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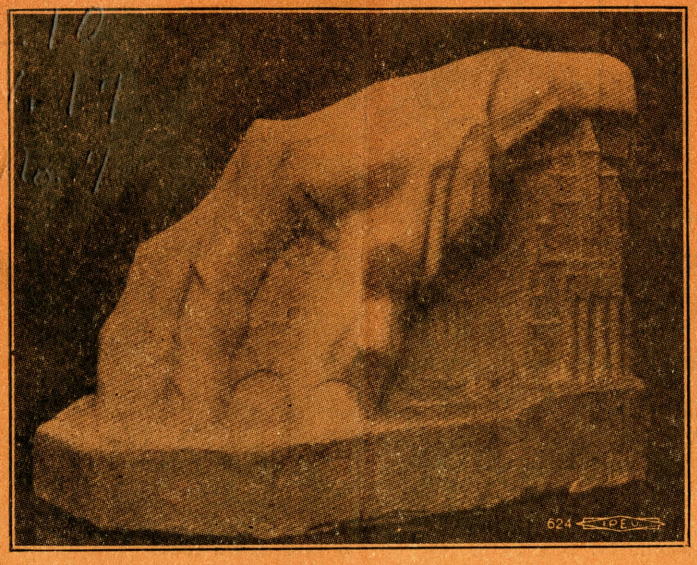

The Hand of Toil

Ford's Flimflammery

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

Back Up Labor Education!

By A. J. MUSTE

Effect of Five Day Week

By J. M. BUDISH

A Russian Auto Factory

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What Price Power?

From Shop To Top

Students and the Worker's Job

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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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Labor Age

The Hand of Toil

Whatever the stage of industrial development, whatever tools there may be available, it is the creative power of human labor that in the final analysis lifts all burdens and builds the world we live in.

THE artist whose "The Hand of Toil" decorates our cover is a worker himself. Ber Coffet is a millinery blocker, a member of that semi-skilled group of workers who owe whatever improvement in their conditions they may have gained to the sheer strength of organization. At the Independent Artists' Exhibition where the original sculpture was exhibited it was frequently compared with the Hand of God By Rodin..

If the hand of God finds expression in our mortal world, it finds such expression through the hand of the worker. Creative power is not the power of a "robot", not the power of a mechanical man or of a machine; it is the power of human labor, it is the power of the workers.

But the worker has been robbed of his birthright, of leisure and education. Organized labor has conducted a continuous struggle for free education.. And when the struggle has almost been won, when free public schools have been gained, their purpose has been perverted. The public schools have been made a tool for spiritual enslavement, a weapon against labor. But organized labor will not be defeated. It is organizing its own system of workers' education. There are numerous difficulties in the way, many problems to be solved. Brother Muste's article in this issue touches upon some important phases of the workers' educational movement.

Education implies leisure. The partaking of the beauty and fullness of life is impossible without leisure. But child labor and long hours have deprived the adult worker of any opportunity for either education or the partaking in the beauty and fullness of life. The five-day week is only one step in the continuous fight of organized labor for that leisure which is his birthright. Brother Budish discusses in this issue the economic significance and effects of the five-day week.

Effect of Five Day Week

The Economics of Shorter Hours

By J. M. BUDISH

THE movement for the five-day week is gaining momentum. The substantial reduction made in manufacturing industries, railroads and mines in the number of workers as a result of the introduction of labor saving machinery, devices and methods has emphasized the necessity of a corresponding reduction in the hours of labor. The economics of unemployment are learned by workers, not from books but from the pavements of the highways and by-ways of industry. Losing your job while the factory where you were employed increases production; being actually displaced by machines or by some improvements in the methods of production to which you yourself may have contributed, teaches you more real economics than any college ever does, or perhaps attempts to do. But these hard lessons of bad times which tend to become chronic if not permanent, must be analyzed and digested in order to realize their significance.

Mechanization and Leisure

The question raised by Brother M. H. Hedges in the last issue of this journal, deserves the most thoughtful consideration. What can the five-day week do for labor and what is it that it cannot do? The question of course applies not merely to the five-day week but to shorter hours in general. How much does labor accomplish by securing shorter hours? What can be accomplished through shorter hours and what must be accomplised in some other way? These are very serious questions involving the fundamentals of economics. First of all, we fully agree with Brother Hedges that the five-day week and shorter hours in general, cannot possibly be considered as a panacea for all ills to which labor is subjected under capitalism. To be sure, shorter hours have in themselves an intrinsic value for labor. Leisure is the greatest single element contributing towards human happiness. The more industry becomes mechanized the more the job of the worker is reduced to a single repeating operation, the greater the monotony of the shop, the more is the worker in need of increased leisure. Shorter hours is one of those essential blessings of life which have an intrinsic value in themselves. So if shorter hours should not contribute anything else it would still be worth while to make every possible effort to institute the five-day week at once. Not only worth while but extremely important. The securing of shorter hours would in any case remain one of the most important, imperative and promising tasks of organized labor.

But hours of labor are one of the inter-dependent economic conditions, and the change of one of these conditions does not remain without effect upon the others. The shortening of the hours of labor cannot remain without influence upon the general conditions of the working people. A universal five-day week will have its effect upon wages, upon employment, and depending upon the attitude of labor will influence the enitre position of the organized workers.

Will Reduce Technological Unemployment

The beneficient effect of the five-day week upon technological unemployment is the one that is most apparent. It is clear even without too much further analysis that a general reduction in the hours of labor will *ceteris paribus* create a greater demand for labor and will reduce unemployment. If every time new labor saving machinery is introduced, hours should be shortened in proportion, then there will naturally be no displacement of men by machinery. It should be emphasized that that will not do away with the disproportional development of individual industries which is partly caused by their unequal mechanization, and which is largely responsible for the periodical recessions, depressions and crisis. But this phase of the question will come up under cyclical and seasonal unemployment. To take the example of Brother Hedges:

> If 30 men produce 3,000 units of work in a week of six days.
>
> Let 36 men produce 3,000 units of work in a week of five days.

Will Not Reduce Purchasing Power

It seems, however, that there is some apprehension lest such shortening of hours while helpful in dealing with technological unemployment should not make conditions worse as far as cyclical unemployment is concerned. Let us go back to the example of Brother Hedges:

> 30 men produce 3,000 units of work in six days, receiving $1,500.
>
> Now, let 36 men produce 3,000 units of work in five days receiving the same $1,500.
>
> One man's share per week per six day week is $50. One man's share per five day week is $41.66.

The assumption in this example is that the five-day week is introduced without a corresponding increase in wages, and that the entire burden of shortening the hours of labor is carried by the workers alone. How does that affect cyclical unemployment? In this connection some are apprehensive. The argument runs thus:

> With the five day week on the old wage basis each worker has more leisure but less money to spend. Mayhap he will have to sit home on Saturday, and let the old flivver rust in the garage. . . . The dilemna is this: Shall we mitigate technological unemployment by the five-day week only to increase cyclical unemployment through decreased wages?

In other words, if a Union is in a position to secure the five-day week without securing a corresponding increase in wages, would it be wise for it to go out for the forty-hour week, or would it be wiser to refrain or refuse to accept the five-day week on the old wage basis? Now there may be some other considerations involved. One thing, however, is certain. There is no reason for any apprehension of increasing cyclical unemployment by reducing the hours of labor. Quite the contrary. The economics of the situation are such that shorter hours even at the same hourly wage tend in the long run to reduce cyclical unemployment also.

To come back to our former example. While every individual worker will, under the new arrangement, have less money to spend, the purchasing power of all the workers is not in any way reduced. The ability of our industries to sell their products depends not upon the purchasing power of any individual consumer but on the purchasing power of all the consumers taken together. From this point of view it is entirely immaterial whether $1500 are spent by 30 people or whether they are spent by 36 people. It merely means that the same quantity of the products of industry is distributed among a larger number of people. But the 36 together will buy as much as formerly the 30, with the result that the ability of industry to produce and sell, and accordingly to supply employment, will not be diminished.

Tends to Reduce Cyclical Unemployment

There may be some redistribution of the total purchasing power as between necessaries and luxuries. With the $1500 distributed among 30 people, the other six being idle, and deprived of all purchasing power, each of the 30 may perhaps afford some luxuries. On the other hand with the same $1500 distributed among the 36 people, the result will be that the former 30 will have to either deny themselves certain semi-luxuries or to reduce their savings but the remaining six will also be in a position to secure the necessaries. In other words, industries manufacturing necessaries may have to increase their production and the number of people employed by them, while industries producing luxuries may have to suffer some reduction. But this redistribution of purchasing power and number of workers employed among the various industries is going on continually. The important thing is that the total purchasing power has not been reduced. And there is, therefore, no danger that cyclical unemployment will increase.

There are, however, valid economic reasons to believe that a reduction of hours of labor even at the same hourly wage will tend to reduce the cyclical unemployment also. One of the causes for cyclical unemployment is the disproportion between industries producing means of production and industries manufacturing articles of immediate consumption. We cannot enter here into a consideration of this important phase of economics. Suffice to say that the accumulation of savings is a contributory cause making for the growth of this disproportion which is one of the important causes of cyclical unemployment when producing capacity of industry exceeds consumers' effective demand continued accumulation of savings tends to produce or increase cyclical depression of business. It would be reasonable to assume that a greater proportion of the $1500 will be divided among 30 people than when the same $1500 will be divided among 36 people. It is probably true that the worker getting $50 a week saves more weekly than the one getting $41.66. So indirectly by stemming the flood of savings, shorter hours even at the old wage will tend to reduce cyclical unemployment. To be sure, the same result could be accomplished with a greater wage by increasing the standard of living of the worker. Needless to say that as far as the labor movement is concerned, it must concentrate all its efforts to secure this result by increasing the standard of living rather than otherwise.

Shorter Hours Make for Higher Wages

But here we come to another question which is even of greater importance. Is there any connection between the length of the working week and wages? Has the shortening of hours any economic effect upon wages independently of the immediate arrangement that may be made between the workers and their employers. In other words, will shortening of hours tend to increase or reduce hourly wages? I wish to emphasize that I am speaking now of the economics of the question and independently of the direct efforts of organized labor. To throw some light on the question, let us first consider the facts without attempting to interpret them. The following table has been compiled from Bulletin No. 457 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and it gives the Union scale of wages and hours of labor in 1927, for various groups of industries.

Union Scales of Wages and Hours of Labor, 1927

Trade Group	Hours per Week	Wages per Hour	Wages per Week
Building Trades	43.7	$1.323	$57.815
Granite and Stone Cutters	44.0	1.321	58.124
Printing and Publishing (Book and job)	44.3	1.021	45.23
Longshoremen	44.7	.817	36.519
Printing and Publishing (Newspapers)	45.2	1.190	53.788
Linemen	46.1	.991	45.685
Bakers	47.7	.957	45.648
Laundry Workers	47.8	.432	20.649
Chauffeurs, Teamsters and Drivers	54.7	.704	38.508

It can easily be seen that trades with shorter hours have as a rule not only greater hourly wages, but even greater weekly wages. The table shows that other conditions being equal, reduced hours always go together with increased wages.

Let us now take a few rather poorly organized industries. Bulletin No. 314 and No. 452 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics supplies the following information with regard to the hours and wages of workers in the lumber industry and of the boot and shoe industry from 1910 to 1925.

AN IMPORTANT WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

INSPIRED no doubt by the success of the Women's Auxiliary Conference at Brookwood last year, which was arranged by the Women's Auxiliary of the I. A. of M., the Women's Auxiliaries of Wyoming Valley and the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League have issued a call for a conference to discuss women's problems at Unity House, the vacation resort of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, at Forest Park, Pa., June 30 and July 1.

Speakers include Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Mrs. Grace Klueg, Mrs. Raymond Robbins and Miss Rose Schneiderman.

The role of women in the industrial life of the nation is becoming more and more important. Therefore, such conferences which consider the vital problems of women workers and wives of trade union men are of great significance.

We are glad to note that another Women's Auxiliary conference will be held at Brookwood this summer.

1. Index numbers of full-time hours per week, earnings per hour and full-time earnings per week in specified years,—1910 to 1925 (1913=100).

Year	Index Numbers of Full Time Hours Per Week a. In Lumber	Earnings Per Hour Manufacturing	Full Time Earnings Per Week Industry
1910	100	97	98
1911	100	95	96
1912	101	96	97
1913	100	100	100
1915	100	91	91
1919	92	194	179
1921	94	166	156
1923	94	180	170
1925	94	178	168
b. In Hosiery and Underwear Industries			
Selected Occupations:			
1910	104.2	82.0	85.2
1911	103.8	83.7	87.1
1912	102.0	89.0	90.6
1913	100.0	100.0	100.0
1914	98.7	103.5	102.0
1919	94.2	183.1	172.9
All Occupations:			
1922	91.9	213.0	195.0
1924	91.3	246.1	224.1
1926	92.4	266.6	245.6

Note: Compiled from Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Nos. 413 and 450.

As hours go down, hourly wages increase and so do full time earnings per week.

Two more tables given below taken from bulletin No. 443 and 452, giving the hours of labor and wages in the woolen and worsted industry and in the hosiery and underwear industries, again show that there is a close interdependence between wages and hours. As hours go down wages go up, and vice versa. This connection between wages and hours cannot be accidental. It seems to show that shorter hours lead unavoidably in the long run to increased wages. In other words, the introduction of the five-day week must unavoidably lead to increased wages whether this is recognized by both parties or not, whether this is agreed to at the time of the introduction of the shorter hours, or whether it is left to the free play of economic forces. Thus the shortening of hours always means economically not merely distributing the same purchasing power among a larger group of workers, but also an unavoidable increase in the purchasing power of the individual worker.

