if one section remains outside the union fold.

This issue is put up to us squarely by a little book, just issued by the Vanguard Press, New York. It is entitled, **NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES**. Through its pages runs the history of the Negro worker from slavery to today.

Of the present the author, Charles H. Wesley, writes:

"The education of the Negro worker looms up as one of the large problems of the present and the future. The tide of prejudice has been continuing where colored and white workmen meet and an increasing spirit of cooperation must be developed, so that each group may realize that the successful solution of the Labor problem, from the point of view of the worker, lies largely in the worker's cooperation without regard to race or sex. The use of the Negro as a strike-breaker, and his increasing employment shows the great danger to Labor from the lack of organization."

Anti-union employers are reaching out to "educate" the Negro to a scab psychology. The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company has sent out the following advertisement to Negro papers:

### COLORED MEN WITH WESTINGHOUSE

Ambitious workmen find promotion and reward for their honest efforts at the main works of the Westinghouse Company at East Pittsburgh, Pa.

(A picture of Negroes at work in the plant follows, with the title below it: "These men have their feet on the first step of the ladder to success.")

Write or come to the—Employment Department of Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pa.

A study was made by the U. S. Department of Labor of the payrolls of 273 employers of Negro labor in Northern states for the year ending April 30, 1923. This showed that 255,389 Negro workers had come into manufacturing and mechanical industries during the past five years. That trend continues.

A more serious grappling with the Negro labor problem is needed. Negro organizers should be sought and used. Particularly men and women with Brookwood training should be utilized.

## HIGH CRIMES AGAINST CHINA

Foreign Countries and the Curse of Opium

**N**ANKING'S outrage was hideous enough. Firing point-blank into the helpless Chinese population is a cowardly crime. The American admiral felt much that way about it. He begged to be let off. But the Britisher was adamant. So the whisky-and-soda alliance had to have its way. The American took orders!

Nanking is nothing, however, compared to the year-long crime against China in the matter of opium. Almost every so-called "Christian" nation has had a hand in it. Britain, in the lead. America, trailing on behind, but taking the profits, too.

It is not necessary to go back to the Opium Wars of 1839 and 1858. Then, at the point of a gun, Britain compelled China to accept India's opium. With rare courage, the Imperial Government had been seeking to kill the habit among its people. The Britishers would not allow this to come to pass. They seized Hong Kong and other concessions—to make the outrage more outrageous.

In 1906 the Chinese Government again attempted an heroic act. No other nation has gone so far. Over 1,300 missionaries had petitioned the Government on the evils of opium. From 15,000,000 to 25,000,000 Chinese were supposed to be addicts. The Government acted promptly. It prohibited opium entirely. Officials who were addicts were deprived of office. Within ten years, China told the world, she would be free of the curse. The Chinese peasant accepted the decree. Over 2,000,000 poppy plants were turned under and destroyed.

What the Chinese peasant could forego—his profit out of opium—the foreign interests could not. Our drug concerns, as guilty as the rest, began the importation of morphine. It went via Japan into China. "Extra-territoriality" protected it. India shipped in her opium. The re-drugging of China had commenced. It goes on at this hour.

The Chinese Republic endeavored to offset the foreign curse as zealously as the Imperial Government had done. In 1918 the ten-year time limit had more than expired. Though hard-pressed for funds, the Chinese Republic purchased the surplus stock of foreign opium within her borders for \$36,000,000. A public bonfire was made of it in Shanghai!

This remarkable act had no effect at all upon foreign traffickers. The agreement signed at the Hague by 12 nations was largely laughed at. The Indian opium producers flourished under British government assistance. The Chinese war lords, also, now came upon the scene. Under the plea that the business could not be stopped, they threw the doors wide open to poppy planting. Their real interest was in collecting money from opium taxation through which to rob and spread terror among the people.



# Following the Fight

*With Comment Thereon*

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—  
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

## WHY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM?

### The Basic Industries MUST Be Organized

UNORGANIZED Steel threatens all unionism. So does unorganized Oil. So do the partially organized railroads. So do all the anti-union basic industries.

As long as these huge enterprises remain unchallenged, unionism exists in the skilled crafts and trades largely by sufferance. Whenever it is more convenient to do so, warfare will be waged against the building and printing trades. The record of the Iron League gives ample warning of this. All along the Pacific Coast it smote and battered the union movement. Throughout the country it pursued the same tactics with serious results.

