

# Labor Age

WOLL AND THE  
PROGRESSIVE  
CHALLENGE

BY A. J. MUSTE

JULY, 1929

25 CENTS

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## CONTENTS:

	PAGE
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.... <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	1
WOLL AND THE PROGRESSIVE CHALLENGE <i>A. J. Muste</i>	3
WHAT HAVE THE PROGRESSIVES DONE? <i>Justus Ebert</i>	6
WHAT SHOULD FOLLOW THE CHALLENGE? <i>Abraham Lefkowitz</i>	8
BRITISH LABOR'S VICTORY..... <i>James Oneal</i>	10
THE FIGHT AGAINST MILITARISM.... <i>Mark Starr</i>	12
WAR IN GASTONIA!..... <i>Tom Tippet</i>	15
PRACTICAL IDEALISTS OF THE NORTHWEST <i>Clinton S. Golden</i>	17
C. P. L. A. ON THE JOB.....	19
CIGAR GIRLS EFFECTIVE PICKET LINES <i>Ernest White</i>	21
RESEARCH FOR WORKERS..... <i>Louis Stanley</i>	23
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD <i>Harvey O'Connor</i>	24
IN OTHER LANDS..... <i>Patrick L. Quinlan</i>	26
SAY IT WITH BOOKS: BIG BILL HAYWOOD.....	27
"IN THE SILK".....	28

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

ROBERT W. DUNN, Executive Secretary of the Labor Research Associates, is the author of "Labor and Automobiles," "Company Unions," etc.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.

ESTHER LOWELL, Federated Press staff correspondent, who began an investigation of Southern labor conditions over a year ago.

JAMES ONEAL, is the editor of The New Leader, New York.

MARK STARR, at present a teacher at the Bryn Maur Summer School for Women in Industry, is an exchange instructor at Brookwood from the National Council of Labor Colleges, England.

TOM TIPPETT, Brookwood field representative and instructor, member of the United Mine Workers of America, has aided the textile strikes in the Carolinas and Tennessee.

ERNEST WHITE, is the pen-name of a New Jersey newspaperman.

And others well known to our readers.

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# Following the Fight

## With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

### OUR AIM:

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

## Carry A Flaming Banner!

*“Organize Organization Work—and Then Fight Like Hell”*

**O**UR much-delayed hot days, come at last, are proving doubly warm for the producing classes. The farmer is being relieved of his last Farm Relief hope. The Congress, called under the hypocritical excuse of helping him, is plotting out a staggering tariff and its much heralded “relief” is merely the addition of \$500,000,000 in loans to the already oppressive mortgages.

The worker continues in no better shape. He finds himself enmeshed in mass production layoffs, the blacklisting of men over 40, and the general inability of Labor to cope with the manufacturing overlord. Over a half-year has elapsed since the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., and the “Double the Membership” goal is as far off as it was then.

It is very evident that something must be done about the matter, and that Progressives must take the lead in pointing the way. We will scarcely get very far, either, by merely making faces at those in power in the Labor Movement, without putting forward constructive suggestions. It is impossible for the Movement to go far forward, it is true, as long as the National Civic Federation policy is pursued. A goody-goody attitude toward the anti-union manufacturers will get nowhere. These manufacturers are like Trader Horn’s “Englishman.” Says the African adventurer: “No Englishman’s ever a gentleman when it comes to taking what he wants in a foreign country.” And no anti-union manufacturer is ever a gentleman when it comes to his dealings with Organized Labor. Gentlemanliness must be bred in him by making him respect Labor.

But on the immediate ground of organizing the unorganized and in the conduct of strikes, the A. F. of L., by and large, is falling down. There is no adequate machinery for getting things done. Organizing is no longer the carrying of a flaming banner of revolt among the unorganized—as it

was in the old days which built up the A. F. of L. It is waiting around for something to turn up, and then being largely unable to meet the things that do arise.

When the Elizabethton situation came up, there were no efficient agencies of publicity or of relief at hand. These should have been all in readiness, supplied in this case by the A. F. of L. itself, or mapped out by it. What is the use of going into the business of enlisting auto workers, for example, in the union movement, if a big lockout would throw panic into the Organized Labor ranks? Preparedness for battle must precede the drawing of the battle lines.

With that in view, we suggest:

1. The immediate establishment of publicity and relief machinery which can prepare the public mind for what is coming in any given field, thus securing sympathy and funds when the fight begins; and can function smoothly when the crisis demands.
2. Instruction to organizers to go out to the factory gates, speaking there day after day, getting arrested if necessary, and thus making news; firing the rest of the Labor Movement in that vicinity with the spirit of the battle of freedom; appeal to Governors and Senators for immunity from these arrests. In a word, arousing the public to what is what. This can only be done by action. It will prepare the way for what is to come.
3. Setting up plant organs under union auspices to offset the stuff handed out by the bosses. Distributing these to the unorganized workers, even under penalty of arrest. In fact, welcome arrest, as a means of calling attention to the conditions in the plant and to what is up.
4. At the same time, getting in touch with friendly agencies of public opinion, even though some of them are hidden and some of them will later on desert you.

Accompany all this, of course, with secret visits to good men who are working on the inside, forming small key committees while this display



## LABOR AGE

work and these enthusiasm-arousing efforts are being putting forth. Bring out to the public the fairness of the union, and thus win public support, and at the same time show the need for organization through the low wages paid, bad conditions existing, huge profits won by the corporation, etc. This is not only organizing. It is educational work, in a vivid way, as well.

Anything that is worth doing is worth doing well. And today, it is impossible to make headway without a thorough job being made of organization work. Even though a strike proves to be a stalemate, through the superior economic power of the corporation involved, it will not be a defeat. Union enthusiasm will remain, and will reap a harvest in another attack. It will remain only, of course, if the above steps are followed by others; the inevitable follow-up work will have to go on; permanent results of the fight will have to be left, through the continuance of labor chautauquas, the establishment of a live labor press, etc., etc. But solidarity, loyalty and a union spirit will be aroused by these first tactics mentioned, that will print an indelible stamp on the community. They are the necessary preludes to any hope of victory.

A good motto would be: "Organize our Organization Work, and then Fight Like Hell!" Neither condition exists today. We ask: Why not?

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### "ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER . . . "

WE have alluded to an educational value that should be in organization work, but which is so often lacking. The reverse side of the picture could be also shown. Workers education should have a practical organization value. That is one of the sad wastes of the W. E. B. It is so far lost in the clouds of namby-pamby education that its worth to the workers in getting out of their rut is small.

Why should not workers education in America have punch in it? What is it all about if it is not to organize the unorganized and diffuse a knowledge of the Labor Movement and of more effective methods of Labor growth?

Two types of workers education will bring fruits to the Movement: 1. The resident college, with a small group of apt workers, trained to go out and organize or to spread workers education; and 2. Field work out through the country, in local communities.

Now, in the latter case, why not make education live and pulsing? That is the only method worth pursuing. Every breath of wind that blows bear messages of the need for unionism. These should be taken advantage of in an educa-

tional way. Here is Harold Florian Clark, professor of education at Teachers College, New York, declaring that the average salary of teachers and superintendents is only \$1,275, while the average earnings of trade union members reaches \$2,502. Why not take that bit of news, as one example, and get some members of the educational class to dramatize it? Get them to go before a school house and give a speech to the out-coming teachers (with possible arrest and resultant publicity). Or why not at least write to the Board of Education demanding that teachers be organized and get it in the newspapers?

The educational message, thus delivered, would not soon be forgotten by the members of the class or the public at large, particularly if it were to be part of a regular program of such activities.

He who wishes to arouse the workers must have a bit of the buffoon about him, backed up by solid information and solid understanding of how to proceed. Francis of Assissi called himself "the clown of God." That was a good title for his purpose. Labor educators and labor organizers must have a bit of the showman in them. And a deep, abiding faith in the thing being done is essential to make such showmanship effective. Sedate "respectability" will not educate or organize. The zeal of an Apostle coupled with a sense of humor is the baton that should be in the educator's and organizer's knapsack.

Let these educational "stunts" go on in dozens of cities and in dozens of industries, with resultant publicity—and behold what will happen!

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### UNIONISM WITH A MEANING

YOU can boil it all down to this: If unionism has a vital meaning, beyond mere personal gain, it can more readily electrify men and women to do the impossible. Dollar-and-cent unionism has some virtues; but it cannot face adversity or new conditions. Idealism, after all, is realistic in its own way—if it be practically applied.

Most of those unionists who talk about being so "practical," could not organize two peas in a pod. They are simply swimming with the tide. And that tide is Anti-Union today. It is the men and women who can swim against the tide who will make that tide turn. It is much easier to become a labor statesman, join the National Civic Federation, blame "prosperity" and "slumps" in turn for the difficulties of Labor, than it is to go out and extend unionism.

A realistic idealism—namely, some of the Progressive spirit—is what the American Labor movement needs.

# Woll and the Progressive Challenge

## The Will To Organize

By A. J. MUSTE

*In our last issue we gave brief editorial notice to Vice-President Woll's reply to The Challenge to Progressives, which was issued through the Information Service of the Dept. of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches in America. Mr. Muste here deals at greater length with some of the points raised by Brother Woll. Still other points will be dealt with in future issues of LABOR AGE.*

**V**ICE-PRESIDENT Woll's reply to The Challenge to Progressives in the Labor Movement which was published by LABOR AGE in February and which was a most important step in the formation of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, is significant and merits detailed analysis.

It is significant and encouraging that Brother Woll's reply is on the whole good-tempered, refrains from violent vituperation, and seeks to deal with the real issues raised by progressives. Of course, he pays the progressives some left-handed compliments, but it is after all not a tea-party that is in progress! That a reply, and a serious one, has to be made by Brother Woll indicates that the progressive movement cannot be ignored, and that is certainly to the good. Furthermore, it is precisely by the intelligent discussion of the issues involved that the labor movement as a whole can hope to advance. The progressives will be the first to admit that their proposals also can stand criticism.

At one or two points Brother Woll seems to misunderstand the progressive position. For example, he considers it "monstrous" that the LABOR AGE group should suggest that American labor "should" campaign for the five-day week, etc. He assumes that our inclusion of such measures in the list of things for which progressives in the labor movement should work implied that no effort whatever was yet being made to achieve them. Progressives do not really think as meanly of the American labor movement as that suggests! The Challenge simply listed a considerable number of measures for which progressives should strive, some of which might be receiving a good deal of attention already in the movement, some little or no adequate attention.

### Recognize Achievements

This leads to a general observation which needs to be hammered home. There have been radicals in the United States who have looked with unwarranted contempt upon the American labor movement and its achievements and who have had an exaggeratedly favorable view of the labor movement in other countries. They can see good in every movement in the world except the American. This is a foolish attitude, and progressives do not share it. On the other hand, among the leaders of the A. F. of L. there has often prevailed a

super-patriotism with reference to that organization and its achievements. Whenever it is suggested that we might learn something from the British or French or German or any other foreign movement, these leaders orate about the high wages paid in this country and ask what other labor movement can show similar results! That "high wages" may be a bit exaggerated, and that insofar as they are really high, this may be due to our immense natural resources, our domestic market making mass-production possible, and similar reasons for which the labor movement can hardly take the credit, is conveniently forgotten. We must be realistic on this point as on others. By and large, the American labor movement is the product of the conditions under which it has grown up, the same as any other movement; and it has certain achievements to its credit. It is far from perfect, however; it can stand criticism; and there are things it can learn from the movement in other lands.