2. Average hours and Earnings, and index numbers of average hours and earnings, 1910 to 1926.

	Average Full Time Hours Per Week	Average Full Time Earnings Per Week	Index Numbers Of— Full Time Hours Per Week	Full Time Earnings Per Week
a. Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing				
Selected Occupations:				
1910	56.6	$10.05	101.3	91.2
1911	56.8	10.18	101.6	92.4
1912	55.9	11.23	100.0	101.9
1913	55.9	11.02	100.0	100.0
1914	54.9	11.06	98.2	100.0
All Occupations:				
1914	55.0	10.03	...	...
1916	54.8	12.34	97.8	123.5
1918	54.3	18 57	97.0	185.9
1920	48.3	30.33	86.2	303.6
1922	48.8	23.13	87.1	231.5
1924	49.1	26.17	87.7	262.0
1926	49.3	24.21	88.0	242.3
b. In the Boot and Shoe Industry				
Selected Occupations:				
1910	56.5	$16.07	102.7	94.1
1911	56.3	16.37	102.4	95.8
1912	55.5	15.91	100.9	93.2
1913	55.0	17.08	100.6	100.0
1914	54.6	17.11	99.3	100.2
All Occupations:				
1914	54.7	13.26	99.3	100.2
1916	54.6	14.11	99.1	106.6
1918	52.3	17.54	84.9	132.5
1920	48.6	26.97	88.2	203.7
1922	48.7	24.45	88.4	184.7
1924	49.0	25.28	88.9	190.9
1926	49.0	25.87	88.9	195.4

Note; Compiled from Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistic Nos. 443 and 450.

The statistics quoted may not be sufficient to prove the case completely. But many more statistics could be quoted if space would permit. Besides, economic theory substantiates the same conclusion. But the theory of the question deserves further consideration.

Back Up Labor Education!

Answering Carping Criticisms

By A. J. MUSTE

PRESIDENT GREEN of the American Federation of Labor has spoken of workers education as one of the strong arms of the labor movement which it is of the utmost importance to support and develop. I have recently, however, heard highly respectable and not uninfluential trade union leaders say that they were flatly opposed to workers education or at least utterly indifferent to it, that their members were not interested in it, and that only those who were inclined to be radical and who wanted to put something over on the labor movement dabbled in workers education. Several times recently attacks have been made more or less directly upon this arm of the labor movement. For those who are concerned about a militant and vital movement these occurrences are significant. We ought to understand their meaning in order that we may not be trapped into unreasoning approval or disapproval of this or that development in the field of workers education.

The burden of the complaint against the labor colleges seems to be that they are "unpatriotic and un-American, atheistic and radical (Bolshevik)." These are indeed familiar charges. In substance they are the charges leveled against Jesus, for example, by the ruling powers of his day. At the present moment, the Daughters of the American Revolution, or at least some of the more hysterical of their officers, Charley Dawes's union-busting Minute-Men of America, and Freddy Marvin's Key-Men of America, are hurling the above mentioned epithets of un-American, atheistic and red at a large number of highly respectable citizens of the Republic, including the presidents of many of our best colleges and universities, and practically all of the United States Senators, for example, who can always be counted on to advance labor measures on the floor of that august body.

If, therefore, those who are active in workers education now find these same "bad words" thrown at them, they may take comfort that in our own day and throughout all history there are plenty of noble men and women to keep them company. On the other hand, those who believe that they have the welfare of the American labor movement at heart and who are joining in this hue and cry against workers education and the labor colleges, may well pause to ask themselves just what it signifies that in this business they seem to be in the company of labor's worst enemies. If the patrioteers, the open-shoppers, the injunction manufacturers and that crowd are against workers education, may it be that all labor men ought to be rallying to the support of this pioneer and admittedly still imperfect enterprise and not weakening or killing it by carping and ill-timed criticism?

Open Shop Patriotism

Let us, however, examine a little more closely into the real meaning of the accusations being made against workers education. Take the charge of un-Americanism, lack of patriotism. Of course, there is a tendency for the labor colleges to be unpatriotic in some sense, and rightly so. For what is meant by that word patriotism in the vast majority of instances by those who are in the habit of shouting about it, is the religion of those who drew a trail of stinking oil all over the government of this nation, the religion of the strike-breaker who for our sins is President of the U. S. today and who sat in the councils of the nation while the oil scandals were being perpetrated and richly earned the nickname Silent Cal, the religion of the Republican party machine which was in control while these same scandals were being perpetrated and could write into its platform in Kansas City the other day without cracking a smile, "We stand for honesty in government!" Patriotism is the word used for the religion of the open shoppers, the American Planners, the injunction judges and all that crowd. If in the circumstances labor colleges are "unpatriotic," what of it?

There was a time when Samuel Adams and John Hancock and George Washington were unpatriotic too—in the estimation of King George III and the Tories of 1776. They could not stomach what went for patriotism in their time, and those who cannot stomach what goes for patriotism in our own time are the only true descendants of the American Revolution to be found today.

Labor educational institutions tend also to be interested in internationalism. It seems to them that the unity of labor knows no boundaries of race, color, creed or nation. Hence they are deemed unpatriotic by those who cling to an outworn, jingoistic nationalism, just as at one time people who stood for the United States of America were deemed unpatriotic by New Yorkers and Rhode Islanders and Virginians, who thought more of their own little states than of the Union. Many times, as Dr. Johnson reminded us, patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel; and someone else profoundly observed that "mankind progresses through nationality to bestiality." Is it necessary to apologize for being opposed to such a foe of all that is best in mankind?

To refer to another charge. Sometimes the labor colleges have been called irreligious or atheistic because in courses in psychology, perhaps, or history, problems relating to evolution, the origin of life itself, the role of religion and other cultural developments, have been discussed. The conclusion is sometimes drawn that the discussion of such subjects ought to be omitted in labor schools.

If by this is meant that there should be no effort to

indoctrinate anybody with particular views about life-problems, we shall all agree that this is a fair demand. Personally, I have never come across any such effort at indoctrination, and I have, on the other hand, found among graduates of labor colleges who had been exposed to such courses persons of all varieties of opinions on religious and other subjects.

Fearless Minds

If, however, it is proposed to rule out the discussion of certain fields of knowledge from the courses in workers classes, that is a horse of another color. Certainly some subjects ought to be stressed because they bear most immediately on the daily struggles of labor. But who is to determine what subjects, that young people are interested in, may not be discussed by them? Who thinks that he can prevent the discussion in labor classes of subjects that are being discussed openly by young and old in books, newspapers, pulpits, on lecture platforms, in colleges and clubs, on street-corners, and so on? Furthermore, in this day and age the labor movement can indeed use men and women holding various opinions on social, religious, economic and political questions, but how much use has it for people, whatever their views, who have not dared to examine their own opinions, people who believe because somebody tells them to, not because they have themselves thought through as best they can? Let workers education continue fearlessly to discuss any problem in which workers are interested, continue to develop critical, fearless, open, independent minds!

Finally, one or two observations about the alleged "redness" of the labor education movement, the charge that "ideas contrary to the philosophy of the American labor movement" are being taught. In this connection it is important for the theoretical man, the student, the "intellectual," to bear in mind that the labor movement is a practical affair, and very often has to be a fighting movement. It has to deal with important practical issues, it has to maintain itself, to preserve its unity, and it will take measures against those who seek to undermine it, just as any other movement or organization will.

But labor will consider carefully just what this involves for its attitude toward workers education. My observation makes me confident that it would be very difficult to prove that anybody in any labor classes is trying to indoctrinate anybody with a particular labor philosophy. What happens is that students and teachers discuss various theories and policies, and sometimes express with reference to them what are regarded as unorthodox or radical views. Now what is to be done about it?

Are students, for example, to be forbidden to express unorthodox views in labor classes? Can young people be kept from speculating? And if not, may it not be better than they should have the opportunity to speculate freely in classes under labor auspices? Is a class to be condemned by the movement if it is reported that some student in it criticized some labor policy? And even if some student goes back to his union and there criticizes his officers, are we to conclude immediately that labor education is dangerous and must be headed off? Is it really true that until labor colleges were established no young people ever found fault with their officers or wanted to replace them?

But what of the teacher who holds unorthodox opinions? Yes, what of him? Assuming that he is a capable teacher and not trying to force anything down anyone's throat, are you going to forbid him to teach a labor class because his views are not in accord with those of the majority? American labor has many times denounced the standard colleges and universities for doing just that, for denying freedom of thought and expression, for violating the very basis of education. Will Labor itself practice what it condemns in others? Is there to be no more freedom, even less freedom perhaps in workers education than in other fields?

Is There A Labor Dogma?

I have heard a few men answer that question squarely in the affirmative. "Yes," they say, "workers classes must be narrow. We are paying to have the philosophy of the American labor movement taught and nothing else." We may note that this statement involves an important assumption: It assumes that somebody knows just what the "philosophy of the American labor movement" is, that there is indeed something that can be called *the* philosophy of our movement. Is that a correct assumption? Certainly the A. F. of L. has had in its membership from time to time individuals and unions whose labor philosophies varied greatly and who nevertheless were regarded as loyal members of organized labor. Is this not to be the case any longer? Have we now a labor dogma, a labor creed, a labor orthodoxy, to which all must conform? Which must be taught, passed on in our labor colleges as a given system of doctrine is imparted in a sectarian theological seminary? If so, then it is important that this should be made clear, should be frankly avowed.

All such thinking proceeds on the assumption that there is danger in a critical discussion of labor policies. Perhaps there is; but is that danger as great as the danger that would arise from shutting off criticism and discussion? Do we admit that our labor policies cannot hear criticism and discussion? May not our fears be groundless? May not our salvation lie in a labor educational movement that analyzes, criticizes, investigates all the problems of industry and of labor, does so freely and fearlessly, objectively and intelligently? If that should result at some points in confirming the present policies of the movement, our faith in those policies would be all the stronger. If at some points the need of changes should be indicated, why shy away from that? Would we save ourselves by refusing to make such changes, by blinding ourselves ostrich-like to the requirements of the situation?

While millions upon millions are spent annually on education that ignores labor or is hostile to it, let us not weaken this pioneer enterprise of "education of the workers, for the workers, by the workers," but rather rally to its support, criticize and insist upon improvement but not find fault peevishly and stupidly with our labor colleges, insist upon the value of education, free discussion, thorough criticism, for the labor movement and the realization of its vast and beneficent aims.

A Russian Auto Factory

How the Union Functions in a Soviet Plant

By E. J. LEVER

THE workers in the Soviet Union are organized on a voluntary membership basis in 23 national industrial unions. These unions cover all major activities of production, distribution and public service. The basis of each industrial union is the factory local union presided over by a Factory Committee elected annually by the members, to whom it is responsible for the conduct of all union affairs. The Factory Committee is also responsible to the District Council of its Industrial Union, which is a delegated body of all shop locals in a given city or industrial district. Above the District Councils is the Territorial Council, comprising all local organizations in a given industrial territory. Above the Territorial Councils is the Central Executive Committee of the National Industrial Union itself.

The Metal Workers Union

The Metal Workers Union is one of these 23 national industrial unions. It covers jurisdictionally all workers engaged in refining and fabricating iron, steel, brass and all other metals, as well as in their manufacture into mechanical and electrical products. Its membership covers all workers in each industry, from the apprentice boy to the chief engineer and factory manager. On July 1, 1927, this union claimed a membership of 871,000 or 93 per cent of all the metal workers in the country.

The Factory Committee

The Factory Committee in the "Amo" Automobile Works, employing 1829 workers, is composed of 15 delegates, elected by departments, and 4 alternates. The alternates are elected along with the others to give them training in the conduct of union affairs. They have a voice but no vote. The Committee elects the officers from its own ranks. They are: the President (or business agent), the Secretary, and the Chairman of the sub-committee for the Protection of Labor, all three of whom in this case are full-time officers. The five sub-committees in this plant are: (1) Protection of Labor; (2) Wage and Grievance; (3) Production and Efficiency; (4) Cultural Educational; (5) Cooperative Stores and Restaurants.

The duties of the President are to supervise all union activities in the plant and to see that the collective agreement is enforced. The Secretary's duties are to collect membership duties, to keep the minutes of meetings, to keep a complete statistical record of all union activities within the plant, and to be responsible for all other financial transactions.

Protection of Labor

Next to the President in importance is the Chairman of the Protection of Labor sub-committee. He looks after the workers' health, accident prevention, inspection of safety devices, working clothes, vacation leaves, hospitalization of the sick, and the bi-monthly physical examinations of all young workers and of all others who request medical aid. He tends to sanitation, heating, ventilation and clean towel service. He is aided by his sub-committee elected by the workers.

Wages and Grievances

The Wage and Grievance Committee's duties include the adjustment of wages for individual workers or groups under the collective agreement and the handling of grievances arising out of their daily work. This sub-committee is composed of an equal number of representatives from union and management, each having an equal number of votes irrespective of number of representatives present. They must thus agree 100 per cent in order to dispose of a case. During the economic year, 1926-27, the sub-committee in the "Amo" plant heard 377 different grievances. Of these 120 were solved in the factory to the satisfaction of the worker, 229 were rejected by the committee, 26 were sent to the District Council for advice and instructions, and 12 went to the Labor Court.

Production

The Production Committee in this plant is composed of 20 members, elected by the workers, 14 of whom are shop workers, 2 are engineers, 2 are foremen and 2 are office workers. This committee is interested primarily in increased production through greater efficiency in the use of plant, tools and equipment. It aims to prevent waste, and to increase punctuality and production in every way consistent with the full protection of the worker's health and safety. It encourages technical knowledge among the workers as well as suggestions and inventions. It decides the proper reward for accepted inventions. In this plant half of one year's savings from any adopted device is paid to the worker inventor.

Cultural Educational

The Cultural Educational sub-committee operates a club-house jointly with those of five other metal factories nearby. The committee supplies education and entertainment of every conceivable sort. It takes the workers and their families for educational and recreational excursions to the country, to other factories, to museums and other places of interest. It also gives lectures during the noon-hour in factory departments. These cover a wide variety of subjects from trade-unionism to the chemistry of metals. A circulating library is kept constantly moving through the shops, the books being brought around in baskets. The club library now has 4,000 volumes, but besides this all other municipal, factory and club libraries in Moscow are at its disposal.