Beyond that, skilled and unskilled workers alike can never gain full control of their destiny with practically all the basic industries in Open Shop hands.

The Employers Association of Kansas City sends out a letter of cheer to its members under date of March 4th. It hails the action of the Anheuser-Busch Co. of St. Louis in fighting the union building trades. "The Ice Has Been Broken," it says in its headlines. By this is meant that St. Louis is being opened up for the Open Shop in the building line. In Chicago a new attack has been launched upon the printing crafts, imperiling unionism and the shorter work week.

While these conditions are not general, they indicate that the well-organized crafts will not be free from anti-union movements in the future. They cannot be freed from such movements, as long as employers' associations egg contracting and printing bosses on by reference to Open Shoppery in the factory and basic industries.

Experience is reputed to be a good teacher. And it shows, in the case of the huge unorganized lines, that a more compact form of unionism is needed than has been the rule in the past. Mammoth aggregations of Capital, crossing state and national boundaries, exist in this "kingdom". Hundreds of thousands of men toil in its mills and factories, who have no craftsmanship in the ordinary sense.

They have a simple operation to do, over and over again. They do not think in terms of craft. They think in terms of plant or industry. They are auto workers, steel workers, oil workers.

To fight the great Trusts in this field with craft unions is mere folly. It cannot be done successfully. It is not being done successfully. Industrial unionism, on a departmental basis, is the thing that will make an appeal to the men and oppose a great united labor front to the united front of the giant corporations.

Another thing: Men of these big industries who have been in the unions in the past have lost their faith in craft unionism. Many of these men are to be counted on as the leaders of any new revolt. The battle-cry that must be given them must be a new battle-cry. It must be one that will inspire their confidence. None will do that more than the slogan: "One union in one industry—to combat one corporation group."

The situation in most of the basic and factory industries cannot be confused with that in the building, printing and other like trades. It is an entirely different setting, with entirely different forms of organization at work on the employers' side. Industrial unionism alone can be counted on to organize the unorganized there, under these circumstances.

Alone, a new form of union structure will not work miracles. It must be accompanied by a confident audacity which is strangely absent from most union endeavors. Intelligent daring always attracts a following; apology, very seldom. Faint heart never organized great bodies of men or women.

But industrial unionism will aid to give that confidence in victory, which cannot but be contagious. This much, at any rate, can be set down without any diffidence: Craft unionism will never make headway in the basic industries. Battling against the U. S. Steel Corporation, the Standard Oil Company, or the General Motors Corporation with craft unions is sheer suicide.

**"THIEVERY IS THE BEST POLICY"**  
**Consolation for Unemployed Oil Workers**

**A** GREAT sob of joy issueth from the local papers of New Jersey. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., actually visits her husband's faithful serfs at Bayway. In the flesh, we tell you. Photographs are taken of the lady and these servitors, and appear in many of the papers, to prove that it is true.

It is a happy moment for her appearance. Sixty per cent of these workers are out of work. They are in this condition because they have worked too well. They have "over-produced". To down the independent oil companies, the Standard has speeded them to the limit. Now, it hurls a great flood of oil on the market. The smaller independents cannot stand the crash. They are beaten to the wall. The workers, out of their wages, have won the victory for the mammoth combine!

At this great game, the Standard wins either way. It is the old, old crime which it began to perpetrate at the very dawn of its existence. Henry Demarest Lloyd has set it all down in **WEALTH AGAINST COMMONWEALTH**.

Rich are the fruits thereof. The **NEW YORK TIMES** of May 5th tells us:

"One and three-quarter billions of dollars in cash and nearly one and a half billions in stock dividends has been distributed to stockholders by the Standard Oil group of companies since the dissolution of the old company in 1911 to March 31, 1927.

"The total distributed amounts to \$3,139,154,141 for the period and comprises \$1,751,074,896 in cash and \$1,388,079,245 in stock dividends.

"The stockholders were further granted rights to subscribe to \$400,789,144 par of common and preferred stock in the same period, and these had considerable value. The preference accorded in 1926 to the stockholders of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey to subscribe to that company's 5 per cent. 20-year debentures at \$100.50 is not included in this tabulation.

"A practically consistent gain has been shown by the yearly disbursements of cash dividends by the group since 1914, with those of 1926 standing at a record high for all time."