### Proves Need for Revival

We must come to the important point, however, of the present article. Progressives have accused the present labor officialdom of lack of aggressiveness, militancy and effectiveness in organizing workers. What does Vice-President Woll have to say on this crucial matter? He makes four points. First, "the labor movement in the United States confronts great corporations far more powerful and, for the most part, far more aggressive in their hostility to labor organizations than the corporations of Europe." Second, "we have an extent of territory and an admixture of races unknown in any European country." Third, "while it may be true that there has been some slackness in labor enthusiasm in recent years, every honest observer attributes this mainly to the wave of relative prosperity that has been sweeping the country—a prosperity greatly exaggerated by reactionaries, but nevertheless having some reality in fact." Fourth, "the A. F. of L. has made strenuous efforts to extend its organization and has intensified its campaign in the past couple of years."

Nothing could demonstrate more effectively the need for a revival of progressivism in the American labor movement than this reply by the A. F. of L.'s foremost spokesman to the Challenge to Progressives. Brother Woll deserves a vote of thanks! Let us make an itemized statement of the case.

1. We readily agree that the A. F. of L. has made certain efforts to organize. We know that there are many individual members and officers in the A. F. of L. unions, many of the affiliated unions themselves that have made strenuous and, in some instances, successful attempts to organize.

2. Nevertheless, the facts cited in the Challenge to Progressives stand. There are not four million workers organized in unions. The percentage of organized

workers to the total employed population is but one-third as large in this country as in England, Germany or Sweden, only a fourth as large as in Austria or Australia. Union membership has barely held its own in recent years, despite the prosperity to which Brother Woll refers, though periods of prosperity have in the past been regarded as favorable for the growth of union membership. The basic industries are practically unorganized. Some of our greatest unions have met with terrific reverses in recent years.

3. In face of these facts which Vice-President Woll does not attempt to deny, it will not do to make excuses such as that American corporations are hostile to organization, that we have a big country, a mixture of races, etc. All this may be true, but a healthy movement would regard it as a challenge, not an excuse. Above all, a healthy movement would not mean an air of self-satisfaction in these circumstances.

**Admits Capital Is Hostile**

4. As one reads a little more closely, however, one finds what seems to be strange doctrine in Brother Woll's statement. We have a smaller proportion of wage earners organized because our movement confronts great corporations for the most part aggressively hostile in their attitude toward organization. Is it indeed the leading spokesman of the A. F. of L. who says this? Yes, brothers and sisters, it is even so.

Is it possible that the big corporations are "class-conscious," that they are acting in accord with what seems to them their economic interest, and that therefore they disregard all consideration of justice and mercy in their attitude toward unionism?

If corporations are hostile to labor unionism, why do A. F. of L. leaders pursue the policy of placating these corporations, of keeping their "promises" to speak over Collier's scab radio station, of trying to organize unions by trying to persuade the bosses of these corporations that trade unions can do as much for them as company unions can? What can be said of this whole method of organizing, save what progressives have said, namely, that it is futile and treasonous to the workers, if it is indeed true as Vice-President Woll states, that it is the power and hostility of the big corporations that keeps unionism down in the United States?

Yes, more, how does Brother Woll justify his own hobnobbing with the bosses in the National Civic Federation? His support of their opposition to old age pensions and other forms of social insurance for workers, their support of company unionism and anti-union welfare schemes, their militarism and imperialism? If the big corporations are the aggressive enemies of unionism in this country, why this unholy alliance with labor's foes in the National Civic Federation?

**No Alliance With Enemies**

Here, in a sense, is the crux of the whole business. The progressives are not mere fault-finders. They have a program for trade unionism to propose, not "new" perhaps, but nevertheless, positive, constructive and sound. It is this: Recognize that the New Capitalism is no more friendly to Labor than the old, or in other

**TALK ABOUT HIGH WAGES!**



What we are really up against, as Jerger sees it. And in the face of this, Matthew Woll and other labor leaders remain complacent and boast of prosperity!

words, that labor under the New Capitalism must organize in order to protect its interests and achieve its rights and ideals, as much as ever. Make unions agencies of the workers, therefore, not personnel agencies for the bosses. Organize unions by appealing to workers to organize, calling upon them to toil, struggle, sacrifice, in order to advance their interests and build a world of justice and brotherhood. Cut the labor movement off from a futile, debilitating, treasonous alliance with the foes of Labor in the National Civic Federation.

In view of Vice-President Woll's own utterances this is a logical program. Will the A. F. of L. adopt it? Let us have a few more utterances like this by the A. F. of L. spokesmen and then some action based upon them, and the progressive movement will have justified its existence!

5. In the next place, the A. F. of L. may fairly be charged with being remiss in not abandoning the craft form of unionism and adopting in its place a form of organization by shop and industry that is suited to modern conditions. Granted that great changes cannot be accomplished over night, it is also true that necessary changes cannot wait forever.

What happened to the campaign to organize the automobile industry which was decided upon at the

Detroit convention several years ago? No pretence at a report on it was made at the last A. F. of L. convention. A. F. of L. organizers sought in vain for interviews with the moguls of the auto industry to persuade them to recognize the union, and, on the other hand, international officials would not waive their craft jurisdictions.

### Fear of Mass Action

6. The present situation in the South, particularly in southern textiles, suggests another grave shortcoming in A. F. of L. organization strategy. Under modern conditions, where great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are employed by great corporations or by employers strongly associated, organization work must proceed on a large scale; it must be "mass organization." Small groups of workers in a factory here or there are helpless in such a situation. But by and large it is true to say that the A. F. of L. leadership is afraid of mass action. No sufficient effort to extend the Elizabethton strike to other towns and sections has been made. There was evident indeed a tendency to try to keep the battle from spreading. So long as this attitude prevails, neither textiles, nor automobiles, nor steel, nor any other basic industries will get organized. Campaigns must be planned on a grand scale, carefully prepared for, and executed with decision, enthusiasm and mass support. To say that organization work is being done in the South now is no answer to the problem we are presenting. The point is that work is not being done in the right way. So long as the United Textile Workers is afraid of mass action, it will have to make settlements so far from satisfactory as the Elizabethton settlement was, even on the most favorable interpretation.

7. Neither do the points Brother Woll makes about the difficulties in the way of effective organization cover another serious shortcoming in the A. F. of L. equipment for organization work, viz., the lack of effective strike machinery. The most glaring defect in this connection is the lack of adequate provision for collecting and distributing relief. It is a fact that in one important situation after another, outsiders who, as it were, happen in, have to be depended upon to get publicity, to collect funds, to organize relief distribution, etc., while the A. F. of L. machinery for making appeals is so cumbersome that it is weeks after a big strike breaks out before any amount of money comes in, and then usually much too little in view of the needs. This is surely not because rank and file workers cannot be interested in contributing to strike relief funds; it is a defect of organization. What is true of relief work, holds also of publicity, picketing and other factors of effective strike strategy.

8. We have an "admixture of races unknown in any European country" to deal with, as Brother Woll points out. Unquestionably, this means added difficulty in organizing work, and no one who has ever attempted to organize workers speaking half a dozen or more different tongues will be disposed to make light of the difficulty. Just because organization work is difficult under such circumstances is, however, a good reason for bringing great devotion, intelligence and sym-

pathy to bear upon the task. That is precisely what the A. F. of L. has often failed to do. Often the dominant labor attitude toward "hunkies" and "wops" and Negroes and similar groups has been exactly the same as the typical snobbish middle-class attitude. Sometimes members of these groups are excluded from union membership by law. Usually no account is taken of the psychology of these people, of the most effective ways of reaching and holding them. Thus they are not organized, and then the excuse is made that "foreigners" can't be organized.

In conclusion, then, we may lay down three propositions. First, Brother Woll is right in pointing out that there are genuine difficulties in the way of organizing workers and maintaining morale and enthusiasm in the unions today, difficulties for some of which at least labor is not responsible and over some of which it has very little control.

Second, difficulties must never be used as excuses for inaction and complacency. Granted that the difficulties are there, granted that the A. F. of L. does make certain efforts to organize, the discouraging facts about the state of labor organization in America today are still there. Surely the intelligent thing to do is to regard all this as a challenge, and a challenge primarily to study, to research into the effective methods of organization under modern conditions.

Hence the great importance of the determination of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to coordinate the research activities already carried on in the labor field and to extend them. A paragraph in the program of the C. P. L. A. will bear quoting here: "The new industrial revolution and the more subtle activities of big business which confuse unenlightened workers, necessitate a scientific study of labor and political problems and labor technique. Hence we recommend the establishment of a centralized research agency to make studies and to prepare literature to offset the misleading influence of the governing class and their intellectual hirelings." One of the first studies required is one on effective methods of organization work.

### Lack of Vision

But in the last place, the American labor movement has failed in recent years to advance not merely because of genuine obstacles in the way, or lack of knowledge as to how to cope with new conditions, but also and chiefly for such reasons as we have cited above, for which the leaders as well as the members of the American Federation of Labor are responsible. There has been laziness, dishonesty, self-satisfaction. There has been an unholy alliance with the National Civic Federation open-shoppers and company unionists. There has been a lack of militancy toward labor's enemies. Organizers have tried to get bosses rather than workers to "recognize the union." There has been lack of vision, plan and organizational machinery for large-scale activity by which alone the basic industries can be organized. *There has been, in short, lack of effective will to organize.*

In face of that situation, the progressive challenge must continue to ring out: "We urge the workers to



demand the wealth they create; to strike for their rights as of old; to give industrial battle whenever necessary. Far better to strive for industrial justice than to die in foreign lands in order that powerful American corporations may make untold billions through exploita-

tion. Only through intelligent cooperation expressed on the industrial, political and educational fields can the workers bring in a new society embodying the age long ideals of all great leaders and teachers—social and industrial justice."

# What Have The Progressives Done?

## A Record of Achievement

By JUSTUS EBERT

**M**ATTHEW WOLL, in a reply to labor progressives asks, "What have the progressives done?"

Let us answer the question by turning to the records of the progressives. First, be it noted, as the progressives are newly organized, there cannot be much said of them in their organized capacity. Despite this, however, they have some very good achievements to their organized credit. First, they have contributed greatly to throw the Mitten-Mahon agreement into the discard. Following the progressive expose of this agreement in *LABOR AGE*, came events in Philadelphia justifying this stand, and compelling the agreement's repudiation by Mahon. Second, is the preservation of Brookwood and Workers' Education. Where labor officialdom would fain enter, progressive labor action carries on to higher and more effective planes. Third, a rejuvenation of the labor movement in this country. Never before, since 1893, has the labor movement been so profoundly stirred by the new spirit of the times, with its insistence on industrial unionism and an independent labor party. Fourth, the organization of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is the achievement of progressives. This Conference is out to remake and extend the labor movement economically, politically, socially and culturally. It is a stupendous job but Matthew Woll's perturbations, in print and elsewhere, show that it is well begun.

Now seeing that the progressives are too newly organized to have done much as a body, let us refer to their individual records. Let us begin with A. J. Muste, chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Who is this A. J. Muste? What has he done to justify the attention bestowed upon him and the enterprises with which he is associated? These questions are asked and answered in the June *WORLD TOMORROW*. It is an interesting biographical sketch about a clergyman and pacifist turned labor leader and educator. We are here concerned mainly with the last two.

### Muste's Early Success

When in 1919 A. J. Muste appeared on the American Labor scene it was as a successful strike leader. In that year, A. J., as he is affectionately known, headed 30,000 textile workers, mostly foreigners and unorganized, in a strike against a wage cut. After 16

weeks of hunger and police brutality "Muste," to quote the *WORLD TOMORROW* article, "had come away from Andover" (following a conference with the head of the mill bosses) "with recognition for his union, a fifteen per cent increase and hours cut from 54 to 48." Not so bad for a beginner; or as an answer to Woll's implications of inability and failure.

Following those Lawrence days, Muste took part in the successful strike of the broad silk dyers of Paterson and also in the more recent great strikes in Passaic. As General Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union, he helped to conduct the Utica strike in the fall of 1919 and he saw the inside of a long strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In the spring of 1921, he was asked to become the educational head of America's first resident labor college, better known as Brookwood, located at Katonah, N. Y., which he did.