It operates movies and dramatic clubs, foot-ball and skating clubs. It runs a school for illiterates. It sends the more ambitious young workers to high and technical schools. It fights for temperance among the workers. It supervises the education of some 160 apprentice boys and girls, as well as of the grown workers many of whom are peasants coming from the countryside to enter industry for the first time.

Co-operation

Finally, the sub-committee on Co-operation functions to enroll members in the Co-operative Society, which operates a store near the factory and a canteen and restaurant where the workers can buy a decent meal for from 10 to 20 cents, each portion being from two to three times larger than the usual American restaurant portion. Russians generally eat more than we do. The restaurant opens an hour before the factory does, so that the worker can get his breakfast without rousing his "old lady" to get it for him. Besides these activities the "Co-op" committee arranges for credit, fuel buying for its members and many other services.

Union Dues

The workers pay 2 per cent of their wages in dues to the volunteer collector in their own department who turns it over to the secretary of the Factory Committee. The entire amount is then turned over to the District Council of the Union which retains usually 25 per cent for its own needs and pays some 10 per cent to the Central Labor Council of the District. The rest goes to the National Union, which pays some 10 per cent on its own account to the Central Council of Trade Unions (corresponding to our A. F. of L.). An indication of "where the money goes" in the National Metal Workers' Union may be had by glancing at its budget on January 1, 1927.

1.	Cultural and Educational Fund	$610,804
2.	Employment fund	839,056
3.	Strike fund	171,747
4.	Rest Homes	266,276
5.	Construction of Club-houses	706,767
6.	Reserve Fund	43,804
7.	Traveling Aid fund	16,703
8.	Apprenticeship training	98,115
9.	House construction	33,269
10.	Sanatorium & Health Resort fund	1,655

These items, however, do not tell the whole story. They merely are given to show the national metal union's budget on a given date. For nearly every one of these items finds its counterpart in the various locals and district councils, where the individual worker first applied for help. These funds are reserves, in other words, used mostly to help out locals whose funds are too low to care for the needs of their members. For the Russian unions are not only trade unions in our sense of the word, but they also perform services for their members and families which are unhappily left by our unions to private charity agencies. It is practically impossible for a union man or his family in present-day Russia to starve. A book could be devoted to no other subject than the schemes devised by the unions to make it worth his while to be a union man. The union is the "big push" that keeps the worker alive and going. For not only when he is quite able to take care of himself, but when he is most in trouble his union is his greatest friend.

With all these activities the number of full-time officers employed throughout the union is only a little more than one per thousand members. The number of officers grows proportionately smaller as the union gains administrative experience. The secret of the great service the Russian unions are giving their members certainly does not lie in the number of full-time officers employed. It lies rather in the fact that they reach out and interest members in every conceivable kind of activity, so that *most of the work is done by volunteers* at little expense.

Collective Agreement

The yearly collective agreement under which the relations of union workers and management are regulated is very elaborate and inclusive. It provides not only the basic rates of pay for some 17 major classifications of workers, ranging from the apprentice boy to the factory manager, but it goes into full details as to how much butter workers in the unhealthy trades (such as brass moulding, grinding, etc.) are to receive for their lunch! It even provides for the amount of milk for the apprentices, and for the distribution of hot water for tea at lunch time, and for clean working clothes, clean towel service and soap at factory expense. It details the rest periods in the hot trades, ventilation, accident prevention, enforcement of labor laws and so on. One would think that such things are small details of no particular importance. But the writer sat in with the Factory Committee at "Amo" while it was revising its agreement. From notes handed in by workers to their department delegates, one item after another was seriously discussed and changed.

Wages

The basic rates of wages range from 10 dollars a month for beginner apprentices (whose first year's work is not considered of productive value) to 82 dollars per month for the chief engineer or manager. In actual practice everybody receives a wage higher than the basic rates, these serving merely as a bargaining point for each of the seventeen classifications. The wages of the higher engineers and managers are set individually by agreement with the trust, their wages varying from, say, 50 per cent above the union rate to several times that amount. There is no top limit for technicians or executives, unless they are members of the Communist Party, in which case $112.50 per month is the limit of their earnings in any capacity. For they are the "shock troops" of the government in setting examples of leadership for all others to emulate. Since about 95 per cent of the factory managers are party members, there are actually many engineers and mechanics who earn more than the "big boss". But that is the price the boss has to pay in Russia for leadership and the principles for which he stands.

The Factory Committee having drawn up the changes

AN ATTENTIVE AUDIENCE

Demonstrating new tractors to peasants at the Moscow Peasants Home.

it desires in the revised agreement, the proposal goes to the District Council, in which four other automobile factory locals are represented. Here the various demands are equalized as much as possible. It is then presented to the Board of Directors of the State Automobile Trust, upon which sits one representative of the Metal Workers Union. The other directors are engineers and specialists in the business appointed by the Supreme Council of National Economy. The trust is compelled by law to recognize the union and its books are open at all times. The union is therefore in a position to demand that a certain portion of the budget be set aside for wages. Since production has been on the increase in the past few years there is nearly always some increase coming to the workers when the new agreement is framed. It needs to be decided which group of the workers should receive it. The trust is only too willing to let the union decide that for itself. All the unions have recently been following the practice of giving the increases to the lower paid workers so that their standards of living may be raised to somewhere near the present levels of the skilled. The skilled workers, because of their scarcity, have gained the most in the past few years. But they are now being persuaded by the unions to wait until the level of the unskilled is built up.

The writer agrees with Professor Paul Douglas of Chicago University who accompanied the First American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1927. He finds that the workers in the Russian industries have bettered their lot by at least 30 per cent and possibly 35 per cent over the conditions prevailing in 1913. Prof. Douglas figures that the increased purchasing power of their money earnings—or what we call *real wages*—rose about 11 per cent since the revolution, but that counting social insurance, vacations with pay, free or cheaper rents, and various public educational, recreational and health benefits the gains come to well over 30 per cent above pre-war level. It should also be remembered that the length of the working day for which they receive these earnings and services has been reduced by approximately 25 per cent.

They now have the 46-hour week in Russian industry, and in many cases much less, so that the average working day for all industry is now actually 7.5 hours. The 7-hour day is being gradually introduced in the textile industry and also in other industries.

Every machine and improved tool placed in the hands of the Russian worker means more production. And through increased production lies his direct road to economic well-being. The government, and particularly the trade unions, are instruments in the Russian workers' hands with which he may increase his income as his productivity rises.

The Russian government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars in plant and equipment. As the workers learn to master the machinery of industry and of their unions they thereby increase the hold over their future. This future seems bright indeed. The Soviet worker is the most *hopeful* worker in Europe today. In fact, more dejected workers can be found at present unemployed on the streets of our "prosperous" America, than can be found on the streets of any industrial town in Russia.

Students and the Worker's Job

Learning Through Industrial Experience

By W. WALTER LUDWIG

JUNE comes for the college student and with it thoughts of a summer job. Unless he still sustains an infantile dependence upon the parental bank roll, he must scurry around and as clerk in the home town bank or grocery, flunkey at a summer resort, or glib salesman of hose or magazine, manage to salt away enough to meet fall bills.

Pretty much the same bread and butter motives send thousands of students each summer into industry. Through "pull" or a college boy story at the employment window most of them step into the shoes of the unemployed industrial worker with the nonchalance of "bumming" a cigarette or getting help on a lesson. Aside from increasing the difficulties of getting a job, serious conditions of unemployment mean little in the young lives of the horde of college students who will flock this summer into industry to do their competitive bit toward keeping labor cheap and plentiful.

Usually the summer's industrial experience results in little more than blisters and a bank balance. Its social content is about zero. This is not to be wondered at since the college student, barring these occasional plunges into industry from the springboard of economic necessity, lives well above industry's snakeline. If he comes from a working-class home, the college is expected to continue and complete the occupational rescue of the youth. Indoctrinated with commercial values, he is saved from farm or shop and saved for one of the useful professions, like advertising.

"I don't want you to go through what I've gone through," said a considerate father, himself a steelworker, in sending his son to college. The boy acquired a fraternity pin, a collegiate hand-shake, a wife, and a harberdasher's job, as a result of his four year's renovation. A young coal miner told me that he is in college because he likes art, literature, and philosophy. How to turn appreciation of these to working-class account, he had not the slightest notion. Vaguely he believed that the successful story runs "from coal miner to college professor." Certainly not the near-lunacy of "from mines to college and to the mines again." When a young woman upon graduating from college announced that she intended to work that summer in a canning factory, her family was flabbergasted. They protested that they didn't send her to college to become a factory girl.

Even the increasing number of college students who work in industry to learn as well as to earn, are likely to be most interested in the product and the process. A la cafeteria, they hop from one department to another like summer tourists doing Europe, learning enough to qualify for a selling or managerial job. Back at the university these students are majors in the school of commerce or business administration. Not so long ago such students could be counted on to serve as strike-breakers of whom President Eliot is reported to have said that "such scabs are heroes of the first order."

A saving remnant of students, however, work in industry to learn labor's slant. They have become impatient with the merely academic approach of most courses in labor problems. Or having discussed industrial problems in their liberal groups or religious organizations, they have decided to find out for themselves. By means of summer group seminars and fall industrial conferences, numerous organizations have helped the college student learn some rudimentary lessons about the worker and his job.

The Lesson of Fatigue

The student who works in industry learns the meaning of fatigue. "I can interpret physical work in terms of my own body," said one college girl who after tramping Chicago's streets and applying at scores of places finally landed a job as waitress with a split shift of seven hours of standing and walking. "I have no objection to three or four hours monotonous work a day," said another student who had worked in a Detroit auto body manufacturing company affectionately known among the workers as "the slaughter house." "In fact it really helps me do better mental work the remaining time. But eight hours is too much." The same student found that education, while it only partially relieves the numbing effects of long hours of monotonous work, did increase his discontent toward bad conditions and made him want to help change and control industry.

Wage rates also exert a sobering effect upon the student worker. The first pay envelope contains a certain satisfaction which quickly passes when the student tries to live upon the rest of the contents. Even with tuition and fraternity bills as incentives to save, many students do little better than to meet expenses by their summer's whack at industry. Twelve college women in the Student Y. W. C. A. industrial group in Chicago last summer, working from 44 to 59½ hours per week, averaged $13.62 as their weekly wage. If they had not pooled wages, the colored student who worked 49 hours for $7 would have suffered the usual disadvantages of the Negro worker. The prospect of living on even the relatively high wage of $13 per week, month after month, gave these college women a vicarious shudder. One of the more determined members of the group, a University of Michigan graduate, has since joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and is now working in a tailor shop in Chicago. "I feel that working through the union is the best way of developing a better social order," she says.

Insecurity of the Job

Unemployment teaches the student probably his most valuable lesson in the school of industry. Losing a job is to the industrial worker what flunking a course is to the college student—only more so. "Hired and fired in

Little to choose between the two old parties, as the Detroit News shows us.

If only the workers would adopt as their motto, "A plague upon both your houses!"

three days" is the terse story of one student who could not keep up with her job. The speed of a fast job and the strain of keeping up with the machine are shot through with fears of losing out and another turn at the employment windows. One student in five weeks applied to 200 places and secured three jobs. Even when the machine job becomes automatic or on jobs requiring little skill, the worker's position, so students discover, is habitually insecure. A student who spent last summer as a punch press operator in a Detroit motor car plant analysed his insecurity thus: "Outside were a couple of hundred men around the employment office, always ready to grab my job if I quit or got fired. The foreman and job setter kept pushing us but they didn't need to. We kept going, sullenly, servilely, afraid we'd lose our jobs to the men outside." Contented workers these, protected by the benevolent arm of Detroit's American Plan!

Socially alert students place great value upon their experience as workers. "Nothing in the college curriculum can take its place," reports one critical student. A student who worked in the Columbia Conserve Company, Indianapolis, writes of a course given on company time to the workers there, "I never enjoyed a class under Prof. ..... as much as I do this one where the workers eagerly listen to, discuss, and argue the differences between a capitalistic and a cooperative society." Such study smacks of a reality which the college classroom usually lacks. Occasionally during the college year students dabble in a nearby industrial situation as Yale students did during the necktie strike and some midwestern students have done in the soft coal strike. For administrative approval, however, or credit in the school of commerce, the student will do well to tie up his research to some such accredited institution as the city Chamber of Commerce of which organized labor is not ordinarily a member group.

Frowning Upon Student Strikebreakers

Labor will do well to tolerate the socially curious college student in its midst not so much for what the student can do for the labor movement as for what the labor movement can do to the student. It can jolt his middle-class complacencies quite out of their grooves. Such emancipated students may become just the half-cocked radicals who flash in the pan and then are seen no more. Their end is that of innocuous liberalism. Or, on the other hand, by rubbing up against some of industry's realities they may learn the meaning of the class struggle and the need for labor loyalty. One conference of students who had worked in industry went on record as opposing students acting as strikebreakers. They were protesting not as "intellectuals" but as workers.

Usually the college trained person interested in social action or industrial change will work through the institution to which by background and temperament he is best suited. Frequently he can do much to gather, interpret, and broadcast information about social and industrial conditions. He can loosen the hard cakes of institutionalism in which society is encrusted and make easier the more fundamental economic and industrial changes which must come from the labor moevment itself. That is, he can do this if in the process he is not himself first stepped on or similarly encrusted.

What Price Power?

Exploitation of People's Resources by Utility Corporations

By FANNIA M. COHN

READING "Power Control" by Messrs. H. S. Raushenbush and Harry Laidler,* I felt as I had long ago when I first read "Alice in Wonderland."

"It is possible?" I thought, "that we actually allow power corporations to spend millions upon millions of dollars for no other purpose than to retard social progress? "With no other object than to postpone the day when the life of the housewife shall become easier because she makes free use of electricity for the drudgery in the home? For nowadays, indeed, it is a truism that to use electricity to its capacity would be to release the energy of millions of women for intellectual effort, for increased leisure and for social and civic activities. If "Power Control" were read in any "half-civilized" country, imagine how its simple and primitive inhabitants would wonder why we of a sophisticated nation, let power corporations deprive our farmers and small townsfolk from leading a more cultured life—when electricity, available to them at low rates, would so early accomplish this desired result.