The unemployed at Bayway and other points may take such consolation from this as they can. We proclaim it to be a challenge to the Labor Movement. What could a campaign of real education on the facts not do among the oil slaves? What could a message of industrial unionism not stir up by way of revolt among them?

"Thievery is the best policy," sayeth the Standard. Union labor has yet to prove, by militant action, that this is a lie.

**A "BULL"-ETIN**

**Soul Stuff by American Rolling Mills**

**W**E are indebted to Brother W. J. Griffiths for this bulletin of "bull".

Read it over carefully, gentle reader. Are not Messrs. Verity and Hook modest souls? They hold themselves up to their dazzled steel workers as the Great I Am.

Corporations are not soulless, they are not impersonal

**BOTANY CO. UNION SPIKED**

**P**ASSAIC'S big Botany Mills has decided apparently, not to play with fire. In our last issue we warned them against any such drastic action. We advised them that they would get hurt!

They seem to realize this. At any rate, the company union plan has been sent to Limbo. Those in the management who were its godfathers have been relegated to the background or chucked out altogether. They go—with Mr. Rheinhold, personnel manager of the Furstman-Hoffman Co.—to the ash can of has-beenery.

A special mass meeting of Botany workers on April 21st had something to do with the new turn of events. This meeting—addressed by Robert W. Dunn and the Editor of **LABOR AGE**—very definitely informed the mills that company unionism means more trouble.

"Any mill foreman or company union expert" was challenged to debate. Of course, they dared not do so!

organizations. Every big business concern has a "soul" which is the soul of the dominant, the controlling personality of that concern. His ideals become its ideals, his standards become its standards, and his character stands out not only in directors' meetings but in its advertising copy, and in all its relations and contacts with employees and with the public.

The United States Steel Corporation is simply an enlarged Elbert H. Gary. Wannamaker's stores still display John Wannamaker on every counter, in every department. Marshall Field still greets and assures every customer who enters the Marshall Fields stores. Geo. M. Verity and Charles R. Hook work not only in the President's office and in the General Manager's office but their presence, their ideals, their human sympathy are evident in every ARMCO department.—**WORTH READING BULLETIN** of American Rolling Mills Co., Middletown, Ohio.

If the American Rolling Mills Co. has a soul, it is black as Hell. Since January of this year, the sheet steel workers have had three wage cuts. The third cut went into effect May 1. All in all, 10 per cent has been deducted from the sheet mill wages in this period.

This has been done, in face of the fact that the company made 40 per cent greater profits in 1926 than in the previous year. That is the spirit of soulfulness and "cooperation" that exists in their chief center, Middletown, Ohio.

In view of that action, it may be amusing as well as informative to quote from another "bull"-etin of the ARMCO. It deals with employes' stock-ownership and is taken largely from **FORBES MAGAZINE**. Its date, May 4th of this year, and its number, **Foremen's Bulletin** No. 95. We read:

"We pride ourselves on the breadth of our democracy. What could be more democratic than our leading industries owned largely by their employees?

"Would employee control prove dangerous or injurious? History proves that responsibility always has a sobering

influence—the latest notable example was the circumspect course followed by the Labor Party in Britain when it gained control of the British Government and placed its own leaders in the seats of power.”

Think of that! Open Shopper giving this delightful left-handed O. K. to a Labor Party. Pretty soon these gentlemen will be more “radical” than the American Labor Movement! By the logic of the above, the workers should have complete 100 per cent body-and-soul control of all industry. It would make them so much more responsible!

Of course, there is no logic to it. It is varnish, applied thickly. The grumbling Middletowners have had a sweet lesson in “control”, these past few months. Is it not significant, however, that Open Shopper must find these excuses for its depredations? It should give us a cue—to demand real democracy in industry with real workers’ control, as our own goal. That demand will go far toward organizing the unorganized.

#### AGE MUST BE SERVED

**N**OT long ago the New York Travelers’ Aid Society announced a “startling” bit of news. Much of its job lay in helping old persons who had run away from “home”.

These old men and women did not wish to live with children or other relatives. They were reminded that they were burdens. They were harassed in all sorts of ways. Hence, the desire for freedom.

The Salvation Army of New York City now says the same thing. Fifty per cent of the women cared for by them are aged persons. They leave their relatives or friends, preferring to pay 40 cents a night for lodgings with the “Army”. Some of them are obliged to eke out a living in work of a kind. Others do not have to do so.