This college has been the one great outstanding feature of workers' education in this country. It has been an inspiration to all who have come within its influence. Many of its more than 100 graduates have become prominent in the labor movement as organizers, editors, officials, heads of labor classes, and colleges, etc. They are all proud of their alma mater and are sticking to it through the thick and thin of its recent conflicts with the official labor movement.

Despite his many duties at Brookwood, A. J. has been active as an inter-union negotiator, strike speaker and conferee, mostly among textile industries and in behalf of the United Textile Workers. He has also been delegate to various conventions and lecturer to educational classes in various parts of the country. As a leader in the workers' education movement, A. J. has been an inspiration and guiding spirit to all those interested. He is also a leading factor in the editorial and business management of *LABOR AGE*, much of whose influence is attributed to his contributions, devotion and interest. He was one of the prime movers in organizing the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, following the publication of "The Challenge to Progressives" in *LABOR AGE* and the attempts of labor officialdom to excommunicate and destroy Brookwood. Finally, A. J. Muste is a vice-president of the Teachers' Federation, an active, alive, up-to-the-minute labor unionist.

After which good showing, who would venture to contend that Woll and his associates possess an ex-

clusive monopoly of either the experience or ability necessary to achieve success for labor?

### Maurer's Great Work

Now turn to the first Vice-President of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, "Jim" Maurer. Who hasn't heard of the sturdy Pennsylvania Dutchman and his many achievements? Let those who have not secure a copy of the "President's Report to the 27th Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Philadelphia, Pa., 1928." This is "Jim" Maurer's own report as retiring president—his own history as viewed from the standpoint of his position as the head of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor for sixteen years. It is a history of achievements of no slight character. Twenty-six pages in all, it is not easy to boil down in a few compact paragraphs. Only the most salient features are therefore possible. Here they are:

In 1912, 267 affiliations; no headquarters, no full-time salaried officers. In 1913 permanent headquarters established in Harrisburg; affiliations grown from 267 to 390. Each year since saw steady increase until in 1928, there were 1,400 affiliations, over 400,000 membership, an unencumbered headquarters, "without doubt the finest labor headquarters of any in the United States." In addition, besides an office staff, there were on salary, an organizer, educational director, secretary and president; with engagements of speakers, organizers and others for special and temporary work. And above all, miracle of miracles, "a very healthy treasury." During 1928, 41 new unions, with 9,000 members joined.

Along with this went increased wages, hours reduction, raised aged limits for child workers, safety and health legislation, creation of a more modern, better and larger Department of Labor and Industry, Workmen's Compensation, Mothers' and Orphans' Assistance Laws, semi-monthly pay, amendments to mining codes, women's labor laws and others of lesser importance. There was also Maurer's relentless warfare on the state constabulary. There was his advocacy of industrial unionism, as well.

Maurer also calls attention to his three terms as Assemblyman, his election as city commissioner of Reading, his two trips abroad and his services on commissions of national and international importance, 5 in number, including the Pennsylvania Old Age Pensions Commission and the unofficial commission to Russia; his presidency of Brookwood and the Workmen's Education Bureau; his affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy; and his anti-war record. Of this he says: "During the stormy period of 1919, when all the reactionary forces of our state and nation tried to drive me out of the state, it was you and those you have the honor to represent that stood by me and for this loyalty to not only me, but the cause I represented, I want to thank you."

Need more be said of "Jim" Maurer?

Carl Holderman, the second Vice-President of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, is another active labor organizer. He is the representative in northern New Jersey of the American Federation of

### HOLDING BACK PROGRESS



Locomotive Engineers' Journal  
National Civic Federation influence retards efforts  
for social legislation, including security for aged  
workers.

Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. He has lately come to the fore as an exposé of labor spies and the resourceful leader of a strike in a Hackensack mill.

With an office located in Paterson, "the mill center," Holderman has his hands full looking after the interests of the members of his organization in a large district. He is called on continuously to solve problems large and small. With what success may be gauged from the fact that he was recently nominated to head the full-fashioned hosiery workers federation; an honor which he declined in favor of Emil Rieve, present president, who is also a progressive and a friend of Brookwood. Modesty is one of Holderman's outstanding characteristics. He says, "I'll do the best I can," and generally does.

A. J. Kennedy, treasurer of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, is also treasurer of Local No. 1, Amalgamated Lithographers of America. It has 2,400 members and is located in New York City. Kennedy is also a member of the International Council (The Executive Board) of the Amalgamated Litho-

graphers. He has taken a prominent part in successful hours reduction and wage increase movements of the lithographers, and is noted for his foresight and grasp in dealing with lithographers' labor problems. He is quiet and retiring. Kennedy is also Chairman of the Administrative Committee of Pioneer Youth. This organization is doing much educational work among workers' children. Pioneer Youth conducts a camp at Rifton, N. Y. and 24 winter classes in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. A. J. Kennedy has written a number of articles on its achievements.

### Kenosha's Enthusiasm

Our Executive Secretary, Louis Francis Budenz, like Young Lochinvar, has come out of the west, namely, St. Louis. There he imbibed the spirit that Lindbergh subsequently made famous. A young law student, he led seven successful war time strikes. Coming east he started LABOR AGE and has been its editor for seven years. A follower and disciple of courageous "Bob" La Follette, the elder, he has been active recently in the Kenosha Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers'

strike. This strike has had widespread effects. It has developed organization among auto and other workers in Kenosha, led to the expose of labor spies, and bribe-taking judges and corrupt politicians generally and to the election of a county supervisor from among the striking hosiery workers. In brief, it has effected enthusiastic, extensive, self-reliant, economic and political organization of the workers. More details are given in current issues of LABOR AGE.

We might dig up more records of individual progressives to answer Woll's query, "What have they done?" There are many more such records dealing with men and women of long years of standing and devotion to labor's cause. Let us take one more to close. There's Abraham Epstein, for instance, Old Age Security advocate, who Bishop O'Connell says, combines "very great prophetic qualities and very remarkable organizing abilities." Compare Abraham Epstein, author of "The Challenge of Old Age" with that old-age security opponent, Matthew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation and then ask once more, "What have the progressives done?"

# What Should Follow The Challenge

## Intelligent Opposition To Unsound Policies

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

**T**HE Challenge to Progressives which appeared in the February issue of LABOR AGE deserves the most careful consideration of every thinking person interested in an evolutionary establishment of a better social order in which the creative instincts and social ideals of the workers may have a chance for free play. Especially interesting is not only their admirable program of sixteen points but also the sensible and sincere tone which permeates the document and which finds expression in the paragraph in which they stated they are not actuated by a desire to suggest indiscriminate condemnation of trade union leadership, nor to hint at praise or blame for what has happened, nor even to cry down the American labor movement in comparison with the labor movement of other countries. Equally significant is their declaration that progressives are not blind to the achievements of the American Federation of Labor, to its glorious past or to its potentialities.

Having issued an admirable program, what do the Progressives expect to do next? How do they propose to go about to build a creative, militant progressive force within the labor movement, which will courageously advocate a new social order ushered in through more effective and widespread industrial activity and independent political action?

### Warns Against Impatience

The writer does not believe that any premature or forced attempts at immediate political action can be

successful. Such action must be the result of growth and hence from within. Even if it could be hurried, one must not forget to be a realist and face the fact that the radicals are tired, the machine still all-powerful, the skilled workers lulled into a false sense of security, the unorganized too powerless and uninformed to be effective and the period one of reaction. Irreparable damage can be done the progressive movement if impatient and inexperienced intellectual enthusiasts should seek to dominate the movement and help to stampede it into precipitated independent political action or industrial activity of the hostile type. Hence the work of the Progressive, for the time being, must be essentially educational. The educational work should not be confined to labor classes, to journalism and the like but should be centered in the labor movement itself and in all of its activities such as local union meetings, central bodies, state federations, international conventions and at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor itself.

In discussing questions at union meetings or conventions care must be centered upon the tactics to be employed. It is not enough for the Progressive to show that labor's preferred legislative measure to give the State a monopoly of Workingmen's Compensation Insurance was defeated by the defection of three Democrats endorsed by organized labor who were later renominated over organized labor's protest? It is not enough to show that under labor's non-partisan policy they must vote for these traitorous Democrats else for their opponents—the Republicans, who are still

## WHY OPPOSITION TO OLD AGE PENSIONS?

### Illinois Miner Presents Interesting Viewpoint

OUR esteemed contemporary, the ILLINOIS MINER in its issue of June 22, under the title "One Swallow Doesn't Make a Summer," takes issue with the statement of progressives that the American labor movement "presents no inclusive, constructive program" in behalf of the victims of industry who have been thrown on the scrap heap. The contention is made that while "a few individuals, and those probably out of touch with the rank and file, oppose such moves as the old age pension, the whole American labor movement is stigmatized." The editorial goes on to point out that "most of the State Federation of Labor have put up valiant fights for the old age pension." The latter statement is true of such federations as California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and one or two others. It has not been true of "most" federations. Only a little over a year ago, the executive committee of the New York Federation of Labor refused to endorse any of the bills introduced in the New York Legislature in spite of the fact the State Convention the summer before had unanimously urged the Federation to push this legislation. On the whole, however, the ILLINOIS MINER is right in pointing out that the American labor movement is in hearty favor of these laws.

Where we disagree is with the MINER's minimizing of the representation and influence of William Green and Matthew Woll, respectively President and Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, in their attitude to this as well as to other similar legislative matters. For every statement of Green's which could be interpreted as in favor of these laws, there are at least ten others which can just as fairly be interpreted as being opposed to them. The ILLINOIS MINER explains that their reactionary attitude is due to their "environment" and to the fact that they are "out of touch with the rank and file" and to the "poisonous political atmosphere at the capital." That may all be true. But the question remains: do Green and Woll represent the American labor movement or do they not? We are inclined to agree with the MINER that in this matter they do not represent American labor, and that in their opposition to social legislation, they reflect the attitude of the National Civic Federation rather than that of the organized workers. But they are still the heads of the Federation and there cannot be any effective "movement" when the head wags in one direction and the tail in another. This is exactly what causes our lop-sidedness. If progressives have contributed nothing more than to call attention to this, the work which has just begun has already proven of value.

more unfriendly. It is not enough to show that with the best "friend" of labor in office, the Democratic Party with an open-shopper like Raskob at the head, cannot but be unfriendly to labor. Equally important is the manner in which this is done. The tone must not be unsympathetic, antagonistic or one of gloating over their defeat. Rather must one sympathize with labor's loss while at the same time, no effort should be spared to impress upon the workers the fact that parties dominated by anti-union employers can do nothing for labor.

#### Facts All Important

In all debates, the Progressive must be careful to follow a procedure which experience has sanctioned. First, he must be sure of his facts. A brilliant attack upon a prominent labor leader came to naught because the critic misrepresented the salary the labor official was getting and his part in securing it. His fine arguments were ignored by his opponents but his error was exposed to ridicule of all. Second, the Progressive must not force the attack just because he wants to get a speech off his chest. On the contrary, the effectiveness of a speech will be enhanced if it is made when the subject naturally comes up for discussion. Hence one must avoid injecting a speech for independent political action at a time when a health program is being considered. Third, one must keep vindictiveness or bitterness out of remarks. Sincerity and earnestness will carry one farther toward the goal. Fourth, a Progressive cannot afford to assume that he alone is honest, that he alone possesses all the virtues.

This error is too often made by impetuous, well-meaning and inexperienced radicals. Fifth, he must not be discouraged too quickly. When the right moment comes strike again. Let each defeat be but the foundation for a new attack launched at the psychological moment. Sixth, know your rules and your constitution, as many a victory is won through such knowledge or your ability to delay action to a more appropriate time. Seventh, steer clear of Communist alliances, direct or indirect as well as of their silly boring from within tactics.