After reading of the activities of the Public Relations Section of the National Electric Light Association, we realize why the public is so well "educated" on the subject of public utilities. The power corporations have a friendly eye on women. They hover helpfully over women's organizations, supplying them with information and statistics. They also inform them why they must sympathize with and support the methods and business conduct of the corporations. Naturally, such public spirited bodies do not neglect the legislative branch of our government.

Milking the Public

The Federal Trade Commission's investigation of propaganda by the Utility Corporations revealed that in New York state alone they spend from about twenty-eight millions ($28,000,000) to thirty-eight millions ($38,000,000) for newspaper advertising only. Although allowance must be made for legitimate expenses for advertising purposes, the expenditures of such huge amounts cannot be made without influencing the editorial policy of the press in favor of the Utility Corporations. But no funds are available to expose the Utility Corporations in defence of the people's case. The most deplorable part of it is that it is this very same public which the Utility Corporations are "milking" that is paying the bill for the millions worth of propaganda against them.

The Relations Section of the National Electric Light Association does not in further benevolence hesitate to "influence" social and civic workers and even a labor leader, as was the case in its campaign to defeat the water power act for the public development of California's power resources.

We further learn that the very active committee is most efficient and persistent in its efforts to influence the minds of our children in the public schools in favor of private ownership. Therefore, it starts its educational activities from the eighth grade. It prepares text-books containing the committee's point of view of public utilities, naturally in favor of private ownership. In this unswerving determination to influence future generations in submission to the policies of the public utility corporations, the committee takes no half-way measures. They do not stop with condemning text-books that contain views favorable to public ownership, but an effort was made by them to ban them from our public schools. In slight bewilderment at the patriotic energy of the committee, we further learn that its burning activity sent it off on another tack. It is carrying its "educational" work to the higher seats of learning. It has become a benevolent supporter of research work in the field of economic and public utilities in our most powerful universities.

When one reads this book, an interesting question arises. "Why should the users of industrial power, who receive one six-tenths of the power sold, pay even slightly less than one-third of the revenue collected by the industry?" It is understood that the quantity of power used by industry can be furnished at lower cost than that going to the small consumer. But the differential cost between furnishing industrial power and domestic electricity was never investigated.

For instance, according to the "Electrical World" the cost for the average resident in the United States was 7.64 cents per kilowatt hour.* The average rural bill was 12 cents—while the average commercial lighting and power bill was 5.75 cents per kilowatt hour.

Low Rates Increase Consumption

Authorities insist that no proof was given that the cost of furnishing electricity between these groups justifies the charge to the domestic consumer. According to the authors, there is no logical explanation of why the cost of domestic electric power should be so high. Especially when we consider the new inventions effected in this country and the efficiency that goes with such large and high scale production. Power companies cannot claim that the increase in labor costs prevents reduction in rates, because the man power in the electric industry is of minor importance in comparison with this cost of operation in other industries. The invalidity of any argument which puts forth the high cost of labor can best be demonstrated by the fact that, according to the authors of "Power Control," the total number of employees in the whole power industry in 1922 was only 150,700. Especially is the lack of increase in high scale

*The New Republic, New York, 290 pp. $1.00.

*The unit kilowatt hours is a 20-25 watt bulb burning 40 hours.

production unforgivable when we know that lower rates invariably tend to increase consumption in domestic service, as it did in Ontario. It has increased the average domestic monthly consumption from about 44 kwh. in 1920 to 78 kwh. in 1926, which may be compared with about 30 to 36 kwh. average monthly consumption in the United States.

Of course, Messrs. Raushenbush and Laidler explain this so much lower cost to industry and to the electric railroads on the ground that the power corporations fear lest the factories should install their own generating plants—as many have, in fact, done—in case the rate charged for power is too high. But the domestic consumer is helpless. He cannot threaten the company but is compelled to curtail the use of electricity and must pay his bill.

As an approach to solving the power problem to the public, the authors suggest that the people develop their own power energy in an experimental station to determine what the cost should be. For this purpose, they advise, as a possible station, the development of Muscle Shoals, Bowlder Dam and St. Lawrence. In their opinion, these might serve as a means of measuring the relative merits of public vs. private control. They realize that public ownership will not come immediately, and therefore they suggest that in the meanwhile, a more efficient control of industry be established. The commissions, for instance, which we create to guard the public interest, should be taken out of politics,

Buying Both Parties

The moral effect of having Public Utility Corporations in politics is most demoralizing. This is very well pointed out in the Chicago case of Samuel Insull, the power magnate who, in his liberalism toward politicians, during municipal, state and Federal elections, gave financial support to the candidates of both parties.

If our border neighbor on the North—Ontario—succeeded in establishing its own power corporation, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, and in successfully operating it for the benefit of, not only industry but also the domestic consumer and the farmer, there is no reason why we in the United States cannot do something in that direction.

Of course, our power corporations stop at nothing, everything that their money and influence suggest, to minimize the importance of the Ontario Power System. For instance, they make false statements about it, statements which have continually been refuted by Sir Adam Beck of the Ontario Commission. The fact remains, that if proper figures are used, the total cost of street lighting per capita for Buffalo was 1.15 and not 60 cents, as our power lobbies insist. And this $1.15 to Toronto's 67 cents, according to the authors.

Whenever one dares to speak about the necessity of public ownership of public utilities, the power companies, through their publicity agents insist that the interest of the public is being fully protected by the Utility Commissions. How can Utility Commissions be effective when, although they have a right to investigate operating companies and exercise some control over them, they, according to the decision of the United States Supreme Court, have no authority to regulate the holding companies who are the real owners of the power companies. Therefore, they, the holding companies, have invented various ways of "milking" the public by charging, for instance, for engineering and managerial expenses, in addition to operating expenses. When we consider that a cut of ½ cent per kwh. in the price of electric power sold by the industry in 1927, would mean 300 million dollars, it is plain enough why power companies, according to Messrs. Raushenbush and Laidler, are willing to spend scores of millions of dollars to fight the people's case, whenever it comes up before a Public Utility Commission or before the courts. Considering that the companies have, at their disposal legal and engineering experts, then we realize what a slim chance the public stands in fighting its case. Victory, through the medium of the under staffed and financially half-starved Utility Commissions is very doubtful.

Canada Solves Power Problem

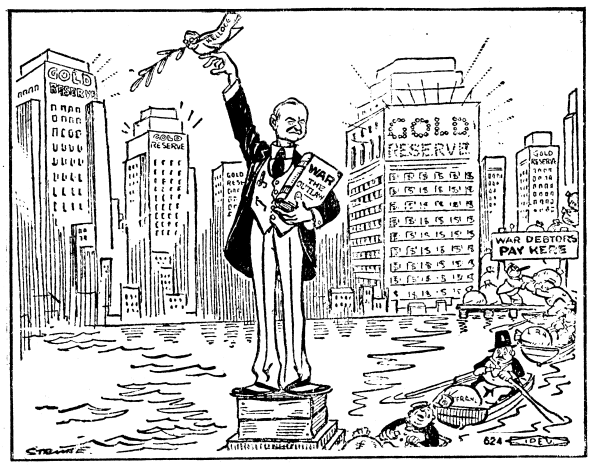
Power monopolies are organized on national and international lines. The people's control over the public utilities, however, is local, by individual states, organized on "borough" lines. Whenever some public spirited group dares to suggest legislation that will strengthen the hands of the people and the Utility Commissions, the highly paid agents of the Public Relations Committee of the National Electric Light Association and the legislative and "educational" committees of various companies began to put all their elaborate machinery into action, to exert their influence through the press and through politics, to defeat such an attempt.

The authors of "Power Control" believe that, in spite of the degrading effects of the power companies in the engineering profession, the United States still has people who will gladly give time, energy and talent in the service of the public. One is in sympathy with this idealistic belief. With engineers who will help develop our electric power for the benefit of the present public and for the generations to come, we will undoubtedly be able to evolve a system which will solve the power problem as it concerns the mass of the people. Canada has done it.

It has been a long time that a book has interested me as much as this one of Messrs. Raushenbush and Laidler. It is veritably stuffed with a mass of information. Every paragraph is backed by statistics and addresses made by leaders of the power industry. It is competently done. The authors, although their social outlook and philosophy declare for public ownership, have not jumped at conclusions. They have not based their ideas upon hearsay. Their book is well documented, scholarly written and scientific. At the same time it is written beautifully and sympathetically, with a feeling for the problems of the great mass of the people.

The authors feel that these are deprived of their natural resources and they attempt to stimulate among them an interest in the problem of how to regain their "captured provinces." Even statistics, which usually scare people, are, in this volume, made plain and readable by the authors' explanation of them. We wish millions might read this book and realize the problems it presents. They would then add their support to those who are putting up a fight for the right of people to enjoy the blessings of modern invention, as it affects electric power.

As Others See Us



European cartoonists seem to find considerable scope for taking gibes at our foreign policies. Strange as it may seem they do not accept Calvin's fine words at their face value. For instance, the DAILY EXPRESS (London) cartoonist shows Coolidge collecting gold as he sends forth his Peace Dove. Europe says he has war eagles in mind.

Further skepticism is shown by DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER which depicts the War God laughing at the Peace Gods. Briand and Coolidge pledge peace while they spend millions for battleships and war equipment.

Finally, a Swiss cartoonist in the NEBELSPALTER (Zurich) portrays Uncle Sam as the American Janus, one face smiling pacifically, the other scowling martially.

How long will the American workers stand for a policy that breeds hate and mistrust of this country abroad?

Ford's Flimflammery

Seeing Through Henry's Game

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

III.

ALL this speed-up of which I wrote last month tends to make the worker cease to think of himself as an individual; he, in his own mind, becomes just one number among 163,000 other numbers; in the din and roar of the presses his personality unconsciously fuses with them; his brains merge into the whirling wheels of the lathes; man and the machine are indistinguishable. They are one.

Mass production is possible only through minute subdivision of labor. In a capitalistic society that means drudgery and monotonous toil for the worker. In the Ford factories, paragon of capitalistic excellence, this has been so well worked out that the factory guides point it out with pride to the curious visitors. They point at a job where all that the man has to do is to take a piece of steel, put it in the machine, and then pull a lever. They show visitors men who do nothing all day long but look at the threads on screws. Even on the sweated line, they will gleefully tell you of how the workers have only to do one little operation all day long, for all the weeks and years that he will be with the company. "And," they say, "because the men don't have to think about their jobs, they can think for themselves about anything they may desire." Which is all right if the workers had ever been given a chance to think. Most of the workers have had little or no schooling; and those who have been fortunate enough to snatch a little learning have been unfortunate enough to have been educated under the same principle upon which the Ford factory is run: viz., absolute obedience and docility. They have never been taught to think; and they do not care to think. Thinking is hard work, and the worker gets enough hard work in the factory without wanting it voluntarily. All of which means that they get to like their monotonous jobs. Of course, the public never hear of those things when they read, "Several years ago an executive order that every man was to change his job every three months was put into effect. To the surprise of everybody this order was fiercely resisted by the majority of men on the so-called monotonous jobs." If we are to accept that statement at its face value—which is an extremely dangerous assumption with Ford publications—there are many explanations. In the first place, what man, thinker or not, when placed in this environment could continue to keep his mind straight? All men sooner or later fall into habits, and it is not to be expected that men who have never had a chance to think things out should demand changes in jobs, which would require quite a little mental effort. Even with those whose minds are ordinarily acute and keen, the machine routine takes its toll. One student in the Industrial Research Group in Detroit last summer, who was on a similar job in another factory, told me that after a time he simply could not settle down to read or to think. During the day he saw and heard nothing but machines; at night he wanted escape. Mind must bow to the machine!

Another reason why the men did not want to change jobs is rather naively stated by a superintendent, quoted by W. L. Chenery in the N. Y. Times, August 10, 1924: "We tried the experiment once of changing men from one machine to another. Most of them don't like it. Lots of fellows get to thinking that the machine belongs to them. Others hate to learn new things. *It is fortunate, because the jobs with variety in them are fewer than the monotonous ones.*" (Italics ours.) In other words, the workers were told that if they were not satisfied with what they had, there were plenty outside just begging to be satisfied.

That such a change would be welcome to quite a large number of the workers I have no doubt. The workers with whom I have spoken have been about equally divided on it—the older men not wanting change, the younger desiring it. Even with those opposed to it the proposition can be made attractive if you give them a say in how it's going to be worked out. You have noticed that it was by "executive order" that the Ford plan was initiated; evidently the workers were not important enough to be taken into consideration.

Feet of Clay

The argument that the worker becomes attached to his machine was given a cruel crack on the head by Ford's own actions in the summer of 1926. If the workers had ever cherished any such illusions they were speedily divested of them when Ford gave them all the gate. Really, up until that summer, the workers of Detroit had set up Henry as a little tin god, to whom the poor, forlorn workers could always run in times of stress and unemployment, and always get a job at five dollars a day. Dodge might close; Hudson might shut-down; even General Motors might lay off—but Henry Ford, never! It was something which was simply outside the compass of the worker's mind. It was a disaster as unthinkable as the end of the world. For had not Ford himself said that he was interested in the lives of his workers? That only when workers were well housed, well fed, and otherwise well taken care of, would they be efficient? Was it not written that he believed in paying five dollars a day because they could not be efficient on less than that; that his speed was only so fast because slackness would break down the worker's character? The workers of Detroit did not believe that Ford was closing down until their wages began toppling because there were so many Ford ex-workers clamoring for work outside the gates. One company manufacturing automobile bodies was able to pay 35 cents an hour for a job for which formerly they had paid 60 cents, so great was the rush for jobs. Then all the Ford myths were exploded. The sufficiency of the wages fable was

blown to pieces when the city Welfare Department, in explaining a $300,000 deficit in its budget, declared that it had taken nearly all this extra money to take care of the Ford unemployed. At the same time the Detroit Community Fund quota was raised, as were those of all other charity organizations. The grim figure of poverty stalked the Detroit streets that Christmas! Ford swept everyone out—"gold star" men, minor executives, long time workers. All went out when the Fords decided to have a new model. The worker realized rather bitterly that he is but a bubble on the industrial sea.