It is a pretty sordid picture, after all. A nation reeking with “prosperity” cannot give its aged, worn-out folks leisure and freedom. They have to become semi-dependents on the Salvation Army or the Travelers’ Aid.

We submit: Old age pension legislation is over-due. Billions can be spent on guns and battleships and explosives. Profits mount higher and higher, as the workers speed up the more. It is high time that a few millions in each State be set aside for these workers, when they are wrecked and shopworn. Old age pensions will allow the aged man and woman to live an independent life. They will not be compelled to “runaway”, in order to preserve self-respect. Old age pensions by legislation will do more: It will kill the slavery and fraud of the employers’ industrial pensions. Union labor must be active in this cause in every state. Age must be served!

#### “LAZARUS”

**W**E read: U. S. Steel employes get less each year of the company’s income.

Their share in each of the last three years was as follows: 1924, 35.1 per cent; 1925, 32.5 per cent; 1926, 31 per cent. These figures are taken from the company’s annual report for 1926.

The average wage of the U. S. Steel worker is \$1844 per year. Had he been paid on the same basis as in 1924, his average wage would have been \$2030.

## WHAT IS WORKERS’ EDUCATION?

Defined by President Maurer of Workers’ Education Bureau

**A**T the Fifth National Convention of the Workers’ Education Bureau of America, at Boston in April, President Maurer gave this splendid definition of Workers’ Education:

Underlying the purpose of Workers’ Education is the desire for a better social order. It is this desire on the part of the working man for a richer and fuller life individually and collectively that gave the movement its birth and at all times must remain its treasured inheritance. Labor education aims at ultimate liberation of the working masses.

The Workers Education Bureau was not organized for the purpose of duplicating the work done by the public schools, universities, correspondence schools and so on. It is distinctly not to be confused with the numerous existing forms for adult education. They are designed for the most part, either to give a bit of culture to the student, or else to lift him up out of his present job into a higher one. That is not the purpose of Workers’ Education. It is education that will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general, and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement.

Instead, this \$186 per worker went to the stockholders. George F. Baker, Morgan’s right-hand man, got over \$1,000,000 from his 56,650 shares. President Coolidge got \$900 from his 50 shares. Neither of them did a lick of work to get it.

The man who stands half-naked before the seething furnace or risks his life beneath a crane is continuing his role of Lazarus. The crumbs from the table are his. Dives, doing nothing, grabs the riches. What are you organized workers, out in the steel centers, doing to urge Lazarus to rise and smite Dives in the forehead? We can tell you of many things to be done. The voice of Unionism and Revolt must be heard in the steel regions.

#### REJOICE!

**L**IFT up your voice and sing! The General Motors Corporation is preparing for another record-breaking melon. Earnings for the first quarter of this year, available for dividends, came to \$52,551,408. So the WALL STREET JOURNAL of May 6th informs us.

It also states that the earnings for the first six months of this year will come to \$120,000,000. The “period of G. M. record breaking” is “not of the past”.

Thus does the automobile trust greet the threatened automobile unionization drive of the A. F. of L. A voice raised in militancy among those workers should receive a response. “Give us the company’s prosperity!” might be a good battle-cry. What the workers have so far been given are cuts in wages here and cuts in jobs there. A real tussle with the auto giant will tell another story.

# In Other Lands

## REACTION GONE MAD

**A**FTER the General Strike in Britain—the Blackleg's Charter. After the Blackleg's Charter—war with Russia. After war with Russia—what?

Such is the apparent course of events in Baldwin's Britain. A blackleg is the English term for "scab". Under the Anti-Trades Union Bill, the "scab" becomes the hero of the hour. The Government is put in the position whereby it may go into the courts and stop strikes by the aid of injunctions. The Government becomes the greatest scab of them all. Special protection is to be afforded the vermin who engage in the business of strike-breaking. "You cannot strike for a political purpose," says the bill. By which it means, you cannot strike at all. For every strike in decaying Britain is bound up with political problems of some sort. Farther than that it goes, however. "We will also take away much of your political power," chants the bill. Both industrial and political rights are thus taken from the workers. They are left the slaves they were—in the Britain that excited the giant-wrath of Carlyle, Ruskin and William Morris.