Active, united, intelligent and militant opposition to unsound labor policies at union meetings is the speediest and most direct method for rebuilding or re-awakening a progressive spirit within the present labor movement. Once intelligent and progressive militancy is awakened, it will spread like a conflagration and force labor toward its goal—independent political action, more aggressive and intelligent industrial activity.

As a progressive I cannot but resent the boast of the present leaders of labor, that our movement is both tolerant or democratic and who, at the same time, seek to crush educational freedom and any criticism of labor orthodoxy. I resent especially the attempt to meet honest criticism by hurling the name "communist" instead of meeting honest opposition or difference of opinion on an intellectual battlefield. Let the leaders of organized labor return to first principles and tolerate, yea, encourage, minority opinion within its fold, and labor more and more will become the dominant force for progress and social justice.

# British Labor's Victory

## Contrasted With Failure of Non-Partisan Policy

By JAMES ONEAL

**T**HE striking victory of the British Labor Party has not only thrilled the organized workers of Europe. It is having a favorable impression on organized labor in this country. For the second time since the end of the World War the oldest and most powerful empire in the world is governed by the organized workers. This time the Labor Party returns to Parliament with more power than it had before although it is still short of an absolute majority in that body.

The power of the Labor Party and the trade unions in Great Britain offers a significant contrast with the weakness of organized labor in the United States. It is this humiliating contrast that inevitably makes an impression upon the thinking members of trade unions in this country.

Consider one phase of the Labor Party victory alone. When it became apparent that the party had made tremendous gains and that it would have to take over the government, the organized workers held uproarious celebrations in many cities. The London reception to Ramsay MacDonald was a tremendous affair. Everywhere the masses were conscious of their power. They *knew* that they were ousting their enemies from the seats of power.

In this country we have had many presidential and congressional elections in which American trade unions have followed the "non-partisan political" policy. Following some of these elections national officials of the unions have occasionally claimed notable victories but in each case the claim was not registered in the minds of the members of the unions. There has not been a single instance of widespread celebrations by union members. They *knew* that organized labor had won no victory. Not all the shouting of leaders could induce members of the unions to believe that they had won any political power.

This contrast between the mood of British and American workers after an election tells its own tragic story for us here. In this country we have been following the political policy which British and Continental workers abandoned many years ago and the difference between our political policy and the policy abroad is also told in the contrasting results.

### Inadequate Financial Support

There is another significant contrast that should not be overlooked. It is found in a study of the reports made for twenty years of the contributions made by trade unions in response to the appeals of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for support of the "non-partisan political policy." These reports show that, while the unions formally acquiesce in this form of political action, they do not support

it with funds. Contributions are made, to be sure, but they are such pitifully small sums that it is apparent that members of the trade unions take little interest in this policy.

How different it is in Great Britain! There the trade unions make annual provision of funds for their Labor Party and large sums are available to carry on intense educational work. It is because the reactionary Tories recognize the willingness of the trade union members to assess themselves for their political policy that the Baldwin Government enacted a law restricting this method of financing the Labor Party. We may be sure that the Labor members of Parliament will make the repeal of this law one of its first measures.

The labor movement that does not adequately finance one of its policies certainly cannot be said to take any interest in that policy. The finances of the A. F. of L. bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the "non-partisan political policy" has not and never will appeal to members of the trade unions. The funds are expected to obtain political power. Long experience has shown that the power is not obtained and even the dullest of human beings will not continue to invest in something that brings no substantial and desirable returns. This is the reason why trade union members refuse year after year to provide any substantial funds in support of the "non-partisan political policy."

### A Companionate Marriage

Furthermore, as Donald Richberg, the well known attorney for the standard railroad organizations points out, both the Republican and Democratic parties are alike, serve the same masters. He asserts, and proves his case, that there exists a "companionate marriage of the Republican and Democratic parties." He declared recently, "The most vital political issue in this nation today lies, not between any so-called political parties, but between the well-organized Republican-Democratic Consolidation and the disorganized American Democracy. This issue is: Are we going to have Government Handed Down, or Government Growing Up in America? This issue began with Hamilton and Jefferson, and it will be with us as long as the republic is able to survive.

"I agree with the professional politicians that there is no place for a third party in this country. Of course, there is no place for a third party, until we have a second party. . . .

"Both wings of the Republican-Democratic Consolidation claim to stand for everything, and, therefore, stand for nothing. They want the rich to pay less taxes, but the poor to pay no more. They want more social control, but also more individual freedom. They want wet parties in dry houses. They want impartial



## ACROSS THE SEA

justice handed down by judges who understand social distinctions and know who's who. They love labor organizations, but they dislike labor organizers. They believe in peace, but they insist you must fight to get it. Above all things they avow faith in democracy and Christianity, but agree that a benevolent autocracy is the best form of government and that Christian ideals are wholly impractical."

But the policy has another disastrous effect. It is supposed to keep the labor movement independent of the old parties. Instead of that, it makes thousands of the active officials in the cities and states servile followers of the city and state political rings. It is notorious that the city central body in New York City has for many years been simply an annex to Tammany Hall. In Philadelphia it is a section of a Republican Tammany. The same situation prevails in other cities and states.

## Soft Political Jobs

So the American political policy does not even have the merit of keeping the trade unions independent of the old parties. In national politics the national rings have their special trade union leaders who play the same role. In this upper range of old party politics these leaders look for federal appointments as a reward for their support of anti-labor parties. Such jobs are occasionally handed out. The trade union leader then leaves the labor movement for the substantial salary which the political job pays. He gets a soft berth by climbing over the backs of the members who are left to carry on the struggle against tremendous political disadvantages.

Still another phase of the utter futility of the American political policy is the fact that the trade union leader who is occasionally elected to a city or state office on the Republican or Democratic ticket is compelled, as a rule, to act as a Republican or a Democrat, not as a fighting representative of wage workers. He must so act because he wants to be returned at the next election. He owes much to the party leaders who permitted him to be nominated. This obligation is fatal to his usefulness to the workers.

We may here recall the action of a labor man who was elected as a Democrat to the city council of New Haven, Conn. An issue of municipal ownership came before the city council and the central labor body. The latter organization by a unanimous vote registered its opinion in favor of municipal ownership. One would think that, as a matter of course, the "labor" man in the city council would vote in accord with the decision of the city parliament of labor. He did not



American labor is stirred by the British Labor Party's victory. As Clive Weed in "Judge" shows, workers are looking yearningly "over there." And in ever louder tones the question is heard, "Why not a Labor Party in America?"

ing of the kind. He voted for the capitalist corporation that desired the franchise.

Why did he so vote? Because he was under obligation to politicians who in turn serve private corporations in the city. He could not have received the Democratic nomination without the consent of these politicians. Had he voted against the private corporation the Democratic leaders would not have agreed to his renomination. So the "labor" man acts on such an important measure precisely as any regular politician of the Democratic or Republican parties would act. The "labor" man faces a dual allegiance and the obligation with the most weight is his Democratic affiliation, not his trade union affiliation. What happened in New Haven has happened in thousands of other cities.

Such "labor" men are not essentially dishonest. We may concede that a union man may fight for an old party nomination with the best intentions of serving

the workers in office. It is after he is elected that he faces a dual allegiance. He learns that there are other interests that hold power or seek power. They are investing and profiteering interests and they are solidly entrenched within both old party rings. He learns that if he offends them his political ambitions are at an end. If he serves them he may continue in office. The temptation is generally too strong and the honest man turns his back to the trade unions.

Take this same man and place him in office on an independent labor ticket and the whole situation is changed. He owes nothing to the profiteering interests and their politicians. He owes everything to the labor party that placed him in office. He has every interest in the world to stand out as a conspicuous representative of labor and to accept the instructions of the trade unions. He glories in the fight. He knows that he has a solid body of organized workers behind him. If they can elect him once they can elect him again. They can

send other fighters of labor to keep him company. Eventually they can look forward to control of the city.

This is the psychology of the workers of Great Britain today. These are the methods they follow. The results reaped in England and the barren fruit that comes of the other policy are all too evident to thinking men and women.

Is it not time that members of the unions immediately take up the task of abandoning the fruitless and humiliating policy that belongs to the childhood of the labor movement? The reactionary politicians of the old parties want no change. They have all the power. They want no Labor Party such as that which rules Great Britain today. We should have such a party. We will have it by carrying on a crusade for its realization. It is the job of union members to take up this task. They pay the bills for a fruitless policy and they are entitled to better service.

# The Fight Against Militarism

## How American and British Labor Can Cooperate

By MARK STARR

**T**HERE has been a surprisingly keen interest in Labor circles in the United States concerning the success in the recent elections of the British Labor Party. Even the ordinary newspapers were very friendly—it is easy to be so when Labor organizes politically in *another* country, 3000 miles away. Most of the current comment dealt with the effect which the decision of the British electorate would have upon Anglo-American relations. At the moment of writing, it looks as if MacDonald with his eyes on the composition of the Commons fears to apply his pre-election promise of acknowledging “the freedom of the seas.” However, to get people thinking in terms of **disarmament** is something to serve as a first step, and the many high sounding declarations in favor of peace and reduction of navies will be put to the test.

But this is in the sphere of general politics and the spirit displayed by William H. Johnston, former president of the International Association of Machinists, in a recent Federated Press news release is more to the point, for he envisages the possibility of American Labor cooperating definitely with their British colleagues. Certainly the latter will welcome heartily his initial proposal of destroying the vested interests of private armament firms which create scares in order to create profitable orders for themselves. “I believe the time is ripe,” said Johnston, “for American labor to actively assist in naval reduction and in the reduction of the huge land armies that burden the peoples of Europe especially. Our first step should be to arouse support for the abolition of private profit in preparation for war. The American Federation of Labor is committed to a policy of opposition to war and to

provocations to war. The International Association of Machinists made a definite effort as long ago as 1922 to show the necessity for concentrating all future armament work in government plants, and then, as the demand for war equipment should decline, the use of the surplus facilities of these government plants to produce goods needed by other branches of the government.” The British machinists will undoubtedly support action upon the matter in the Metal Workers International to which both the British Amalgamated Engineers Union and American International Association of Machinists are affiliated. And the British Trades Union Congress will gladly cooperate with the A. F. of L. if, as Johnston hopes, the latter will “take part in the movement to strike the yoke of Militarism from the necks of the workers in all countries.”

### A Campaign of Enlightenment


The necessity of a political labor party in the United States carrying on a campaign of enlightenment upon the cause of war and the means of securing peace is easily seen in the reaction of the average American to the proposed visit of MacDonald to Washington. To him MacDonald is the emissary of a country that does not wish to pay its debts. Of course, if Germany can be scientifically bled for the next 50 or 60 years on the assumption of “sole guilt” for the World War (no American capitalist wants to make the French mistake and think that, say, Ruhr coal can be cut by bayonets); if Europe will pay up quietly, the cost of putting in the brokers man can be cut out and navies be reduced. This is a view which any farsighted capitalist—not to mention the Owen Youngs and J. P. Morgans of international finance capital—would read-

## THE WAY TO PEACE



**PRISONERS  
OF**

**WAR!**

624 

This illustration was used in a 4 page leaflet distributed in hundreds of thousands by British Labor in the recent election. Filled with arguments against war, its title was "Disarm." Which, we ask, brings place nearer, this, or the review of West Point cadets and speeches for "adequate defense" by A. F. of L. leaders?

ily accept. The tragedy is that the American worker accepts this.

During "the grand era of expansion in Britain in the fifties of the 19th century, the craft unions there shared in the British prosperity. It was, however, not lasting. The British capitalists turned their customers of yesterday into their competitors of today. Imperialism finally presented its bill.