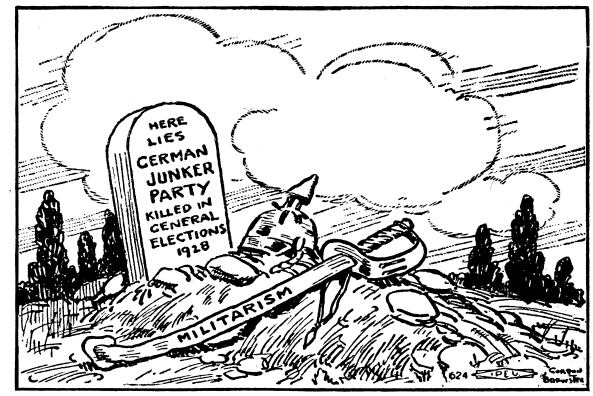
A Grandiose Gesture

In spite of that, many of the old time employees believed that when the plants reopened they would be given jobs. It was not a matter of thought so much as it was an article of faith. Accordingly, they failed to get the point of Ford's grandiloquent splurge to the newspapers that he was going to help solve the crime situation by removing idleness from the young men of the city. Idleness, said Ford, in effect, produces crime. Most criminals are young men. So, in order to save society, "I will see to it that 25,000 potential criminals are removed from the streets. I will give them jobs in my factories, thus effectually keeping them from crime." The press, of course, went into hysterics of praise; and made the worker feel that in Henry Ford society had at last found its messiah and savior. The plants opened. The young men, new and former employees, were taken on. The old men, the men whose hair had whitened in the service of Ford, were refused employment; even men who had been with the company for over ten years were told that there was no room for them. These old men were made to understand that they are nothing but old rusty tin cans on the garbage heap of society.

These workers, and other workers, unfortunately, did not read what Henry said to Paul Kellogg for publication in the February issue of the "Survey Graphic." This hypocrite-extraordinary blandly admitted that when men got into the rut of habit he had no further use for them. The old men, having become used to certain operations and certain speeds, could not adjust themselves to the new situation. New blood was needed.

Before I go on to speak about the results of such policies, let me refer to the five day week myth. Many people understand that the Ford workers get the same pay for five days' work as they formerly did for six. This is not so. If the worker puts out as much production in five days as he used to put out in six, he gets six days' pay but, as Ford himself says, "Not all employees are earning up to the full scale of wages. They never will." (Detroit News, February 12, 1928.) I would say that very few are making the increased rate of pay, but in spite of that, this incentive has been instrumental in spurring the workers to greater speed. For December 26, 1926: "It (the five day week) is satisfactory to us. We are getting a higher average efficiency than on the six-day basis." The five day week, introduced at a time when Ford did not have enough work for six days, is little more than an attempt to make respectable a simultaneous wage cut and speed up.

BURIED DEEP



The Irish Weekly (Independent, Dublin)

Like the Bourbons of old the Junkers of today can neither learn nor forget anything. In Germany they have been sent to the cemetery of lost causes and dead issues, to the rejoicing of intelligent workers throughout the world.

I am reminded that as yet I have said nothing about the wage scale at Ford's. It is stated that the minimum daily wage in the plants is five dollars for the first 2 months and six dollars after that, and that 60 per cent of the workers earn above that amount.

The High Wage Lie

This may appear to be a "satisfactory wage" to those who are not acquainted with the cost of living in Detroit and the unemployment that has existed there in recent years. The situation was summed up accurately by the Rev. Reinhold Niebohr, a Detroit clergyman, writing even before the great Ford lay-off in 1927:

"Outside of a few thousand highly skilled workers such as toolmakers, die-makers and pattern-makers, it is hardly possible to find a Ford worker who earned more than $1500 during the past year. . . . Years ago when the five dollar a day minimum was established, which meant 30 dollars a week, the Ford boast that an adequate wage obviated the necessity for charity was not an idle one. Today it is an idle boast, for living prices have well-nigh doubled and the weekly wage still hovers about thirty dollars . . . the actual wage is immeasurably lower than in 1913. . . . The statistics of practically every charity reveal not only a proportionate but frequently a disproportionate number of Ford workers who are the recipients of charity."

This situation was greatly intensified during the year 1927 when tens of thousands of workers were laid off without any unemployment insurance or company help of any kind to see them through the terrible emergency.

"Employees say that it is the Ford policy to eliminate salaried workers whenever possible and substitute men who work by the hour," says the New York Times of December 26, 1926. "These, in turn, are working under the spur of the five day week and higher pay." Drive the men until they drop; you can always get plenty of fresh ones!

From Shop To Top

Leaders Gone to Seed

By ED. FALKOWSKI

The following is a contribution to the discussion of Youth in the Labor movement.

POLITICS is the machinery by which all human institutions are controlled. Labor unions, politically, resemble the structure of any other institution which pretends to be democratic. But politics implies innevitable rule by the dominant group which succeeds in having its candidates elected to office. Too frequently these candidates are mere office-seekers, skillful in manipulating votes, clever in making personal bargains with internal factions, and able to parade their abundant egotism as a laudable virtue before the eyes of their constituents.

And too often the ordinary course of politics is too successful in keeping out that section of militants whose administration might actually inject new life into a decaying labor organization. Politics has so far, through the clumsiness of its imperfect mechanism, failed to express the needs of a special situation. The usual type of successful candidate is too absorbed in holding his office to give thorough consideration to the industrial issues looming before his organization.

Vote-getters, handshakers, cigar-distributors, agencies, oratorical gentlemen with sizeable paunches—these bloated and jovial types—march before one's eye at the suggestion of "labor leaders." Do they represent the rank and file? Do they study the current problems of their organization? Do they effectively discharge their functions? Not that the existing American labor movement knows much about!

"No Trespassing"

Yet why are these the very men whose lives rotate from office to office? With irritating regularity they win the elections— or count their opponents out. They drive progressive elements out of their unions. They censor the international journal. They endeavor to "personalize" the union—make it as big or as small as they themselves are. Whence comes this feeling that the union is a piece of real estate to be guarded with "no trespassing" signs—or "no fishing allowed?" Why do they not rather consider the union as a living organism, faced by the problems of adjustment, compelled to change its structure to meet changing environments—and therefore compelled to understand down to the smallest trend of change?

Instead we have the "normal" organization petrified into a solid chunk of cement. Its members are so many pebbles in the composition of a highly resistant mortar. Its leaders are splendid spokesmen for a dead cause. No one understands a situation after it is past better than a "labor leader." And few are dismally unaware of it while something can still be seasonably be done to meet the exigency. The gods had strange destinies for union organizations! They are equipped with blinkers, but no spectacles. The majority of leaders are losing their eyesight trying to distinguish friend from enemy in carrying out the absurd "non-partisan" political program of the A. F. of L.

Complacent Rank and File

By "rank and file" is meant the miscellaneous mass of workers whose totalling votes keep our "sane" leaders riding in power. The greater number of rank-and-filers are self-satisfied men of the "subsistence" type. Life is tolerable while butter still spreads on their slice, and a spare penny can be tucked away against bad weather. As long as paydays come with appreciable regularity and substantial envelopes, they defend their leaders even when their incompetence is surface-evident.

More progressive types muster up enough nerve on occasions to expose flaws in policy or administration. But they are in close sympathy with the officials, realizing that running a union is no sinecure.

The militant is all eyes for the missteps of his leaders. He is aggressive, challenging the intelligence of the administration whenever its curves of efficiency takes a notable sag. This type furnishes the Johnny Higginses of the organization—men who, while they kick abundantly, are willing to do personal work for their union. They serve on committees, sell dance tickets, try to carry out the policy of the organization.

Then there is the radical—the out-and-out opponent of the administration. No flyspeck of error, if committed by an official, is too microscopic to escape his verbose criticism. He is ready to expose the dishonesties of his leaders, to depreciate their good qualities as well; to demonstrate the "defeatism" of their program. Usually he has a program of his own up his sleeve, and is busy organizing a political faction which will tide his group into power.

Emotions still move the rank and file profoundly. Common people still become weepy when the town band plays the patriotic anthem, and an old judge, seeking reelection, wrings his handkerchief before them, pleading support. They are at bottom the same people who answered the drums and fifes that called them once to die for a cause that was only remotely theirs. Anxious to get out of the rut—to get off an a spree—to tear things. Revolution is synonomous with festivals and ballets of destruction. This social system, perhaps is built with a vengeance. Maybe every one has it in for the system he is helping to magnify, and would welcome opportunity to destroy it.

Used to Be Radicals

Young radicals usually swing into favor with the masses at certain moments. How many of the present office-holders in the unions have been worthy radicals in their day? Most have ably handled the vocabulary of

revolt, promising glowing tomorrows. On these glittering promissory notes they were elected. Then the tragedy!

Not only do these militant elements soon feel themselves "responsible"—growing old overnight, but after a few years they settle down to a mechanical routine which is the extreme opposite of their preliminary intentions. Furthermore their interest in political machines are discovered not to be so bad as long as they serve one's own purposes. The masses are discovered to be manipulatable. Other agitators who (probably learned from them, but never got into office) point dire fingers at them, and enumerate the number of cuspidors that are in their office. If the "tired radicals" have power enough, they find it convenient to warn these eloquent echoes from the past—to squelch them, even expel them.

So far the leader is now concerned, "his" revolution has already taken place—in his transition from shop to office. The flamy rhetoric of revolt sounds queer to him now. He wonders how people can be so foolish! He destroys the crimson-covered pamphlets that once nourished his hatred of economic injustice, burns up the "giddy" notions of his dramatic youth.

Good meals, Pullman trains, conferences, official clothes, power, summarizes briefly the other details of his mechanization. An abnormal life of travel, of late hours, of excessive smoking and drinking, change his views of responsibility. Progress gives way to a desire to "just keep going." Militancy fades away before the need to merely plug ahead. His own goal has been attained. The problem is now a political one: how to keep in office.

Rationalization

This urgent problem, recurring when it is time for the rank and file to "assert" itself, is the main one. Its solution is greatly furthered by his growing acquaintance with details. He knows the routine of his office, is familiar with legal processes, has successfully settled cases, has familiarized himself with bosses and their ways. In a certain way he has become proficient and fit for the job. Newcomers would have to start where he started. They would have to struggle up the same trail, and commit the same blunders. What could be gained by introducing new faces into office?

Added to this is the polish, velocity and efficiency of his poltical machine. He has dispensed favors. He has promised jobs. He has made concessions. His name has become popular, and his official successes have been noised through newspapers. His importance has been advertised, and his speeches have been made dramatically effective. His democratic ways simply add glamor to his aristocratic habits. The fact that he has taken on more bulk becomes bloated through too much eating, is a first class recommendation to the rank and file. They prefer leaders who resemble the exploiters.

Time is the artist that lends the finishing touches to his picture. He grows old and tyrranous. He mummifies into that curious comforming the typical "official." He does things only "officially" now. His organization which becomes "my union," is a private park in which he alone can operate.

This process of decay contiues until it becomes doubtful in the end whether the official will outlive the union, or the union outlive the official.

The old union official might be compared to an old star baseball batter whose home-runs won every game for his team. Now that he misses every ball, he feels he has the right to lose the game for his team rather than surrender his post to better players. "How do you know they're better?" he asks.

The longer the union leader remains in office, the harder it becomes to whip him politically, and the more important it becomes, too, that he be whipped. But it appears these two extremes have a difficult time to meet.

Centralization, the concentration of power in the hands of officials, gives them a tremendous start on competitors in any campaign. This concentration of power is unavoidable, since power must focus at some point, and officials have most use for it. Cetralization, unrestricted, powerful enough to lift itself beyond criticism at the expense of the membership, is a threat of democracy within the unions, while it may, externally at least, present a more formidable challenge to the employers.

Need for An Opposition

But democracy within the ranks is no trifling issue, and recent efforts to steamroll it out the union is a poor solution to an imminent problem. Probably the only solution lies in the legitimization of an opposition as a constant factor in the internal life of the union. As challenger, prophylactic, energizer, stimulant, an opposition movement is vitally necessary if the unions are not to die of dry rot.

The problems of unions existing on traditions, of stiffening against changes, of failing to meet the questions of the hour, will become serious enough to threaten the extinction of all existing unions, unless some immediate steps are taken to vitalize the movement, and build up a morale.

The difficulties of office administration have been rehearsed. Official duties—correspondence, auditing dues, etc.—take up considerable time. But clerks, office-girls and messenger boys can tend to that routine. It is deplorable that a union leader should scab on a bookkeeper or a messenger boy.

The problem of the leadership is that of adjusting the organization to change. This cannot be done by one who has lost the power of self-adjustment to change. Yet it is assumed that an unchangeable leader can make an organization reflect the changes that take place in its industry. An absurd notion! Are not most organizations going through an ostrich-stunt of meeting a situation by avoiding it? They remind one of those clever generals during the war whose blunders resulting in shameful retreats were harmlessly reported to the public as busy "conducting a strategic movement to the rear."

It is common to hear opposition challenged on grounds of incompetence. But no incompetence exists anywhere, outside of labor organizations, at such substantial rates of pay. No where else is it possible to make a miserable both of one's job, and yet draw a very fat salary for doing it! Without morale, without youth, without spirit, without solidarity, nothing to show—yet they talk of Labor movement, etc.! It is to laugh!

The Mind of the Woman Worker

Psychological Facts Involved in Woman Labor

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

MODERN industry uses women in the working class and not in the directing and owning class. This is largely the consequence of their age-long unequal status. It is, therefore, worth observing what psychological facts are involved in the industrial activities of women.

As a general rule, women workers have only a very vague knowledge, or perhaps no knowledge at all, of any meaning or purpose in their industrial work, which usually is merely the monotonous repetition of one tiny link in a subdivided process. But in this respect, as in many others, the World War wrought a momentous change. At present the ever increasing part played by woman in industrial life places her in a position that is both novel and enormously important.