Invading the Arcos and blowing up its safe were

merely acts with a double meaning. First, to distract the British people from their threatened enslavement under the Trades Union Bill. Second, to strike home for the concessions stolen from the Chinese.

The statement by the Government that the Russian Trade Delegation had no diplomatic immunity contradicts its own announcements of June 23, 1926 and Feb. 16, 1927. At those dates, the Government contended that the Russians did have such immunity.

The invasion of the Arcos was for the announced purpose of finding a document, said to be stolen from the British archives five months ago. If the Russians did have such a document, they would be doing merely what every Government is doing. Only a short time ago British spies were found in France, with plans of French fortifications in their possession. There was no excitement about that.

Reaction in Britain—stung by possible defeat in the next election and terrified by the loss of its rich loot in China—is going mad. Whether the rest of the world will follow remains to be seen.

## TORYISM ON THE RUN

Labor continues to gain in British by-elections. The cause for this is obvious. Toryism went into office on a wave of golden promises. None of these have been kept.

Unemployment was to have been cured. Actually, it has become worse. Work was to have been obtained for all. This has not been done. On the other hand, the condition of the out-of-works is much more serious as their "doles" have been cut. Better trade was to have come out of Toryism. British exports, in reality, have fallen \$500,000,000 under Tory rule. Public education was to have been promoted. Under the plea of economy, it has been hedged and limited in three separate Tory attacks. Taxation was to have been reduced through "rigid economy." The Tory budgets are millions of dollars in excess of the Labor budget. The workers' lot was to have been bettered and the factory laws reformed. Continuous cuts in wages and lengthening of hours has been the way they have set about doing this. The factory laws have not been touched. Disarmament was to have been promoted. Instead, they have rushed into the mad armament race. Their program calls for 82 new war ships at a cost of \$300,000,000. That is but part of the story. It is enough to explain the waning of the Tory star. It also explains the attack on the Trade Unions and the Labor Party. While yet the chance is at hand, Baldwin's Die-Hards hope to curb discontent by hammering their only rival—the Labor forces.

## FASCISM IN BULGARIA

Everywhere that it raises its head, Fascism is the sworn enemy of the trade union movement. News which comes out of Bulgaria confirms this fact. (Just as Spain, Poland, Italy and Roumania have been and are doing.)

Under the Fascist regime in Bulgaria: The 8-hour day has been abolished. An indefinite number of work-hours per day has been substituted in its place. Wages have been cut to a starvation level. Unemployment has been steadily increasing, as the richer classes have turned more and more from industry to business and speculation. In the past winter, the unemployed totaled 100,000. Taxes have been shifted increasingly from the richer classes to the backs of the peasantry. Workers' unions have a precarious existence.

In contrast with all this, foreign capitalists—French, Italian and British—have reaped a golden harvest under the despotic rule. Tobacco has been bought at almost nothing, and sold at enormous profits. Belgian sugar manufacturers have resorted to the same methods in dealing with the beet sugar farmers. The repeal of the tenants' protection act coined a golden tribute for landowners, and reduced the poorer classes to still further degradation. At the same time, the government has opened its treasury and squandered hundreds of millions of dollars on fascist organizations and hired bands of thugs. It is only on that basis that it can continue to exist. Fascism stands out today as the chief enemy of the working class throughout the world. The seriousness of its menace has not yet been appreciated in America.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM

May Day passed off in a more than ordinarily quiet manner throughout the world. Repression in this place and weariness in that account for this phenomenon. In Britain the business of labor demonstrations was carried through most widely and enthusiastically. The attack on the Labor Movement gave fire to the workers' meetings there.

The International Federation of Trade Unions took occasion to call to the attention of unions everywhere the aims and slogans of the International union movement. They are: "The Maintenance of Peace. The Eight Hour Day. The Extension of Social Legislation. Full Right of Association. The Freedom of all nations everywhere."

Every item in this program is being challenged by International Capital at the present hour. This fact is again brought home in the recent special congress of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions. This was called to protest against the widespread violation of the statutory 8-hour day! Freedom of association is denied in a great part of the globe. President Susuki of the Japanese Confederation of Labor, for example, announces that he intends to carry the fight of the Japanese workers for this right, to the League of Nations at Geneva.