In the post-war situation the British workers learnt by bitter experience that "making Germany pay" was throwing a disastrous boomerang.

So far the debt payments and the interest on American capital invested abroad has been largely reinvested. Other countries are beginning to think about an "immigration quota" for capital but their attempts will probably fail. Finally, however payments will have to be made, and in goods and services of some sort. How will this affect the American workers' standards? If, on the other hand, finance capital institutes a supernatural feudal capitalism, where will it get its work done, or how will any isolated national labor organization be able to defend itself?

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action has to "sell" these truths to American workers, for the law of capitalist development like the law of gravity has not been reversed in the United States, just because some American workers own a Ford and some shares of stock. Some organization has to shout aloud that only international organizations can safeguard the workers'

standard of life and abolish the dangers of war.

It was tantalizing for British Labor to get so near to a majority and yet to remain 20 odd seats short. From the attacks made by Sir J. Simon on the National strike (1926) it is not clear whether the Liberals will permit the repeal of the Scabs Charter. MacDonald has consistently viewed society as an organism for which slow evolutionary changes only were possible. Therefore, presumably he will work in a situation which others would find intolerable. Unemployment, however, will have to be faced. Constructive work schemes will need cash which will mean struggle over taxation. One job a Labor Party and its C. P. L. A. midwife could do would be to interpret that struggle to prevent the drawing of wrong conclusions.

The progressive group around the NEW LEADER (London) has welcomed the C. P. L. A. There is a good Left Wing to instil the Party with vigor and courage, and a close and beneficial cooperation should be possible between American and English Labor parties.

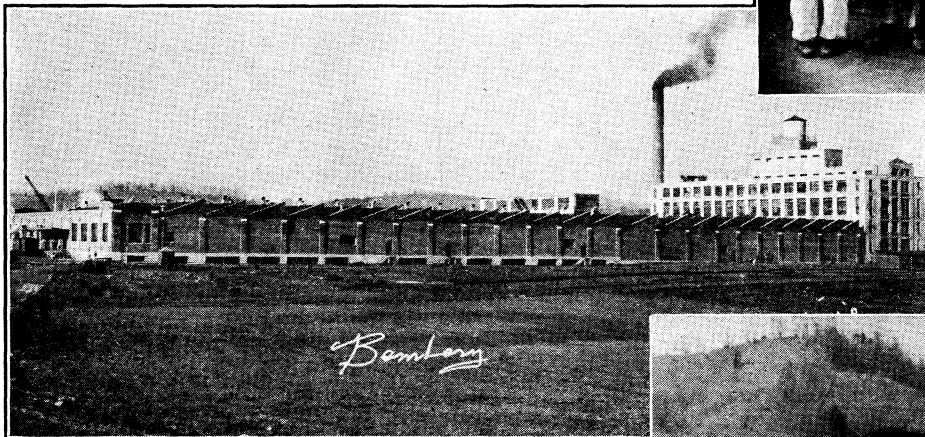
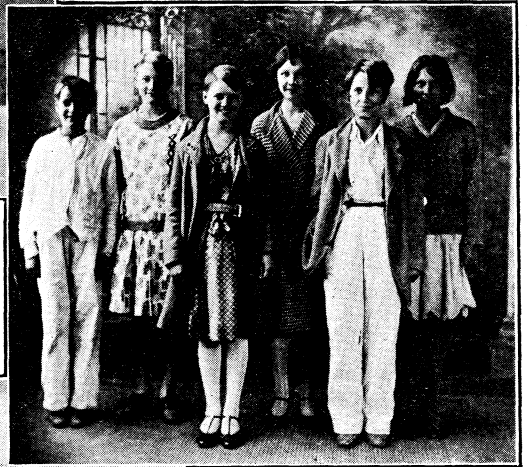
In 1924 when the Labor Government had only 91 supporters compared with the present 288 members of Parliament the fall in wages and union membership was checked and reversed. Similar results may be expected in 1929. And if Johnston's lead is followed and cooperation made effective, world wide advance could be secured.

## AT ELIZABETHTON, TENN.



A number of pretty rayon girls, all under fourteen.

National Guardsman forced by rules of etiquette to salute strikers' flag as parade passes entrance to Bemberg mills off main highway. Young "Stubbie," J. L. Stubbs, and William F. Kelly, unsoldierly looking weaver in hat, head procession.



Machine guns were mounted on roof tops of Bemberg mill, which resembled an embattled fortress of medieval times! They will appear again if a strike is called, as seems imminent.



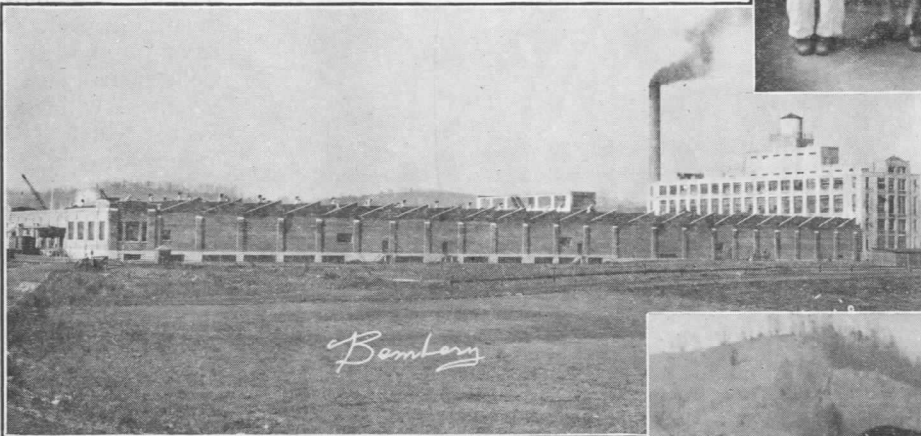
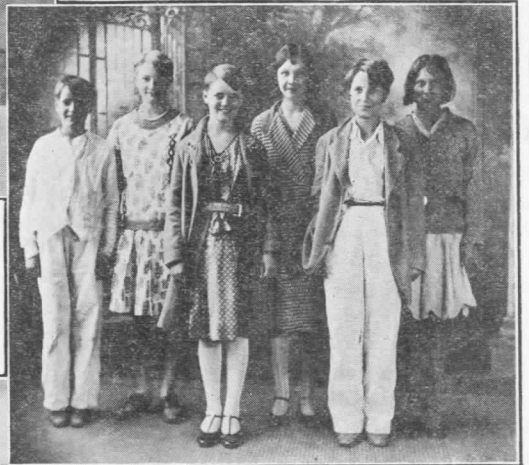
This picture was taken about 25 miles from the large Bemberg plants. Here is the great contrast. Back in the hills from where the employees of the rayon mills come the primitive ox wagon is still used. Industrialization with a vengeance! These mill owners calmly "monkey" around with a couple of thousand mountaineers who aren't removed from the old feudist days so very far at all!

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# War In Gastonia!

## Fourteen Workers Face Murder Charge

By TOM TIPPETT

**A**ROUND the middle of July 14 union men and women will come to trial in North Carolina charged with the murder of Chief of Police O. F. Aderholt of Gastonia. Unless a miracle happens some of them will be convicted and go either to the electric chair or to prison. The Gastonia trial will then take its place in the history of American labor with the Haymarket Riot, the Centralia Trial, the Tom Mooney Case, and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. All the cases are similar and have to do at bottom not with the individuals named in the record but with those who have and those who have not in these United States.

Circumstances leading up to the Gastonia trial began when the National Textile Workers' Union sent organizers into the South in behalf of that organization. It could not have selected a better field for operation. Gastonia is a city of 33,000 inhabitants. There are 52 textile mills and no other industries in the town. Everybody lives in one way or another from textiles. The largest textile mills in America are located in the Loray mill village, situated within the city limits of Gastonia. It manufactures yarn and weaves automobile tire fabric with 2,200 employees at work on the two operations under the same roof. The big Loray mill is one of a chain owned by the Manville-Jenks Co. of Pawtucket, R. I.

### Ruthless Domination

Some of the worst labor conditions in North Carolina prevail in this mill. There is a mill village with over-crowded houses, unsanitary conditions, and the worst aspects of paternalism. The state's 14 year age child labor law is violated. Whole families, sometimes representing three generations, work in the mills. Individual workers earn from 50 cents to \$3 a day. \$9 to \$12 is about the average weekly wage for men and women. There is a night shift of 11 and 12 hours. Company credit and company stores keep many families always in debt to the mill. There are company boarding houses, company playgrounds, company churches, and all the rest. Textile mills dominate every phase of life in Gastonia. Starting with the one daily newspaper, the GAZETTE, the hand of the textile owner can be plainly seen in the civic clubs, schools, court house (Gastonia is a county seat) and in the churches. The working conditions cited here give mute testimony to what workers in the South may expect when the undisputed will of textile manufacturers has its way.

The mill workers who have been referred to here as the "cess pool" of humanity by a visiting textile magnate, are all of pure Anglo-Saxon stock who have lived for generations back in the rural sections, and are now going through the painful transition from an independence on the land to a poverty-stricken wage earn-

ing class. By and large they are a simple hardworking friendly folk with a deep sense of class solidarity inherited from the hills. They are considered by the upper strata as inferior stock and are looked down upon by this so-called better element. I have never seen less cause for such an attitude. In native qualities these mill people are quite above the "average man."

### An Armed Camp

Into such a setting came the union organizers in March. By April 1 the Manville-Jenks espionage system brought about the dismissal of a handful of people who had joined the N. T. W. U. This precipitated a premature strike. More than 1,000 workers joined the walk-out. The sheriff called for troops, and within a week the Loray Mill Village was a military camp. Company after company of Militia came in, opened headquarters in the Young Men's Christian Association building and pitched their tents in the yard of the mill. The GAZETTE spewed forth hysterical condemnation of the union, proclaiming that the vanguard of the revolution was beating at the city gates . . . the fight was on.

Albert Weisbord mounted the strikers' platform. Listen to him speak: "This strike is the first shot in a battle which will be heard around the world. It will prove as important in transforming the social and political life of this country as the Civil War itself. These yellow aristocrats have ground you down for centuries. They went out to the farms and mountains to offer you high wages and good conditions, but you have a Chinese standard of living. In 1850 the United States government announced a 10-hour day for navy yards and public works—and here you are so far behind the times that you are working 12 hours a day. We have come to Gastonia to help you in your struggle for existence. Make this strike a flame that will sweep from Gastonia to Atlanta, and beyond, so that we can have at least 200,000 cotton mill workers on strike. You can't get ahead by yourself. Stick together! Don't listen to the poison of the bosses—extend the strike over the whole country-side. We need mass action!"

Weisbord is from the North. His union is outside the pale of the American Federation of Labor. The GAZETTE called it a communist union, and used all the anti-social epithets which ignorant people always use when opposing unionism. All of which could have been considered obstacles in Weisbord's southern path, but the workers rallied to him en masse.

The N. T. W. U. was formulated by the Communist Party and its organizers, in the main, are members of the Communist Party or its allied organizations. But the union program in Gastonia was far from communistic. It was a militant class conscious

union and nothing more. Weisbord's speech set the pace for strike activity. He left the strike in other hands and the Loray mill workers were in the forefront of all union activity.

The mill threatened the workers with the soldiers, and then an unheard of tactic (in America) was employed by the union. It issued an appeal for mutiny to the soldiers. "Workers of the National Guard!" the statement said, "Do not accept the orders of capitalist murderers but stand fast when the order is given for strike duty. Refuse to shoot your fathers and brothers on the picket lines! Don't be a strike-breaking scab! Fight with your class, the strikers, against our common enemy, the textile bosses. Join us on the picket line and help win this strike. Do not obey the orders of the bosses! Do not shoot us, the strikers!"