Women in Modern Industry

One of the characteristics of the last century is a constantly increasing division of labor, coupled with a specializing of processes and a general mechanization. Now, modern industry, mechanical appliances, and mass production have deprived woman of very important fields of work, such as spinning, weaving and sewing. Yet she has regained them, at any rate in part, by independently entering many branches of industry. This is due mainly to the fact that the technical mechanization of a great part of modern production is based on a monotonous repetition of small movements which seldom demand strength or reflection. Therefore, they either suit her nature better than man's or can be performed more cheaply by her, chiefly on account of her fewer physical and psychical needs.

Owing, then, to her special qualities, woman is better fitted than man to become a link in the mechanized methods of industrial production. These methods, to begin with, demand a great quantity of cheap and not very expert labor, in which the main thing is attention to detail and monotonous repitition of movements. Generally speaking, repetitive movements entail no great exertion and eliminate independent reflection or strong initiative. Into such employments, accordingly, woman has swarmed by the thousand. In fact, "efficiency engineers," realistically-practical and not over-humane persons that they are, have come to believe that woman of average gifts becomes, by her nature, a part of a machine easier than the average man does.

Now, before the World War, work for young women was regarded as a "meanwhile" employment before marriage. Work for older women was considered a means of eking out their husband's wages. Within the past decade, however, the woman industrial worker, thanks to many circumstances produced by the war, found herself suddenly a person of generally recognized importance.

Some Characteristics of Woman Labor

To sum up the previous reasoning: a large section of industrial work is for technical and financial reasons (small wages, etc.) peculiarly the sphere of women. In the most general terms this section may be described as simple repetitional processes, such as stamped metal work or cigarette packing. Now, these processes have dehumanizing or devitalizing effects, not simply because of the monotony, but also because of the exhaustion of nervous attention which follows in their wake.

Much as the machine dominates the man by the monotony of its rhythms and may thus dehumanize him, that is, under him a living automaton, still more is the machine likely to hurt the woman. The greater part of industrial organization is based upon what may be called man requirements. But the cycles and changes in the life of a woman are more clearly defined, and in some ways quite different from those of man. They influence woman's mental and muscular efficiency and condition her functional (biologically normal) activity in general. It follows from this that continuous work at the same pressure, which may not hurt a man, may hurt a woman.

Another set of distinctive features of woman labor springs from the fact that so many women enter industrial work as a temporary occupation which they expect to give up for matrimony. Again, the care of the household is still regarded as their normal and proper function. Therefore, there is much less opportunity and inducement for organization among women than among men. This alone constitutes a justification for the exercise of state control, through the rules and machinery of labor legislation, which in the case of men may be absent or confined to particular employments.

Well then, unmistakable portents show that in our days girl workers are greatly in demand. They are the most pliable and adaptable class of female operatives. Still, it is an undeniable fact that cases of gross underpayment are rampant. In a word, the plight of women workers throws into high relief the most heart-breaking irony of our profit-hunting industrial civilization, namely: the contrast between the boundless capacity of man to increase production by the use of machinery, and his incompetence, down to this very day, to turn the increase of productive power to his own happiness and the common good.

The Woman Worker's Outlook

When all is said, the mental outlook of women in industry, compared with that of men, includes much more deeply felt strain. The pressure on them is greater, the power of resistance and initiative smaller. Neither the compulsory grouping nor the weird uncertainties of wage-earners weigh so deeply upon industrial women workers as the routine and the urgency of the industrial system. In the good old days, on the other

WAITING IN VAIN

The farmers are portrayed in the Omaha World-Herald as "waiting at the church". The Democratic party, we are sure, will prove no more trustworthy a groom.

hand, woman's industry was in the home. But as things are now, for most of the working women industry must be carried on out of home or not at all. Yet, as a matter of common experience, the road of the industrial workers' progress leads through association, that is to say, through a virile and aspiring trade unionism.

Now, the strongest emotional force in the world, the woman's readiness to self-sacrifice for the sake of her offspring and her next-of-kin, makes her pitifully weak in face of the vast problems of modern life in industrial surroundings. The industrial woman competes with her fellow workers, because family instinct tells her to. Reason, on the other hand, telling her to combine, to enter a trade union, is a cold counsellor for whom she has but a deaf ear. Still, all the problems of our intricate industrial civilization can only be solved through communal and co-operative action or not at all.

Thus the task that lies before the organizer of women's unions is difficult, though not hopeless. It consists in awakening the instinctive feelings of woman on the side of solidarity with her fellows. Unfortunately, the stores of experience and tradition that are accumulated in the working-woman's memory and her impulses are of a kind different from the calls made upon her by modern industrial work. As a result, a new loyalty has to be evoked, a loyalty to other women, to other women's husbands, to other women's children. Isolation is nothing but selfishness.

For the labor movement as a whole, the final success turns, more than in regard to any other single factor, upon a faithful comradeship to be evolved in hosts of hard-working men and women. Strangers to each other though they may appear, they are linked to one another by bonds of their common toil and destiny.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

IV.—The Year-Books

IT it amazing how even experienced research workers overlook one of the handiest sources of information. It is so obvious that they put it out of their minds at once and go hunting in less accessible places. For example, one person who should have known better, asked the writer where to locate quickly the essential provisions of the Federal income tax law. Another wanted to know the mileage of the telephone wires operated by the British Post Office. Still another wanted to review briefly the history of the United Mine Workers just after the World War. Now, it is quite possible to find the sought information in a long, round-about way or in official publications not within one's reach. Probably the data would then be authoritative and, hence, more reliable, but when one's purpose is simply to find a few simple facts and then go on to more important things in life, not to speak of making one's regular living, a dependable short-cut method is more than welcome. Thus, the income tax provisions can be found in the "World Almanac", the extent of government-owned telegraph wires in Great Britain in the "Statesman's Year-Book", and the post-war history of the miners in the "American Labor Year Book" for the various years desired. It is the purpose of this article to introduce the readers to some of the leading year-books in the field, pointing out their characteristics and usefulness.

The "World Almanac" is probably the best all-around year-book on the market. If the writer were asked what reference book the research worker should first acquire in building up a home or office library, he would unhesitatingly name the "World Almanac". It is a book of about nine hundred pages printed in small yet readable type. It contains tables as well as text. An adequate idea of its contents cannot be conveyed in a short description such as this nor perhaps in any kind of a description. It has to be handled to be appreciated. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it contains not only material of a more serious character but such lighter stuff as the lives of the presidents and their wives, church holidays, memorable dates, and sporting records. One of the most important sections is entitled "Foreign Countries." For more than one hundred pages the nations of the world are taken up, geographically, historically, economically, politically and socially. Statistics are bountiful. This portion of the book is a marvel of compactness.

In order to use the "World Almanac" you turn to the table of contents and, even more important, to the extensive and detailed index on the following pages. These come after the advertisements which occupy the first hundred pages. The numbering of the pages begins all over again with the "Almanac" proper. It is no exaggeration to say that one can sit for hours reading the book under discussion and not tire of it. "The World Almanac" can be bought at any bookseller's or from the New York World, 53 Park Row, New York, N. Y., for fifty cents. It is now in its forty-third year of publication, so that when one can pick up old copies of the "Almanac " it is worth-while adding them to one's library for reference purposes. At any rate keep those you buy from year to year. They are of constant use. Of course, every library has the "World Almanac" on file.

The "Statesman's Year-Book" has been published in London, England, since 1864. After few preliminary tables on world statistics, the countries of the world are taken up in alphabetical order, except that the British Empire comes first and the United States next. There are a table of contents preceding the text and an index of more than a hundred and fifty pages at the end. The volume contains in excess of fifteen hundred pages and, therefore, is exceedingly necessary as a ready reference book to detailed information about the countries of the world, especially those in the British Empire.

The "Statistical Abstract of the United States" is compiled by the United States Department of Commerce. It may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for one dollar. The last volume, that for 1926, is the forty-ninth to be published. It contains about eight hundred pages of statistics, chiefly from governmental sources. Next to the "World Almanac" it is the handiest single volume. It only contains figures but these are always accompanied by a note as to where the information comes from, so that the research worker who seeks further data can know where to look for more material.

The "Commerce Yearbook," also put out by the United States Department of Commerce, gives current business statistics with explanatory paragraphs to cover recent developments in various industries. The last issue, the fifth, dated 1926 is in two volumes, one for the United States, the other for foreign countries.

The "American Labor Year Book" is the indispensible equipment of every research worker in labor problems. Since 1916 it has been summarizing every year the occurrences in the labor movement and those affecting it. This year's issue is an exception. It is devoted to labor political issues in consequence of the presidential campaign. Current and back numbers of the "American Labor Year Book" can be secured from the Labor Research Department, Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Labour Year Book is the corresponding publication in Great Britain. It also began in 1916.

For Your Own Research

See what each of the year books described above contains about your particular industry or craft.

Flashes from the Labor World

Pullman Porters Postpone Battle

Deeper trenches, more ammunition, bigger guns! That, and not retreat, is the order of the day for union sleeping car porters, who poised on the brink of open attack for rights of recognition, better wages and human working hours. Pullman had crowded railroad terminals with strikebreakers; tens of thousands of Negroes were unemployed, their conditions even more serious than among workless whites; President Green at the 11th hour had recommended a new campaign of public enlightenment. So the union postponed the zero hour, to strike when Pullman is unprepared. Don't be surprised to read some fine morning soon that the strike has been ordered, and Pullman porters are battling in the vanguard of a memorable struggle for the Negro workers of America.

* * *

With contempt, a niggardly Massachusetts legislature threw a dry bone of legislation at aged workers. Both houses, sitting under the "dirty golden dome" passed a mockery of an old age pensions law providing a public bequest fund into which the kindly rich can dump surplus funds to salve uneasy consciences. When this fund reaches $500,000—if ever—the interest becomes available for the penniless aged. This interest would give each old worker 35 cents a year! A miserable gesture of a wealthy state, comments the Old Age Security Assn.!

* * *

Rich America! Workers in rags! Wealthy anthracite companies, undivided profits soaring through the millions. Treverton, a hard coal patch, where women walk without shoes and babies cry for milk. The Philadelphia & Reading colliery at Treverton has been closed a year, the workers are hungry, the community penniless, writes Ed. Falkowski, miner-Brookwood graduate, for Federated Press. Why don't the miners get jobs elsewhere, you ask. Don't ask the miner. There are no jobs to be bought anywhere in the anthracite. The only job in Treverton is the job for charity workers, who draw a screen about actual starvation. Milk comes three times a week for Treverton's babies while miner union officials plead with the Philadelphia & Reading to equalize work among their collieries so that Treverton men can get in at least a few days a week.

* * *

"Last winter in Portland hundreds of little boys and girls were obliged to go to bed without their supper and to a cold room, because there was no money to buy either food or fuel." No agitator said that, but the next governor of Maine. He followed up with a bitter denunciation of textile and shoe bosses. They fight tooth and toenail against the 48-hour law for women, he told the Maine Federation of Labor, but they're not operating 36 hours a week. They cry about the cotton mills moving down to the cotton belt, but they don't do a thing to bring rayon mills up into the real rayon belt—near Maine's great forests.

* * *

New Bedford's textile unionists pull up another notch in the belt and say "We'll stick." Ten weeks have rolled by since 27,000 workers struck in the cotton mills but not a mill is operating yet and the strikers say they've just begun to fight. From Idaho, California, Pennsylvania, from Salem, Plymouth, Quincy and Worcester comes checks and food. Trade unionists are rallying to the call of the Textile Council. Money means that these workers will not have to accept the insolent fiat of William M. Butler and his mill boss companions that their standards of living must be cut 10 per cent. Greater even than the might of the chairman of the national Republican committee is the might of labor—when it acts.

* * *

Reading, Pa. trade unionists have a trick to show you. A trick with a calliope a-singing down the main stem, unionists soap boxing, wives and children scattering union leaflets on every doorstep. Who ever heard of such revivalism in these days when Gen. Apathy is said to be commander? Jim Maurer, Socialist councilman, is back of the drive. Shout and sing, he said, make a noise, let people know you're alive. Wave your arms, even if it is undignified. Get down off your high horse and put the same enthusiasm into the old fight that the boys of the '70s and '80s did when the American Federation of Labor unions were founded. Now Reading, low wage center, knows what unionism is and organization work is going to hum.

* * *

Naked tyranny, sanctified by bebenched black robes, killed the Seattle high school teachers union. The school board by mere ukase ordered teachers to sign yellow dog contracts renouncing their own American Federation of Teachers union. The state supreme court, creature of lumber barons and industrialists, upheld the yellow dog. Teachers, resentful, angry, bitter, will fight for their union through the Central Labor Council by seeking to defeat reactionary school board members as they come up for re-election.

* * *

Boston Central Labor Union followed up Kansas' Federation of Labor by notifying the Red Cross not to panhandle workers any more. Red Cross' shameful refusal to help starving miners' kids in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kansas and elsewhere is curing the labor movement of any sentimental regard for this expensive charity. Let employers, whom the Red Cross serves, support it.

* * *

If a bitterly anti-union millionaire endows a university, will it be fair to labor? Kindergartners will give you the correct answer the first time. Art Shields, Federated Press correspondent looking into Dixie for the labor press, reports that $100,000,000 Duke University, at Durham, N. C. has thrown out all union craftsmen and will build its huge plant with non-union labor and a non-union wage. Duke University's income is derived from the sale of nature's own water power through the Southern Power Co. to hundreds of cotton mills and other industries in the Carolina Piedmont.

This department was prepared by Harvey O'Connor, New York representative of the Federated Press.

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.

FOR A NEW OFFENSIVE

Signs That Cannot Be Misread

JOHN FREY, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. adds his name to the growing list of those who find fault with the present labor movement. At the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor convention, he severely scores the movement for its lack of spirit.