It is encouraging to note that unity between the Czech and German trade unions in Czechoslovakia has made definite headway. The two groups are now united in one national trade union center. On the other hand, a movement has been set on foot in Canada among certain unions, to break with the "American" internationals and form purely Canadian unions. This is astounding in view of the continued invasion of Canada by American capital. The Canadian Trades Union Congress has warned against such agitation, as destructive of unionism in the dominion.

## THE I. L. P. ASSERTS ITSELF

At Leicester, during Easter week, the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain met in its 34th annual conference. Its decisions received international attention. The I. L. P. has always been the intellectual leader of the Labor Party. The majority of the representatives of that party in Parliament have been drawn from its ranks.

Considerable comment, therefore, was occasioned by its refusal to nominate Ramsay McDonald for treasurer of the Labor Party. This was a logical outcome, however, of the growing differences between the ex-Premier and his group. McDonald has openly sneered at the I. L. P. program of "Through a Living Wage to Socialism." He has disagreed with his group on other points. As a nominee for the treasurer, from the I. L. P., he would automatically have been a delegate from that group to the Labor Party conference. This would have put him in the anomalous position of representing policies of which he disapproved.

The conference endorsed the creation of a great national fund of 100 million pounds sterling a year, by a special tax on large incomes. This, to be used for socialization projects in the next Labor regime. The British war on China was bitterly attacked. The conference pledged its membership to refuse military service, in any attack upon the Chinese. The spirit of the meeting was epitomized in James Maxton's opening speech as chairman. It was a plea for a quickening of the battle for

## TRADE UNION LIBERTY? GONE!

**L**IBERTY for trade unions is the subject of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, opening on May 26th. The International Federation of Trade Unions takes occasion to remark that the "improvements" in that respect guaranteed by the Treaty of Versailles have not been forthcoming. On the other hand, the situation is much worse. Even in our nearby "Republic" of Cuba, murder of trade unionists is the order of the day. It is little wonder that Cuba's President recently received high honors from American business interests. From every corner of the globe, Reaction is crushing the rights of trade unionism to exist. Such a situation can only be smashed by open defiance to "Law and Order".

Socialism, for a whole-hearted support of the toilers of China, India and Russia, and for unity in the fight against Capitalism. In other words, it was an enlargement of the traditional I. L. P. attitude—neither as conservative as the general Labor Party nor Communistic.

## UNITY!

Talk of Labor Unity throughout the world is again in the air. The British Trades Union Congress has, from the first, been eager to bring about a coalition between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Russian unions. Up to the present, the I. F. T. U. has refused to consider a conference with the Russians, except upon the platform of the I. F. T. U. The British have sought to make an unconditional conference the opening wedge toward "unity". In the latter part of March representatives from the British Trades Union Congress and the Russian unions met in Berlin, to discuss further steps. A more effective working alliance is sought by the British body. It also hopes to find some compromise basis on which the I. F. T. U. and the Russians can confer. The present position of the working class in the face of the united capitalist drive against it everywhere is of particular concern to the Britishers. They can see hope only in closer international labor union action.

## AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST SUCCESSES

A hot election in the little Republic of Austria has produced what is very much like a Socialist victory. In spite of the alliance of all anti-Socialist parties, the radicals gained five seats in the national Parliament. They now have 73 members in place of 68. This is only 21 less than all anti-Socialist groups combined.

In the Vienna municipal assembly the Socialist strength remains the same—78 out of 120 seats. But they added 115,000 to their vote in the capital city. This is partly due to the fact that their last convention omitted all hostility to "clericalism" from its platform. The scandals in the bourgeois government also revolted a number of people. At the same time, the "left wing" has continued largely to adhere to the Socialist cause—because of its radical economic program. The Communists were unable to secure a seat either in the municipal body or in the national parliament. They contend, however, that the Socialist Party has now reached its highest mark.



# "Say It With Books"



## SOCIALISM THROUGH THE AGES

### Man's Longing For An Ideal Society

**W**HAT a variety of men and thinkers have gone into the making of Socialist thought and action!

The Hebrew prophets—the Greek philosopher Plato—a Catholic saint, Thomas More—a British manufacturer, Robert Owen—the German professors, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—the Russian revolutionary of Greek Catholic origins, Nicholas Lenin—the Russian revolutionist of Jewish origin, Leon Trotsky. That, to mention but a few.

What a variety of formulas for an ideal society have they created!