### Why Soldiers Were Withdrawn

The amazing thing about this appeal to the soldiers is that it worked. They did refuse to shoot or manhandle the strikers. It is true that the soldiers slept within ear-shot of a masked mob, organized, says the union, by the mill, when it wrecked the union's headquarters and destroyed food for strike relief in the commissary. But many of the soldiers resented this brutality — and then, the powers that be sent all the soldiers home. The day after the soldiers left, however, an imported brand of deputy appeared in the strike zone and began a systemized reign of terror which has not subsided.

Strikers were beaten up and tossed into jail without discrimination—women as well as men. All strike activity was opposed by force. No picketing was permitted and strikers' parades were broken up by deputies' clubs and bayonets all during the strike. It was one of these "imported" deputies who beat into unconsciousness a young news reporter from the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER. In spite of this opposition the strike spread. One mill after another in and around Gastonia came out on strike.

The union is new. It is small. It lacks funds and is isolated from the general labor movement. It did not have one articulate friend, in this section, outside of its own ranks. Because of this the strike toppled over of its own weight. But the union hung on at the Manville-Jenks plant.

Many families were evicted from their homes. The union brought in tents and the first "tent colony" appeared in an American textile strike. The tents were erected on a lot rented by the union which built a new hall to take the place of the headquarters that was wrecked by the mob. And the strike hung on with an armed union guard as the only protection for union property.

On the evening of June 7 the usual union meeting

was held. Inspiration speeches were made by organizers; a parade formed and began a march through the village. The deputies broke this parade up, by force, as was their usual custom. And while that police violence was going on another group of police officers headed by Chief O. F. Aderholt appeared at the tent colony. A union guard lawfully requested a warrant. The police had no warrant but disarmed the guard by force. Other police simultaneously entered the union lot and began chasing the union people through the tent colony. Shots were fired by both sides and much circumstantial evidence indicates that the police started the firing. Five people fell in the

battle—a union man and four policemen. Chief Aderholt died the next morning from his wounds. The other policemen were slightly wounded. The union organizer, Joseph Harrison, is seriously wounded lying in a Gastonia hospital. Anti-union forces say the union deliberately planned to shoot the police and had telephoned for them to come and put down a quarrel among the strikers in the colony. The charge is absurd and does not explain why the police forcibly entered the colony after they arrived and found no quarrel in evidence.

When the preliminary hearing was held on June 19 this point was proven when a lawyer for the union asked Adam Hord, who was one of the raiders and who has since been acting chief of police, this question:

"There wasn't any trouble until one of the members of your force started to disarm one of the men on private property. Is that right?"

To that question the acting chief of police answered, without the slightest hesitation:

"Yes, that's right."

According to the United States constitution that answer should have dismissed the case against the prisoners, but since this is an industrial fight between mill owners and mill workers constitutional guarantees did not matter and 14 members of the union, including all the officers, were indicted for murder and will be tried for that offense on July 22.

If this trial puts an end to the National Textile Workers' Union it will not settle the real cause of the trouble. Strikes have broken out again in North and South Carolina. As I write at least 10,000 workers are in revolt against the conditions which underly the Gastonia case. When mill owners make some concessions to their workers, when they reduce the 11 and 12 hour work day; when they increase the \$9 and \$12 weekly wage scales; when they recognize the right of southern mill people to participate in determining conditions under which they labor some kind of peace may come. But not before. For the industrial revolution has also come to Dixie Land.

### TO RAISE FUNDS



Emblem used on pin which sells for 25 cents. Edith Christenson, secretary of the W. T. U. L., Phila., suggested this splendid idea of raising money for the Southern organizing campaign.

# Practical Idealists of the North-West

## Where Progressive Traditions Are Kept Alive

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

**A** THIRTY-SIX hour ride from Minneapolis over the "Milwaukee Road" brings one into Butte, Montana, 6,000 feet up in the Rockies. Butte is the largest city in Montana and has a population of about 50,000. To get to any other city of comparable or large size requires a trip of almost 500 miles. Perhaps this is the principal reason for its being the best organized city in the United States.

About the only workers who are unorganized in Butte are the public school teachers, the bookkeepers and stenographers and the "muckers," or pick and shovel men, in the employ of the Anaconda Copper Co. It is doubtful whether the Retail Clerks Union has such a high percentage of organization in another city in America. Every single store whether of independent or chain control such as F. W. Woolworth and Montgomery Ward has a Union shop agreement with the Clerks. And perhaps there is no other city in the country where the Bell Telephone Co. workers are fully organized and working under agreements with the Unions. Certainly in no other city are household domestics so strongly organized as in this copper city of the west.

To be sure Butte is a one industry town. Most everything revolves around the Anaconda Copper Co. All its stationary and hoisting engineers, metal and building trades workers are organized and working under agreements with the company. Its miners were organized but internecine warfare did what the Anaconda could not do—it smashed their Union. And in spite of all the efforts since made to organize the pick and shovel men they still remain unorganized.

It is doubtful whether the Anaconda company actually desires this condition. With a falling price level for its products it is probably advantageous to be able to reduce the wages of its miners without the possibility of organized resistance. But with a rising price level (and copper is now selling at almost war time prices) Anaconda officials sit on top of a veritable human volcano. Wage increases negotiated by the organized groups in the company's employ are automatically extended to the unorganized workers. But some fine day when copper prices are mounting faster than wages there will be a revolt of the unorganized that will rock Butte to its very foundations.

### Is Trade Unionism Enough?

It would require an entire issue of LABOR AGE to give an adequate description of the Union organizations of Butte. To workers in other localities less well organized it might seem that here is a sort of a trade union utopia—high degree of organization, extensive union and closed shop agreements as well as extensive power and influence that compels respect not only in

the city but throughout the state. And this influence has its effects on both economic and political issues.

Yet one of the chief complaints of responsible trade union officers there is the lack of interest in meetings at periods other than during negotiations for agreements or in the occasional strike situations that flare up. Trade union organization is an accepted fact in the community life. A seasoned veteran of the movement, a capable and efficient trade union official said to me, "Well, after you get a 100 per cent organization of all the trades in a community such as this, full and complete recognition, and affairs settle down to a pretty much mechanical routine, then what next?" With no larger objective than trade union organization, full recognition and collective bargaining plus protective legislation, does not pure and simple trade unionism lead us eventually into a blind alley?

A day and a night's ride took me from Butte into Seattle, city of militant trade union traditions. And here one finds Jay G. Brown of the old Timber Workers Union, and later actively connected with the great steel strike and the Farmer-Labor Party; James A. (Resolution Jim) Duncan of the Machinists whose speeches on industrial unionism used to be features of A. F. of L. conventions and "Mother" Titus of the Amusement Trades, all older, to be sure, but still battling on in the workers' cause.

### A Slogan Taken Seriously

The Seattle movement has suffered greatly from the general reaction the past few years, but in spite of all it has held its ground much better than the movement in many other localities. The sophisticated easterner is not always likely nowadays to take convention pronouncements of the A. F. of L. very seriously, but 3,000 miles from New York and Washington they are likely to be read, believed and actually worked at. "Distance lends enchantment," as Bill Shakespeare or some one else once said.

An interesting story was told me of how seriously the New Orleans A. F. of L. convention slogan of "Double the Membership in 1929" was taken by many Local Unions and Central bodies in the state of Washington. Three thousand miles away this sounded like a clarion call to action. Washington is not industrialized to the extent most of our eastern states are. The towns and cities are separated by considerable distances. Trade Union members reasoned that the thing to do in order to translate this slogan of activity into practical action was to have the State Federation of Labor plan and direct a state wide organizing campaign. All active forces in the movement should be harnessed and every effort made to double the membership by an intensive state wide drive during a stated

period. To this end pressure was brought to bear upon State Federation officers to call a state wide organizing conference to develop ways and means, plans and activities and to invite all Local Unions and Central bodies to send representatives to such a conference.

State Federation officers were busy endeavoring to lobby through some legislation at Olympia, the state capitol. They hesitated about doing anything that would interrupt their legislative activities. As my informant said, "They are trying to get a bill through that will increase the number of milk inspectors in Seattle from two to four, and are fearful that this important legislation will fail of enactment if they direct their attention to organizing work."

### Wet-Blanketing the Conference

At any rate, the state wide conference on organizing plans was called. More than 150 delegates from Local Unions all over the state appeared, full of enthusiasm and hope. The urge for activity was apparent. A full day was spent in oratory, "fanning the air," as my friend described it. Serious minded delegates looked to the Federation leaders for plans and direction. None were forthcoming. Later under pressure a committee was appointed to draft a program for submission to the conference. Some sort of scheme for providing a standardized application for membership and some sort of a uniform application or initiation fee together with organizing literature, suggestive aids to speakers and organizers were thought to be in order. But no! All this smacked of "industrial unionism" and the old days when the "wobblies" made their influence felt. The structure of the A. F. of L. with its 104 autonomous international unions would permit of no such revolutionary measures.

The committee labored and brought forth a report recommending that the delegates each go back to their respective localities and endeavor to get their Local Unions and Central bodies to undertake organizing activities in such a manner as they saw fit. This said the State Federation leaders is all that can be done. A wet blanket on their enthusiasm and hopes. Yet Jay Brown and Jimmie Duncan and others of their type keep up their courage, work their heads off and live in hopes! It is a far cry from the Seattle of the general strike and the Seattle of March, 1929!

In spite of changing conditions the old time practical militancy crops out. A year or more ago when the newly organized Teachers Union members were compelled to sign yellow dog contracts, it was the signal for launching a political campaign by this new organization, with the backing of the Central body, that succeeded in defeating two of the strongest open shop members of the Board of Education who had been instrumental in imposing the yellow dog contract on the Teachers.

One factor that has undoubtedly contributed much to keeping alive the progressive traditions of the Seattle movement has been the Seattle Labor College. The little group supporting this educational movement has thus far weathered all the storms that have beset the

### BROOKWOOD CLARIFIES POLICY

In defining its policy in regard to accepting students in the future, Brookwood declares, "We certainly want militant, radical workers, young people with vision and enthusiasm in addition to more conservative trade unionists who are willing to analyze critically all problems affecting the labor movement and modern life. We have no wish to depart from our former policy of not discriminating against individual applicants otherwise qualified, on the ground of race or of political, social, religious or economic views or affiliations."

movement from the days of the famous general strike. And were it not for the singular devotion of John C. Kennedy to the idea of workers education, and his loyalty to the labor movement in the broadest sense of the word, the reaction might truly have been greater. Without doubt he and his Labor College colleagues were largely instrumental in organizing the Teachers, and their subsequent victorious struggle with the reactionary Board of Education has kept alive the flame of hope and progress. Yet it is men of his type whom certain labor leaders are always ready to denounce as "pinks," "intellectuals" and "undesirables."

### Tacoma's Lively Movement

One gets inspiration from a visit to the headquarters of the Tacoma Central Labor Council. Neat, well appointed offices first create a good impression on the visitor. What a contrast to some of the filthy, ill kept "Labor Temples" of the east! Then, conversation with the officers of the Central Labor Council and its affiliated Unions brings you to a realization that here are men with ideas doing practical jobs of organization and administration and with a compact, well directed local movement to show for their efforts. No blind alley trade unionism here. No dullness in the meetings. A live weekly newspaper published in a printing plant, owned throughout by the Central council, go into the homes of all members of affiliated Unions regularly.

John McGivney, the editor, a veteran newspaper man, participant in struggles of the workers in far away Alaska in the days before the war, still struggling on, loved and respected by all, yet never compromising his ideals and always maintaining the best ideals of labor publicity.

Coming out of the sophisticated east with its movement virtually at a standstill, its heresy hunting, its so-called "business unionism," its lack of enthusiasm, its petty old party politics, one is stimulated by contact with these open-minded, wide awake practical idealists of the great Northwest whose practical work in the movement in years gone by provide inspiring pages in the history of the workers movement and whose present influence on the younger generation will serve to keep alive in the minds of the workers the finest traditions of labor.