We believe that such remarks are now regarded as thoroughly well-founded. The only question is: What is the remedy? Certainly, there was never greater need than the present for a forceful, fighting labor advance. Wall Street waxes fat and frolicsome, while hordes of men cannot find work. The number of workers in this industry and that constantly decreases, and the wage payroll is cut with each decrease. But production is ever soaring.

This will continue to go on—as it is going on at Akron, for instance, among the rubber workers—until the American Federation of Labor ceases to be craft-conscious. Or, until a new movement arises on the outskirts of the A. F. of L., industrial in form and anti-company union in principle. This latter alternative is one that is most disconcerting to consider. It would mean a disunited movement, with the skilled workers separated from the unskilled. It would have an element of tragedy in it, from which working class America might not recover for some time.

Signs are not wanting that there is a volcano of unrest beneath the smiling mountain of company unionism and Welfare-ism. The Tide-water Oil revolt may be overestimated. The men merely struck through their company union. And yet, they struck industrially—and they won. It is regrettable that the seeds had not been sown for their entry into the American Federation of Labor. Had that been done, they would not now be wandering about in the desert of half-and-half: half-real-union through their assessment for another emergency and half-company-union in their hesitancy to join the wider ranks of the organized.

We suggest that the oil workers—now in a decidedly basic industry—the automobile workers, and the rubber workers be given more immediate consideration than they are receiving. A victorious war in either field would do much to raise the spirit of the Movement.

We suggest that there is one way only that they can be successfully won to the standard of workers' freedom. That is through clear-cut industrial unionism. Beyond that, what the workers want is Power. What creates the depression of spirit in the Movement is the lack of confidence in ourselves. As long as the horizon of Labor's thoughts is limited by the craft-idea, we cannot think of Power. We can only think of nibbling here and nibbling there. There is no assurance of success about the whole business.

The merger upon merger of the big interests warns us of what we ourselves must be up to. The age of the petty industry has passed. In the basic industries, at least, the day of the craft union has also gone. A new labor offensive is demanded—based on this new realization of reality.

In Other Lands

BRITISH LABOR PARTY'S REVOLT

Maxton and Cook Issue Manifesto

A BOMBSHELL was thrown into the ranks of the British Labor Party ten days ago by James Maxton, leader of the Independent Labor Party, the socialist group within the Labor Party that was founded by Keir Hardie, in the form of a call for a revolt against the Fabian and conservative tactics of MacDonald and his fellow members on the executive committee. Maxton, who is also one of the editors of the New Leader, the Left Wing organ of the Labor Party, is supported by A. J. Cook, the leader of the miners, and one of the men who was responsible for the general strike. This gives a militant and an economic touch to the manifesto issued by Maxton. Like all the radical leaders in Britain Maxton is bitterly opposed to the new orientation of the economic and political platforms and tactics of the labor movement. He wants the class war principles nailed to the mast and like Nelson at Trafalgar says England (that is the revolutionary movement) expects every man to do his duty. The conference of the labor leaders and trade union officers with the industrialists headed by Sir Alfred Mond in which many of the methods and practices of our American Civic Federation were resorted to, with a dilution of the things labor fought and battled for during the past thirty years has been bitterly resented. The feeling exists that the Labor Party of late has been growing more and more like the Liberal Party, and that many of its leaders have been acting on questions like Egypt and India and China much the same as the Liberal and Tory statesmen of the old school. This has galled the veterans who built up the party and maintained the revolutionary tradition of the British working class. They also state with a certain show of reason that the conservative tendencies and the new departure have not aided them much, especially in the matter of the unemployed and other domestic problems.

Maxton and Cook have asked that conferences or local conventions be held throughout England, Wales and Scotland at which men with the spirit of the pioneers who have a new outlook and who are opposed to making peace with capitalism or shaking hands with international murder.

The call for a series of conferences throughout Britain by Maxton and Cook may be the curtain raiser to the long threatened split in the Labor Party. For a long time the I. L. P. has been chafing under the rule of the Right Wing but fearing to play into the hands of the Communists it refrained from serious action. Now that the Communists are out of the Labor Party with no chance of getting back for two years the Independent Labor Party leaders feel a call to arms is necessary to prevent further movements to the Right. Should there be a split, which all hope to avoid, Snowden and Thomas are likely to be the leaders that will move to the Right and into the Liberal fold. MacDonald would then be the leader of a Centist group, with the I. L. P. on the Left.

The old Britain that the world loves and admires came to the fore lately in a series of protests against the police for their brutal treatment of Miss Savidge and others who were arrested and subject to persecution on flimsy charges. The House of Commons was thrilled as it has not been in a generation by eloquent pleas of members of all parties, though the chief men were of the Labor Party, to get back to their ancient rights and liberties and stop once and for all the abuses and misuse of police power. Unlike our way of doing things in the United States there were not alone protests but the victims of police brutality were given substantial compensation for the injuries inflicted on them.

STABILIZING THE FRANC

The game of stabilizing the franc is being played by Poincare and his aides, and they seem to have profited by the mistakes of Churchill, Mussolini and others who revived the gold standard at the expense of the middle class and the workers. To put the franc back to pre-war parity would mean scarce money, speculation and unemployment. By keeping the money cheap while paying gold for goods imported the French are able to keep their factories operating, their reconstruction work going and unemployment at the lowest peg—lower than the United States and any European country. It also attracts visitors because of the exchange, which eventually means more gold in the coffers of the bourgeoisie.

In the recent general elections the Communists double-crossed the Socialists in the second ballotting. It was agreed between the two parties that they would work for each oher's candidates where they had a chance to win. The Socialists kept their word and voted for the Communists, but the ultra reds, said to be on orders from Moscow, knifed the Socialists and voted only for their own candidates. This, according to Jean Lonquet, accounts for the light socialist vote in the second ballot. The Socialists despite the Communist "treachery" increas-

ed their power in the Chamber of Deputies. One of their most brilliant leaders, Fernand Bouisson, was elected President or Speaker of the Chamber over Franklin Bouillion, one of the best known and the ablest of the putocratic party men.

FASCIST MISCHIEF MAKING

While Mussolini is preaching peace his agents in Albania and Jugo-Slavia are busy stirring up trouble. Albania, through the rawest kind of bribery of its state officials, is now an Italian protectorate although legally it is an independent state and a member of the League of Nations. Assassinations of a political character are numerous and look as if they were prompted from Italy. The shooting of the agrarian deputies in Belgrade while having the appearance of an internal feud may be traced to anti-Slav elements. An international reaction is bound to occur, as the French are pledged to support the two Slav nations as well as to be friendly to Roumania. This offsets the alliance between Italy and Hungary. All in all the Fascisti are the cause of more trouble in south-eastern Europe than all other factors combined. Fascisti trade union leaders were seated at the League of Nations assembly over the protests of delegates from the unions of other countries. This means that delegates from certain countries of autocratic tendencies represent their governments as much as they do their organizations—a new and dangerous trend in trade unionism and an abandonment of class policies for precarious and dubious nationalism.

ASIATIC ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLOC

King Ammanullah of Afghanistan acting on the promptings of Soviet Russia, through a series of treaties with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and they in turn with Russia, has completed the forgings of an anti-imperialistic bloc in Eastern Asia that bars the British Red route to India. It also gives the states of the Near East and Central Asia protection as well as maintaining a solid buffer between Russia and the imperialist powers of Europe. The Soviet with the Turks, Persians and Afghans have gained a great diplomatic victory as well as ensuring their political and economic independence.

RECOVERING GERMANY

Forecasts indicating no serious changes in the politics of the Reich following the triumph of the Socialists have been made and though the new cabinet as we write is not formed, Stresemann, if he is willing to serve, can continue as Foreign Secretary. The Socialists, pledged as they are to peace, retrenchment and constructive reform, feel in the domain of international diplomacy that Stresemann, is the best man for the job, and the work done by him in patching up a peace with France must be continued elsewhere and not interrupted, as it would be if the office were give to another man. It also is an admission that the German Socialists while excellent in their handling of internal economic problems have not as yet developed men with capacity to meet the Briands and the Chamberlains of Europe in diplomatic conferences where the highest order of finesse is used.

The mystery of the attack on the Italian Embassy in Berlin has not been solved. It, however, revealed that

THE CHINESE SWEEP

As Hanny in the Philadelphia inquirer sees the Nationalist victory. Republican China has done a fine job in routing the imperial reactionists out of her way.

Fascism is not wanted in Germany, romantic Bavarians and Chauvinistic Prussians to the contrary notwithstanding. Peace and international good will is the order of the day. German industry and trade seem to prosper in spite of the big demands made on them by the Reparations Commissions. Parker Gilbert, the United States Representative, says Germany can keep up the payments without serious injury to its economic agencies and forces. The trade unions of the Reich do not hold with the industrial magnates in the matter of payment to the victor nations in the World War. They charge that while it is true reparation payments come out of the profits of trade industry and business, the workers must and do bear the brunt of the tax levied by Commissioner Gilbert in the interest of the Allied victor powers.

Returning Americans, particularly naval and military officers, are amazed at the recovery of Germany. They state there are more causes for another war now than at any time in the past twenty years due primarily to the unfairness of the peace treaties, the growth of the populations of Germany and Italy and the decrease in the population of France. The unity of Austria and the Reich is feared by both Italy and France, yet it is bound to come as the former is no longer a real political or economic entity. It can not sustain itself with the hinterland that is divided between the new states. All German states resent the brutal treatment of the Tyroiese by the Fascisti. This alone would cause another war without considering the other Balkan tsates. The Socialist government of Germany will be the one force for peace in Central Europe.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN

"Say It With Books"

THE "AMERICANIZATION" OF LABOR

As Things Are—and As They Might Be

IN less than a generation, our American baronial class has risen to the highest seats of world power. By 1912, our national wealth was already greater than that of any other land—and it was coming more and more into fewer and fewer hands.

At the end of the war, but one thing lay between the American employers and complete economic domination. That was the American worker. To subjugate him and reduce him to the state in which he now generally finds himself, became a necessity in the eyes of those who had become the wealth masters of the world.

Thereupon there was launched the renewed "Open Shop Drive", the myriad "welfare' schemes, the company unions, the extension of genteel labor spying, the propagation of personnel courtiers and all the rest of the claptrap that spells industrial slavery in 1928.

The background of this many-headed movement, with one object in view, is well described by Scott Nearing in his introduction to Robert W. Dunn's book on THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR.* And what happened thereafter and what is still happening is recited in his usual able manner by the author himself in his 270 pages.

It is astounding what a wealth of information Mr. Dunn has compacted into this brief space. We might call it a little Odyssey of American Wage Slavery. For the volume travels along the entire road of the employers' devices to bind fast the worker—to the greater profit of the employers themselves.

We are introduced to the multitude of virile associations which support the "open shop" interests and drive home the "open shop" shackles. We secure a view of the ramifications which make these associations, net-worked through the country, the powerful factors in economic and political life that they are. We learn all too well that the employers believe in organization—and practise it.

In this extensive anti-union campaign, the professional labor spy agencies have been enlarged and "refined". The Sherman Service and the Corporations Auxiliary lead the list, but they are hard pressed by less conspicuous rivals. These agencies, found in no other country, have veneered their vicious practises with the high-falutin' phrases of the growing personnel profession. "Engineering" has become their own favorite term for their underground activities.

"Welfare" schemes abound in a maze of varying forms that would startle and confuse the uninitiated. In one instance, we are told, non-union molders eat their lunches in "a specially constructed rose garden equipped with canaries in cages." A number of clubs are formed which imitate the "higher clawses"—Greek letter fraternities, golf clubs with courses and clubhouses, etc., etc. "A Dean of Women" is provided by one company to supervise the work and play of the girls in its employ.

Perhaps the most valuable chapters in the book are those on "Employee Stock Ownership" and "Insurance and Pensions". The employee stock ownership and diffusive ownership plans are shown to be pretty schemes to get us "coming and going". After all the hosannas over the "generosity" of American Employerdom on this head, it is rather amusing to note again that 4 per cent of the stockholders of the nation own 75 per cent of the stock, while 53 per cent of the stockholders own 4 per cent of the stock. The diffusion of stock, widely scattered, also allows the stock manipulators to control thousands of dollars in investments with but a small percentage of investment on their own part. As to the industrial pension granted by employers: it has been openly used to intimidate men into subserviency, and has neither the stability nor the merit of the old age pension by legislation.

Beneath all these fine "gifts" of Employerdom to the workers there lie, therefore, underground purposes as manifold as the secrets hidden by Jean Valjean's garden. They are designed to shackle the workers, to threaten them and to distract them with a new form of "bread and the circus". Broadcasting by labor, in every community, of the many facts that Mr. Dunn has brought out to confirm this charge is needed and badly needed.

Organizing the unorganized—aggressive industrial unionism—permanent and effective legislation through a labor party. These are the steps suggested by the author as the answer to "the leaderless, exploited, isolated" condition in which the non-union workers find themselves today. They are the steps which, we believe, will lead the majority of our workers out of the veneered economic slavery into which they have fallen.

L. F. B.

*International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. $1.95.

SHAW AS SOCIALIST ADVOCATE

The Intelligent Women's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism. Bernard Shaw. N. Y.: Brentano. 1928. 410 pp.

IN truly Shavian style, Bernard Shaw, the world's foremost dramatist, as a result of six years of intermittent writing, has produced, at the age of seventy-one, one of the most brilliantly written expositions of socialism ever penned. The book brings to the reader little that is new in socialist theory or practice, but it brings to the field of political and economic discussion a pen so trenchant and examples of capitalist and socialist practice so pertinent as to clothe the old truths or fallacies, according to one's point of view, with new and sparkling life.

Shaw dedicates the book, as the title indicates, to the intelligent woman, on the ground that the average man thinks that he knows everything that needs to be known regarding social and economic problems and results being preached at, but that he has no objection to any amount of lecturing of his wife.

The book begins by analyzing the present incentives in society and the kinds of remuneration which is advocated as the best way of inducing workers by hand and brain to produce the nation's wealth. Some people feel that people should get what they can grab; others, that the common people should get what they need to live upon and that the rest should go to the plutocracy, while others argue for compensation according to deed, according to need and for the principle of equality.