Primitive communism—extreme collectivism—extreme individualism—compromises between collectivism and individualism—direct action—political action—individual action—anarchism—social democracy—syndicalism—guild socialism—Fabian socialism—Bolshevik communism—revisionism—Christian socialism—utopian socialism—scientific socialism.

It is this vast panorama of clashing and yet kindred ideals which Dr. Harry W. Laidler has set forth for us in his *HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT* (Thomas Y. Cromwell Co., N. Y.) The book comes at a happy moment. There is much bewilderment concerning the various ideas back of the various radical schools of thought.

At the same time, as the author says, "Socialism, in one form or another, is one of the most potent influences in the political and economic life of the world." Premiers of moderate Socialist persuasion have served many of the countries of western Europe. Socialists of the left, or "communists", now control Soviet Russia—one-sixth of the globe. Socialism and "Industrial Democracy" in one form or another, are weaving their way through the world even as the idea of Capitalism and "Political Democracy" did.

Any one seeking to play a part in public life or in the Labor Movement must know very much of these various philosophies. Shall the future in America be along the lines of "Communism", Social Democracy or Guild Socialism, for example? Shall it be after the model of any one of these three? These are questions which cannot be answered just by name-calling and hysteria. They must be faced out with facts. Above all, we must know what we are talking about. The world moves, and we must be

prepared to move with it. The all-important question is: Whither will it move? Whither should it move?

For this purpose, no better source-book could be recommended than Dr. Laidler's effort. As the editor of the series of which it is a part says: "The book is easily the best single source of information on this important subject in the English language."

Naturally, the work is somewhat limited by its very purpose. It is not a popular treatise, but a text-book and reference book on Socialist thought.

Nevertheless, its chapters have an absorbing interest for anyone at all concerned about international social progress. Part IV's narration of "Post-War Socialist Developments" takes on a dramatic quality out of the events themselves. In a painstaking way the step-by-step developments in the after-war world are traced down to the hour of writing.

Dr. Laidler is also a moderate Social Democrat, and his work must be read in that light. Nevertheless, he has done a remarkably impartial job of a subject loaded with dynamite. It is a real tribute to his ability as a historian and researcher that his volume takes on none of the bitter controversial character which has marked clashes of thought within the various radical movements.

All students of current economic problems who want to know what they are dealing with, should have this monumental work for consultation. Labor leaders—*in esse* or *in posse*—should secure it, if for no other reason, than that they may not fall victims to the cry of "Socialism", "Communism" and what-not, raised by Labor's enemies on every convenient occasion. It will help to keep us all thinking straight upon these subjects.

We are particularly pleased to note the space given by the author to "Guild Socialism." Extreme Collectivism has had a serious charge against it; that it would not and could not bring about that workers' freedom which is the basic urge of all present-day radical movements. The principle of voluntary association must come in conflict with any effort to achieve reforms through an absolute or near-absolute State. "Guild Socialism" has held out to many of us the hope that Capitalistic abuses can be destroyed, through unionism in a greater role, moved up to world leadership.

## KNIGHTS OF THE KNIFE

### History of Ladies Garment Cutters Union No. 10

IT was on Thanksgiving Day, 1869. Uriah S. Stephens, a Philadelphia clothing cutter and former teacher, called eight friends together at his home. Out of that little meeting came Assembly No. 1 of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. It was "the first unit of a labor organization that was to make history."

A long road has been traveled since that day. Gotham Knife Cutters, United Cloak and Suit Cutters, cutters of Local 6, and finally the cutters of the amalgamated Local 10 of the I. L. G. W. U. have successively appeared upon the stage. As James Oneal says in his recently issued "History of Local 10:"

"The modern cutter may imagine the solemn scene of inducting a candidate into membership from the following instructions from the opening service (of the Knights of Labor):

"A Globe being placed on the outside of the Outer Veil; a copy of the Sacred Scriptures closed, and a box or basket containing black cards on a triangular Altar, red in color, in the center of the vestibule; a Lance on the outside of the Inner Veil, or entrance to the Sanctuary, over the wicket; that the initiated may know that an Assembly of the—are in session."

The racial make-up of the membership has also altered in the course of time. The Jewish and Italian immigrants have stepped into the trade, particularly the former. It is interesting to note that these new racial strains did not, at least at first, change the trade psychology of the cutters. As the most skilled workers, in the ladies garment industry, they looked upon themselves as superior to the others in the shops. This led to all sorts of friction within the International—which went to the extent of appeals to the American Federation of Labor to "reorganize" that body.