# C. P. L. A. On the Job

## Officialdom's Attack by Innuendo

**H**EADQUARTERS of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action were established at 104 Fifth Ave., New York City on June 15th, and since then they have been humming with activity. The office staff is busy sending out copies of the statement of policy adopted by the conference on May 25-26, membership blanks and copies of the June issue of LABOR AGE. Every day members are joining the C. P. L. A., paying dues, making contributions and subscribing to LABOR AGE, the official organ. Friends of the movement are also busy enrolling members in local branches of the C. P. L. A.

Various committees have been set up and are hard at work. The Research and Publications Committee, for instance, has met twice and has undertaken the preparation of several pamphlets on important issues, including one on Labor Political Action.

Since the conference of May 25-26 A. F. of L. officialdom has had much cause for perturbation. News of the British Labor Party victory sent C. P. L. A. independent political action stock soaring, while the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. invited Ramsay MacDonald to speak at a dinner to be given in his honor when he visits this country.

Then came two A. F. of L. Weekly News Service blasts entitled, "Trade Unionists Face Another Whoopie Breeze," and "How Labor 'Advisors' Would Control." The Tacoma (Wash.) Labor Advocate, in discussing the first says: "It is very interesting to note that the editor indulges in quite an audible whoopie himself," and then proceeds to give that writer a verbal drubbing for his "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world" attitude that he won't forget in a hurry. The second official News Service editorial is one of the silliest that we have seen even from that source. In it that writer has a shiver over the constitutional provision that seven members constitute a quorum of the C. P. L. A.'s National Executive Committee. He refers to it as "rulership." We hasten to announce so that he may lose no further sleep on this account that 16 members attended the June 6th meeting.

### Spargo Rushes In

The NEW YORK TIMES has printed an interesting series of letters on the C. P. L. A. One by a renegade Socialist and defender of the Power Trust, John Spargo, has been reproduced and mailed to union stockholders by the Federation Bank of New York, of which Peter J. Brady is the president.

The latest on the part of labor officialdom is to send out a letter to all its affiliated unions which while carefully refraining from calling the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a Communist organization, is calculated to produce the same effect. This letter was sharply replied to in a statement issued by A. J. Muste, as follows:

"The letter of the executive council refers to the Communists in one paragraph, and to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in another, and although in speaking specifically of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the executive council does not dare to call us Communist or dual in character, a summary paragraph at the end of the letter couples the Communist and progressive organizations together. We feel that this is innuendo of a most unfair kind. It is unfair to the members of the American Federation of Labor whose best interests would be served by a discussion of the issues raised by the progressives, rather than by wholesale and indiscriminate calling of names.

### A. F. of L.'s Attack

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor attempts to besmirch the Conference for Progressive Labor Action by sending out a letter to all its affiliated unions in which it warns them against contributing funds to such Communist organizations as the International Labor Defense and the Workers' International Relief. The same letter declares that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is hostile to the American Federation of Labor and requests the unions 'not to make any financial contributions in response to any appeal this organization may make for financial help.'

"It would have been better of the officials of the American Federation of Labor had met the challenge of progressive laborites on the issues rather than to have sent out such a manifestly unfair letter as this.

"The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not a 'dual' or opposition organization. It does, however, criticize present policies of the American Federation of Labor, advocates a more realistic and progressive policy, and desires to see the American Federation of Labor as strong as intelligence and devotion can make it. Unfortunately the leaders of the American Federation of Labor apparently regard themselves as above criticism, despite the fact that apathy dominates most of the unions, that due to lack of militancy and indifference the labor movement has not only suffered many defeats but has done nothing to organize the basic industries.

"The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not a dual group. Its members are interested in helping to put life and fire in the labor movement, so badly needed right now. They want 'double the membership' to be a reality, not merely a slogan. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not 'hostile to the American Federation of Labor,' as the letter states.

"We are as unwilling to cooperate with the Communists as is the American Federation of Labor itself. Hence the attempt to intimate that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and Communist groups are



## A VIGOROUS MOVEMENT



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

All the things this banner calls for can be achieved by putting into effect the policies advanced by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

identical is not only untrue but unworthy of leaders of the labor movement. It is regrettable that the issues raised by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action are evaded by such insidious and misleading propaganda.

"Attempts to mislead organized labor as to the purpose of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action will fail. Progressive members of organized labor are opposed to such unfair tactics which can be expected to emanate from the Communists but not from the leaders of the American Federation of Labor."

#### Officers and Committees

The National Executive Committee at its first meeting elected the following officers: Chairman, A. J. Muste; Vice Chairmen: James H. Maurer, Carl Holderman; Treasurer, A. J. Kennedy; Executive Secretary, Louis Francis Budenz; Secretary, Leonard Bright.

These decisions were arrived at: Dues to be \$1 a year; to elect an administrative committee of seven; to publish a pamphlet with a full report on the proceedings of the C. P. L. A., including the background of the movement and the events which led to the formation of the C. P. L. A. Resolutions commending Brookwood Labor College and the Federated Press were adopted. A resolution urging active support of cooperative credit, housing, insurance and distributive societies was also adopted.

The members of the Administrative Committee which is to meet with the chairman and secretaries are: Justus Ebert, Clinton S. Golden, J. B. S. Hardman, A. J. Kennedy, Abraham Lefkowitz, Nathaniel Spector and Norman Thomas. This committee on June 10th authorized the secretary to open headquarters at 104 Fifth Avenue, to engage the necessary office help, to purchase office furniture and equipment and to get the work of the C. P. L. A. under way.

The meeting appointed the following committees:

Organization: Clinton S. Golden, chairman; E. P. Clarke, Abraham Epstein and Charles V. Maute.

Research and Publication: J. B. S. Hardman, chairman; Alfred Bernheim, Stuart Chase, McAlister Coleman, Justus Ebert, Harry W. Laidler, Helen Norton, H. S. Raushenbush, David J. Saposs, Louis Stanley and Norman Thomas.

Trade Union Policy: A. J. Muste, chairman; Louis F. Budenz, Leonard Craig, Walter E. Davis, J. B. S. Hardman, Carl Holderman, A. J. Kennedy, Abraham Lefkowitz and Nathaniel Spector.

Labor Political Activities: Abraham Lefkowitz, chairman; Winston Dancis, Nathan Fine, Ludwig Lore and James Oneal.

At a joint meeting of the Administrative Committee and the Board of Directors of the Labor Publication Society it was agreed that the subscription rate to LABOR AGE for individual members of the C. P. L. A. should be \$2 a year and \$1 for six months; and that members of local branches of the C. P. L. A. should be entitled to a special rate of \$1.50 a year.

#### Interest Abroad

Our friends across the sea, in Great Britain and Germany, have learned of the formation of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. THE NEW LEADER (London, Eng.) of June 21, publishes an article on the conference by Mark Starr, while a German trade union journal, Gewerkschafts-Archiv refers to "the conflicting tendencies in the American trade union movement."

Among the many letters received is one from J. B. McNamara who is still in San Quentin prison. He gratefully acknowledges receipt of a copy of the June issue of LABOR AGE, and says "In order to show my appreciation I have subscribed for one year for LABOR AGE." Commenting on the formation of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, he declares:

"If personalities are kept out and all those who are genuinely interested have not got too many axes to grind, all those drowning and left helpless and hopeless on the industrial field will find the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, not a straw but a huge timber, to which all the workers, of all races, opinions, politics and creeds, can cling to and drift to safety."

If a labor man like McNamara who has sacrificed so much for the movement can write with such spirit about the C. P. L. A., what is expected of us on the outside? We should all resolve to work and sacrifice so that the C. P. L. A. may really become the "huge timber" which McNamara and all labor progressives want it to be.

# Cigar Girls Effective Picket Lines

## Injunction Is Bosses' Answer

By ERNEST WHITE

FOR four long weeks 700 girls have carried on a gallant strike against the General Cigar Co. factory at New Brunswick, N. J., in the face of police intimidation and interference with their orderly picketing and now, at this writing, the attorneys for the employers have obtained a temporary injunction from Chancellor Edwin R. Walker without any more difficulty than the preparation of injunction papers with all the usual legal verbiage that they could think of forbidding "visiting, loitering, molesting, coercing and parading," etc., and the writing out of six hundred or seven hundred names, including that of Sadie Reisch, Woman's Trade Union League organizer.

The strike was called in protest against wage cuts, and while this is the primary strike issue, hours and working conditions are also involved. Hand cigar makers who two years ago got 85c per hundred cigars, now get 62½c. Machine operators get 70c a thousand—and an average worker's production is about 3,000 a day. Stripppers get 30c for finishing a box of tobacco, which takes about 2½ hours. When wages received a final paring to their present level January 1, Manager Straus promised to rescind the cut as soon as business picked up. Six months have passed and the girls are tired of waiting.

Bitter feeling is shown by the strikers over the unpaid job of cleaning machines. When the whistle blows they are not free to go, but must clean and polish their machines, sweep the floor, and then wait around until they have obtained a foreman's O. K. on the job. Since they are paid on a piece work basis, this extra half hour's labor at the end of the day is a free gift to the boss, who should, they think, hire his own janitors.

The company's answer to all protests is that conditions are just as bad as its other half dozen sweatshops throughout New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The brands

produced in the New Brunswick plant are Staples, White Owl, Robert Burns, Wm. Penn and Perfecto Grande.

All windows in the factory are kept closed to insure proper humidity for tobacco and much sweat for the girls. The recent heat wave brought things to a head.

The strike is a sporadic outburst of the girls' instinctive opposition to intolerable working conditions. The girls have organized their own committee and are maintaining a picket line that would do credit to any union in the country.

### STRIKING CIGAR WORKERS



Some New Brunswick, N. J., girl strikers and leaders. F. P. Photo

They telegraphed Rose Schneiderman of the New York Women's Trade Union League, inviting her to advise them on procedure. She assigned Sadie Reisch to assist the strikers. So well did she do her job that she was specifically mentioned in the injunction granted the employers by Chancellor Walker.

Peaceful picketing—always under the unfriendly eye of the police—was permitted for a while following a visit to Police Chief O'Connell by a local committee of business men and property owners who

are strike sympathizers.

But after two weeks he told the girl strikers: "From now on I'm going to rule with an iron hand."

With those words he repealed—so far as the cigar girls are concerned—the New Jersey state law which specifically permits peaceful picketing. "Round 'em up," he told his bluecoats the next day, when the usual picket line appeared in front of the cigar factory. And the cops grabbed 100 girls—all they could lay hands on. Not even a warning to disperse preceded the arrests.

In court the pickets were found guilty of disorderly conduct, although there had been no disorder. So terrifying were these girls in their teens, the prosecutor told the court, that passers-by were afraid to share the sidewalk with them, and must walk in the street. One passer-by—a life insurance man who passed the picket

## LABOR AGE

line daily—testified that he wasn't intimidated, and had never seen anything there to intimidate anyone. Unconvinced, the judge and fined each girl \$5.

Attorney Lyons, retained for the strikers, by Henry Hilfers, A. F. of L. organizer, has appealed all the cases. "There was absolutely no evidence to support the convictions," he asserted, "and I do not believe they can be sustained in any higher court."

Unbluffed, the cigar girls made bigger picket lines their answer to the police chief. Where 50 pickets turned out before the arrests, 150 girls now formed a quiet, orderly line more than a block long. No further arrests have followed; instead, the employers are attempting to break the strike through the vicious instrumentality of the injunction.

The local paper, the NEW BRUNSWICK HOME NEWS, is unflagging in its efforts to play down the strike and whitewash the cigar company. While metropolitan papers are publishing pictures of picket lines, the HOME NEWS features its discovery that some of the girls are actually wearing silk dresses, and announces

that "conditions in the plant are not as represented." It is safe to assume that they are not—as represented by the HOME NEWS.