Bernard Shaw believes in the last form. All should share alike. It is this conclusion, reached by him by a process of elimination, which seems to the reviewer to be the weakest portion of the book. The inequality that is found at the present time is absolutely indefensible. It is based not on merit or productivity primarily, but upon the ownership of the necessities of life. Under a cooperative system there will be a far greater approximation to equality. But for decades there will probably be some gradation in compensation, dependent upon one's ability and upon the relative needs in industry for workers.

The principles of compensation according to need, according to deed, and the equality principle can all be defended on high ethical grounds. The form resorted to under a cooperative commonwealth, however, will be determined not by any principle of abstract ethics, but by the concrete needs of the situation. The criterion will be what form of compensation at any period of evolution and and in any industry will produce the best social results, and socialists cannot afford to dogmatize too greatly on the exact form that remuneration of the workers will take. In fact Shaw himself departs at times from his principle of abstract equality, when, for instance, he urges that those working at disagreeable tasks be required to labor fewer hours than those engaged in more agreeable occupations.

But though we might disagree with Shaw at various points we are of the belief that here is a book that should be read by all who are interested in the labor movement as students or as participants. It paints in words of fire the wastes and injustice of things as they are, and presents a vision of a nobler and freer society toward which humanity is gradually advancing.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Machine-Gun Diplomacy, by J. A. H. Hopkins and Melinda Alexander, Louis Copeland Co. $2.50.

SINCE the Pan-American Conference at Havana in January Charles Evans Hughes, Calvin Coolidge and their kind have been telling us how much Uncle Sam loves his "neighbors" in Central and South America. We (the foreign investing class and their agents—Hughes, Coolidge, Kellogg) have the most kindly feelings for these brethren in Latin America. We have always treated them in a Christian spirit. The Monroe Doctrine is a cordial bond of sympathy drawing us all in the bonds of "self-government". And so on—hypocrisy, knowing no bounds.

If the innocent reader of LABOR AGE has been gassed by these pious sentiments let him pick up "Machine-Gun Diplomacy'. It will help him regain consciousness and sanity.

Here is the story of Wall Street's relations with Mexico, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Santo Domingo, the Philippines. News reports coming from these countries through the daily press cannot be understood without some such book as this as a background. "Dollar Diplomacy", by Nearing and Freeman did the job much more thoroughly and scientifically. The Vanguard's new dollar series deals with particular countries. Moon and Lenin have described the way imperialism works at different periods and in various countries. The volume under review is, however, a good primer for those who have not yet begun to make themselves, as the Russians say, "politically literate" in this field.

The authors make no claim to originality. They have simply selected quotations from sources that are authoritative and have presented the stories of America's imperialistic advance as told by eye witnesses and first-hand investigators. For example we have Dr. Ernest Gruening's story of the conquest of Haiti as he told it to a Senate Committee, and the relation of the bankers to Nicaragua is described by T. Tijerino, a former Nicaraguan fiscal agent.

Today in Nicaragua we find war—a cold and calculated enterprise carried on by the Empire of the North against the patriots of a tiny republic. Dozens of marines have been killed, and hundreds of Nicaraguans who are fighting for their country against the most ruthless imperialist power on earth.

Mr. Hughes calls this war friendly "interposition" but Mr. Coolidge in a moment when he was off his guard let the cat quite out of the bag. He said:

"We must guarantee rights to build the canal across Nicaragua even **if necessary against the will of the Nicaaraguan people,** because Central America and the Nicaragua Canal will represent for us with our **expanding interests and trade** as a center, a necessary protection across the **trade routes** between Atlantic and Pacific.' (Bold not in original).

Those who read this book will wonder what they can do about it. Such an organization as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League is the sort of body one can back. The facts laid bare in this volume constitute a challenge to workers who hate imperialism.

ROBERT W. DUNN.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT

Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution, by Maurice Dobb. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1928, 413 pp., 5.00.

THE Russian Revolution is generally recognized as the greatest social and economic experiment. The very foundation of modern economics have been uprooted in the land of the Soviets and a new social order is being built. All the economic conceptions on which we have been raised have been challenged if not actually replaced by new economics which we have been taught to consider impossible. Can economic life go on and progress without the incentive of private property and private profit? Would it be possible under public ownership of all means of production to accumulate new capital? Would people exert themselves, would they make any effort to increase their productivity, to improve methods of production, to invent new labor-saving devices, if they knew that they would have to share all the benefits derived from such improvements with all the rest of the community who did not directly participate in their special effort? Is so-called human nature which is presumably selfish, individualistic and bent on private gains really as unchangeable as we have been made to believe? Is the Russian experiment, as a writer in the last issue of the American Federationist believes, merely an "experiment in perfection" which "is passing away and will leave hardly a trace," or is it the beginning of a new stage in the development of mankind?

There are very few books dealing with the Russian experiment from this economic point of view. The numerous treatises on Russia are mostly arguments on a thesis, in which the writers set out to prove their original predilections in favor or against the Soviet experiment. Maurice Dobb's book is an encouraging exception. The author is a trained economist who approaches the subject without bias and who treats the question with the purely scientific purpose of *rerum cognoscere causes*, in order to know the causes of social and economic developments. He visited Russia and accumulated an enormous amount of statistical information taking pains to establish that "there does not appear to be valid reason for any suspicion with regard to present day Russian statistics."

Concentration of Industry

There is a short and very interesting chapter on the political background. The author then passes to a consideration of the problem with which the Soviet Government was confronted. Only 15 per cent of the population of pre-war Russia lived in towns and only 10 per cent were engaged in industry. On the other hand, over 47 per cent of all factory workers were employed in factories with more than 1,000 hands. In other words the concentration of industry was almost as great as in the United States. This seeming paradox of an agricultural country with industry only at an initial stage of development, but with whatever industry there was, at a high stage of maturity and concentration, is perhaps the key to the solution of many of the puzzling theoretical questions of the Russian Revolution.

The author sums up the economic development of Russia on the eve of the World War as "country half industrialized, living on foreign capital and managerial personnel." The war and civil war combined with the loss of valuable industrial territory in the west, the enormous loss of the best man power, the withdrawal of foreign managerial personnel and the flight and sabotage of former Russian capitalists and technicians, wrought havoc with the original poor industrial equipment of Russia. By 1920 the average productivity per worker had fallen to 30-35 per cent and the total output of industry to the amazing figure of 14.5 per cent."

According to the author this situation of extremity rather than any *a priori* theory was responsible for the system known as "War Communism." "Starvation in the towns in the winter of 1919-1920," says Maurice Dobb, "would almost certainly have been greater had not corn supplies been compulsorily requisitioned from the village, and the army would probably have collapsed."

Lenin's Idea

The transition from "War Communism" to the Nep or New Economic Policy is described by the author not as a retreat to capitalism but as "a return to peace after three years of war. It was a return to the path which was being trodden in the spring of 1918." The author refutes the idea that Lenin was "a clever opportunist who, seeing that one plan will not work quickly dropped it and tried another." According to the author Lenin "held an entirely new conception of the character of the problem and the road to be travelled. . . . To him Socialism or Communism was not merely a formal structure, with its plan woven out of one's subjective desires and then given shape in the human materials which were to hand . . . it was a realistic problem for the search of a new social equilibrium; and this according to the Marxian analysis, consisted in the abolition of the conditions which produced a division into classes." The starting point—the *sine qua non* itself—was the seizure of power by the Party of the workers, and the dealing of a blow at class monopoly by the nationalization of the banks and large industry. So long as the Party held these 'key positions', it would in this degree have effected an 'encirclement' of capital, and by having its hands on the main institutional factors could shape the course of social development in the direction of the classless state: with the new pilot at the helm the ship could start its career on the new course. But this did not mean that any ready-made Utopian plan of social organization could be imposed at will. It did not absolve the Party from the need to manoeuvre appropriately within its given social environment; and the particular forms of organization which were adopted were not to be devised *a priori* from the first principles, but were to be built consistently and in harmony with the basic relationship between the Party and its environment at the existing time. But this basic relationship would alter as the party managed to modify the environment in the desired direction; and as it altered, the form of the society in adaptation to it would change too, until final equilibrium was reached in the classless society."

The author considers in succession the beginning of the reconstruciton, the new form of industrial organization, the "scissors" crisis of 1923, the closing of the "scissors",

the problem of fixed capital and the relationship between the town and village. He marshals all available authentic information and statistics, and the chapters on these subjects are, as far as the reviewer knows, the best authoritative, economic review of these developments. Because of lack of space we will have to refer the reader directly to these chapters. The very important question whether accumulation of fixed capital is possible under Socialism is answered by the Russian experiment in the affirmative. During 1925-1926 "the total social accumulation (excluding circulating capital) amounted to about 1150-1200 million rubles of which about 1,000 million represented accumulation in the hands of the state." The author shows that "the relation between accumulation and the national income before the war did not exceed 9½ per cent and probably fell a little below 8½ per cent; while for 1925-1926 the comparable figure was almost certainly not less than 6 per cent and may have stood between 7 and 8 per cent," which is not unfavorable since the national income was still only about 90 per cent of pre-war receipts.

Leveling of Incomes

The last chapter is devoted to the economic prospects of the Soviets . First of all the "new social equality which undoubtedly exists in Russia is something more fundamental than the measure of social equality which is said to exist in the New World." "Differences in income certainly exist—but the differences are small compared with those in the capitalist world," and the tendency is to level out even these differences. The only possible danger to this tendency might have come if "state industry by reason of high cost and inability to provide capital for expansion were to reach the point where it was unable to advance." But this is not the case. On the contrary "by 1927, she (the Soviet State) has been able to raise her national savings' and capital allocations to a figure which approaches the pre-war percentage of the total national income, and out of this accumulation, 75-85 per cent represents capital in state hands." The author estimates the growth of production as 34 per cent in 1925-1926 and 15 per cent in 1926-1927 and anticipates an annual growth of 10-11 per cent in the following three years, which would bring up the level of output in 1930 to between 33 and 50 per cent above the pre-war standard. On the basis of his economic investigation the author concludes that:

"For the social engineer the (Russian) experiment must hold an absorbing interest. For the exploited proletarian it will hold an important hope. It may hold a key for the tired searchers who grope, not after the spinning-wheel and home-spun, but towards some new synthesis where

The Demon Steam is overthrown
By right of numbers, and the
Power plucked from the tyrant's throne is made
Obedient to his former subjects!"

J. M. BUDISH.

PSYCHOANALYZING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Fathers of Sons? A Study in Social Psychology, by Prynce Hopkins, M. A., Ph. D., Kegan Paul, London, 1927, 252 pp. 16/6 net, $3 25.

IN this book of the fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis, to wit: the Father-complex, is applied to the explanation of the origins of various social movements, ranging from Christian Science and Coué̇ism to Collectivism and Communism. According to Dr. Hopkins, an unconscious anti-father or pro-father attitude, carried over from infancy, is to be regarded as the cause why a person assumes a certain social attitude or eventually becomes a leader of an epoch-making current in social thought. As can be seen, the the author builds upon the Freudian doctrine of analytical psychology a new and original approach to the important social movements of our time.

It is well known among the psychoanalysts that the Father-complex exerts a large influence upon many phenomena of group and individual life, such as the birth of myths and legends, the shaping of political institutions, and a man's preference for this or that vocation. So, for instance, many a teacher has chosen this particular occupation, being goaded by an overwhelming, although unconscious, desire to equal or surpass his father on the score of intellectual power. Similarly, subconscious sources of conduct have of late years been associated by some of Freud's disciples with such purely rationalistic creeds as Pacifism and Esperanto, the adoption of an international language created by Dr. Zamenhof.

Yet never previous to the attempt by Dr. Hopkins has this method been made use of on such a wide and challenging scale. He insists that all contemporary movements in social life are rationalizations of deep-lying motives of a subconscious kind, mainly of the infantile father-son relationship. He wisely qualifies, however, that only the more extreme cases are to be regarded as necessarily, in Freud's sense, sexual.

This book, though of particular value to convinced adherents of the Freudian doctrine, deserves to be read by all interested in social psychology. Naturally and inevitably, not a few scholars of the old schools in Psychology will find the point at issue, to say the least, dogmatical and highly controversial. The reason is that insight into the so-called depths of the soul has not as yet been granted the full measure of academic recognition. In the course of time the new currents in psychological research will carry the day. As a step in this direction, the book by Dr. Hopkins, is timely indeed. It is at once erudite and "live-wire", concise and yet stimulating as well as novel.

Dr. Hopkins teaches the student of human affairs, and conveys his lesson with a vengeance, not to be guided, while pondering social phenomena and the characters of eminent men, by commonplace data alone, but to look for and evaluate the nature and interrelations of the inherent cravings common to us all, that lie below the surface of biographical evidence. The audacity of the author is sometimes amazing, and the daring conclusions drawn from the multitude of illustrations mustered by him are amusing. Not infrequently these striking conclusions are thought-provoking, if not indisputable, and the reader never finds the text stale or dull.

HERMAN FRANK.

Words of Praise

Are always welcome, whether they come from near or far. They encourage us to carry on the fight.

FROM BOSTON

comes a letter from P. J. King, Financial Secretary of Boston Lodge 264, *International Association of Machinists. He writes*:

It gives me pleasure in renewing my subscription for LABOR AGE. During the past year I have found the various issues to contain many articles of value and interest that should be read by every worker, and especially those who are members of organized labor.

During the past ten years there has been a reaction affecting the progress of labor in various fields. The cause of this condition has been and doubtless can be attributed to various causes. To me, there is one that must be corrected first of all, and this relates to lack of true knowledge the worker has as to how he is being deprived and tricked of progress and in some cases, of gains that had been made in other years, and thought to be permanently acquired.

Unfortunately, the average labor journal has not the means or in some cases is indifferent to the acquiring of articles that portray with interest the developments of present day industry and its affect on the wage-earners.

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AND FROM HOLLAND

G. A. Clutterbuck of the International Transport Workers' Federation writes:

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