In the Great Strike of 1910, the cutters gave a fine example of solidarity. From that time on, they were fused spiritually as they had been physically heretofore with the International.

We congratulate Local 10 for its initiative in getting out this history of its birth-pangs, difficulties, quarrels and achievements. More labor records of this sort are needed.

They might even be written in a more exalted strain. Labor history has had as noble an impetus as any of the nationalistic struggles and victories, of which we hear so much. Mr. Oneal's account was written in haste—as he states—and it gives indications of this in several places. But it is a splendid fact that we have preserved in its pages, a story of inspiration to workers, organized and unorganized. What was done by these immigrants to build up a powerful union can also be done by native-born workers out in more basic industries.

The evolution of the instrument used by the cutter is also interesting. At first the shears and then the short knife were the instruments used. Then came the long knife and now the electric cutter. In spite of the introduction of the machine, cutting has remained a skilled trade, requiring apprenticeship. It has not surrendered to "mass production."

#### ANENT WEST LYNN

##### More About Company Union Fraud

THE unexpected illness of Mr. Budenz this past month has played havoc with some of our editorial plans. One of these was the further article on the Fiasco at West Lynn. This will have to go over for a further issue—as Mr. Budenz's illness was of too long a duration to allow him to complete the article.

In the meantime, we note with pleasure that the SCHENECTADY CITIZEN has taken up the expose of the company union fraud at Schenectady itself. This is the home of the General Electric. The facts, therefore, go home!

As the daily papers of Schenectady have a policy of suppressing labor news—one of their reports frankly advising our Editor of that—the work being done by the CITIZEN is doubly important. We hope to see it duplicated by central body organs in other centers.

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# Honor Roll

## In the Labor Age Crusade

**O**UR band of LABOR AGE Crusaders is already on the march. Last month's appeal to our readers to aid this fight against Open Shoppery, Judgocracy and Reaction has met with an encouraging response. We need an even wider and bigger cooperation, however, to make our job fully effective. We hope that the movement for cooperation with us in our answer to Reaction, will grow like a snowball.

In our Honor Roll for May we can include:

**NORMAN SUMMERS**, Vienna, Va.  
(Who showed his faith in our future by subscribing for five years in advance.)

**THOS. L. DABNEY**, Philadelphia, Pa.  
(Who has secured subscriptions as part of his organizing campaign among his Negro fellow-workers.)

**V. A. GENDRON**, Newton, Kansas  
(Genl. Secy.-Treas., Santa Fe Division No. 61; Order of Railroad Telegraphers, who is cooperating in securing subscriptions among the Santa Fe General Committeemen.)

**JOHN W. EDELMAN**, Reading, Pa.  
(Research Director, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, who has begun a drive among Reading local unions for LABOR AGE.)

**J. F. MENENDEZ**, New York City  
(Securing interest and subscriptions among locals and members of United Hatters of North America.)

**I. SILVERMAN**, New York City  
(B. A., Local 261, Painters, who has been active in securing interest and subscriptions in his trade.)

**CHAS. L. REED**, Salem, Mass.  
(Who has shown for a number of years that interest in LABOR AGE which has characterized his interest in Workers' Education in general.)

**H. AARON DIRECTOR**, Portland, Ore.  
(Director, Portland Labor College, who has begun an effort to secure wider interest in LABOR AGE in that city and state.)

Among unions interesting themselves:  
**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF FULL FASHIONED HOSIERY WORKERS**  
(William Smith, Genl. Secy.-Treas., Philadelphia, Pa.) Begun campaign for subscriptions through shop committee men.  
**UNITED CLOTH HAT, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION**

(J. Roberts, Acting Secy.-Treas., New York.) Subscriptions secured for secretaries of local unions through country.

**UNITED HATTERS OF NORTH AMERICA**  
(Martin Lawlor, Secy.-Treas., New York.) Subscriptions secured for active members through country.

**DISTRICT COUNCIL 9, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, PAPERHANGERS AND DECORATORS**

(Thomas Wright, Secretary.) Subscriptions secured for all delegates to District Council.

**AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS LOCAL NO. 1**

(A. J. Kennedy, Secy., New York.) Subscriptions secured for active members.

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