Until the issuance of the injunction long picket lines appeared each morning before the General Cigar Co. factory, where 1,000 girls, unorganized and leaderless, walked out a month ago in protest against wage cuts. Although some have gone back to work, and estimates of the strike strength vary, it seems certain that more than 700 girls are still out.

A slender, pretty member of the strike committee, who cannot be more than 17, declared that the cigar girls are determined to stay out until their grievances are remedied. Production, she said, is badly crippled, with nearly half the machine operators sticking to the strike, and the 650 hand cigar makers out to a woman. Besides Sadie Reisch, Henry Hilfers, A. F. of L. Organizer, and W. M. Brandt of the Cigar Makers' International Union are on the scene. A relief committee has been organized and is already caring for 18 families.

## Is Major Berry Bosses' Man?

### *Opposed to Forty Hour Week*

Editor, LABOR AGE:

PRINTING is a monthly trade publication of New York and Chicago. It proclaims itself as "the leading organ of the master printers." Its June 8th number is interesting, in view of the fact that the photo-engravers' and the typographical unions are striving for the 40 hour week in the printing industries.

This interest is due to two exhibits. No. 1, a news item reads:

#### **"INDUSTRY NOT READY FOR FORTY-HOUR WEEK**

"No branch of the printing industry is ready for the 40 hour work week according to Major George L. Berry, president of the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, who expressed certain views on the subject in an interview on the occasion of a recent visit in Chicago. He expressed gratification to a representative of 'Printing' over the progress made in Chicago in unionizing non-union press rooms but said that no efforts are being made to shorten the present work week of 44 hours.

"'Extensive surveys which we have made show that the printing industry is not ready for the 40 hour work week,' declared Major Berry. 'We feel, however, that many plants can operate on the five day work week basis of 44 hours, with less waste and more production than the present work week of five and one-half days. I think it is a mistake for labor unions in the graphic arts to make demands for a 40 hour work week until conditions improve.'"

Exhibit No. 2 is an editorial, as follows:

#### **"THE 40 HOUR WEEK**

"Unquestionably, the opinion expressed by Major George L. Berry, president of the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, that the printing industry is not ready

for the introduction of the Forty Hour Work Week, will be disputed by less level-headed labor leaders.

"Major Berry said during the interview with a representative of 'Printing' that he reached his opinion by reason of a survey made by his union. He added that he believed that the five day week of 44 hours may be adopted with less waste and more production in printing plants than the operation of plants on a basis of spreading the same number of hours over five and one-half days.

"Hundreds of commercial and publication printers who still operate their plants on a 48 hour work week basis are only remotely interested in the discussion of the possibility of the introduction of the forty hour work week, but these printers are in localities where the unions are not so strong. In the labor union strongholds, however, the issue is beginning to loom large on the industry's horizon with employing interests doing some anxious thinking about the competitive features in which the 48 hour work week centers are big factors. This attitude is being reflected in the attitude of the scale committees.

"Major Berry's comment will probably give the advocates of the still shorter work week, a sinking spell. We think the major is right. The facts show that the printing industry has not yet successfully absorbed the extra costs of operating on a 44 hour basis. Big contracts are being taken from 44 hour work week plants by printers operating on a 48 hour basis. Unions would be wise to let well enough alone."

After reading these two items, and recalling the photo-engravers' and typographers' 40 hour aims, the question arises, is Major Berry a labor leader or a capitalist forestaller of labor's endeavors? We printers would like to know!

ONE OF THEM.

# Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

## XIV. WHO'S WHO?

SOONER or later the research worker has occasion to look up the life of some person who has been more or less active inside or outside of the labor movement. For the dead there are biographical dictionaries, general encyclopedias and biographical volumes. The librarian will introduce these aids to you easily enough. For the living the material available is generally scattered and scanty. Frequently interviews with the person you are investigating or with persons who know him are possible. Such field work should not be neglected. In any case, books must almost always be consulted. This article makes some suggestions along this line.

Some of the sources of information already mentioned in this series are especially useful in the investigation of contemporary biography. Of first importance is the library catalog. It is one of those obvious tools that is all too often overlooked. The catalog may reveal existing biographical sketches of the person in which you are interested. At least you may discover writings by this person which will supply you with incidental biographical items and information about his attitude on crucial problems. Of second importance is the READERS' GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE which will indicate to you similar material in the magazines of recent years. Later on in your investigation the NEW YORK TIMES INDEX may be very helpful.

Of reference volumes the first to be consulted is the standard work on living persons, WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, published by A. N. Marquis Co., Chicago, Ill., at \$8.50. Volume 15 for 1928-1929 contains some 2,500 large pages and 28,805 biographical sketches. For each person listed such information is given as place and date of birth; names of parents, wife and children; schooling, positions held; writings; religious and political affiliations; and address. With such data as clues one can carry the investigation into fields not strictly biographical, such as college catalogs, children's activities, proceedings of organizations, books not listed in library catalog but procurable elsewhere, and volumes to be referred to below.

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA may be supplemented by hundreds of other who's who's covering narrower fields which appear under various titles. For the student of labor problems the most important is the AMERICAN LABOR WHO'S WHO, edited by Solon De Leon and associates, which the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, New York City, put out in 1925 through the Hanford Press. It devotes 259 pages to American labor leaders and indexes them by organization, occupation and address.

There are other books devoted to special groups of persons or to persons in certain localities. Many of these are but single volumes or appear at long intervals and hence may be out of date. Examples of the type devoted to special classes of people are the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, the AMERICAN CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO, RUS (RURAL LEADERSHIP), the LAWYER'S DIRECTORY, WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN MEDICINE, WHO'S WHO IN FINANCE, BANKING AND INSURANCE, CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY, and the NEW YORK RED BOOK (state legislators). Illustrations of regional biographical volumes are WHO'S WHO IN NEW ENGLAND, WHO'S WHO IN NEW YORK, WHO'S WHO IN PENNSYLVANIA, and WHO'S WHO IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

Besides volumes containing biographies more or less complete there are those which give items of much interest which can be added to the material obtained from other sources. These are the directories of various sorts. They, too, are of two kinds: those classifying by occupation, profession or industry, and those classifying by region. The most comprehensive guide to these directories, particularly for the first group, is that invaluable volume, MAILING LIST DIRECTORY AND CLASSIFIED INDEX TO TRADE DIRECTORIES prepared by Linda H. Morley and Adelaide C. Knight under the direction of the veteran librarian, John Cotton Dana. It was published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City, in 1924. It classifies some 1,500 directories covering about 1,300 trades or professions. A union office could easily find references to the directories it needs most. Some of the occupational directories are POOR'S REGISTER OF DIRECTORS (of corporations), the DIRECTORY OF DIRECTORS in the City of New York, RAND McNALLY BANKERS DIRECTORY, INVESTMENT BANKERS AND BROKERS OF AMERICA, and INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORY OF NEW JERSEY. City directories and telephone directories, classified or unclassified, are regional volumes which are overlooked by research workers. The Association of North American Directory Publishers, 524 Broadway, New York City, has been in existence since 1898. It maintains 400 directory libraries for the public's convenience in as many cities in the United States and Canada. Telephone books can be consulted at railroad stations and at the local telephone company's offices. The larger libraries contain much of the material mentioned in this article.

### *For Your Own Research*

1. Work up the biography of some person prominent in the labor movement.
2. Do the same for a well-known capitalist.

# Flashes from the Labor World

## Activity On All Fronts

Who said the labor movement is dead? The labor reporter of these days can easily refute the pessimist. His desk, piled high with news from every part of the country, tell of awakening activity on workers' fronts from one coast to the other. Regretfully he is forced to clean off his desk each Saturday to make way for the grist of new news.

Kenosha, Butte, Centralia, San Francisco, Gastonia, Elizabethton, the dark regions of Mississippi, Haverhill, Pittsburgh, Detroit crowd each other for front page. New Orleans street car men gird for battle, New Bedford threatens strike against speedup, the engineer of the Mooney frameup dies, jobless men tramp from one Detroit auto factory to another, Gov. Fisher commissions 2,508 industrial—erstwhile coal and iron—police. Buffalo socialists name the president of the city council for mayor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, backed by the Illinois Federation, invites Ramsay MacDonald to speak in the city's huge lakefront bowl, using WCFL, the labor radio, to amplify his voice to millions, a New Bedford labor councilman urges a state labor party.

Behind the scene significant news is in the making, with the Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes reporting fundamental changes in the economic system, foreshadowing the end of parasitism. In Washington the military crowd begin their campaign against disarmament. J. P. Morgan's crowd steps in to hog Niagara's and the St. Lawrence river's enormous water power for perpetual private gain.

\* \* \*

With industrial conditions somewhat stabilized in the north, attention in recent months has passed to the south where rapid industrializa-

tion has brought the class struggle in its wake. There hordes of workers, unused to the cruel exploitation that is the essence of factory system under private profit, have been rising in series of rebellions.

Alfred Hoffman, southern organizer for the Hosiery Workers, told his federation in special convention just what it all meant. "Hill-billies,"

that spirit of freedom which once was peculiarly associated with the word "American." In them he sees the hope of the south and the promise of effective unionization that will break the back of the crude, arrogant industrial feudalism. The hill people, he believes, are more responsive to unionism, higher-spirited, than the people of the southern plains, whose strength has been sapped by generations of mill village or tenant farm life.

\* \* \*

There are workers in Mississippi, too. But who ever heard of them until Art Shields and Esther Lowell, of Federated Press, breaking ground in the darkest south, pierced through to the lumber camps of that region? Then you remember, with a start, that Louisiana and Mississippi still rank close to Washington and Oregon as the great lumber producing states of this country, and that certainly there must be thousands of workers in camps and saw mill towns.

Art Shields tells of them, white and Negro laborers working for 25c an hour since the lumber barons broke the back of the Intl. Timber Workers Union by the murder of four unionists in and around Bogalusa ten years ago. It was just a few days after the lumber interests of the western Washington had struck the fatal blow against the Industrial Workers of the World at Centralia, when the southern bosses unleashed murder against their striking workers. Ten years later the southern loggers and mill workers remember Bogalusa. But their jobs are disappearing as the timber falls remorselessly under the blows of ax and saw. Within a dozen years these lumber workers will have joined the army of the unemployed, Shields fears.

### FREE MOONEY



The demand on Gov. Young of California to pardon Mooney grows stronger and stronger. But justice sleeps, as Jerger in the Locomotive Engineers' Journal shows.

he said, "from the highlands of Tennessee and the Piedmont Carolinas will be the backbone of a bloodless uprising now gathering force throughout the new industrial south. That rebellion will be almost as significant, from an historical standpoint, as the civil war itself."

Hoffman drew a picture of the hill people, proud, unbroken, retaining



Two pictures have painted a ghastly indictment of American capitalism. They show Tom Mooney in 1916 and Tom Mooney today. One picture is that of a robust, healthy two-fisted Irishman who was a nuisance and a menace to the power gang in California. The other shows the shrunken cheeks, hollowed eyes, deep lines of a man who has tasted California justice for 13 long, weary years. But the eyes are still defiant and the jaw betokens an indomitable spirit that defies to this day the indecent Gov. Young who would brand this man an admitted criminal by giving him a parole until he has proved that he has the right attitude toward the social system.

Until about one year ago save for a small group of friends in the west, Mooney had been forgotten. Now powerful liberal groups are protesting and the A. F. of L. has been impelled to consider his case. Influential churchmen, among them Francis J. McConnell, head of the Federal Council of Churches, Pres. Henry Sloan Coffin of Union Theological Seminary and Harry Emerson Fosdick; a conference of college students at Estes Park, Colo., from 55 middle western and mountain colleges; the Colorado Federation of Labor; numerous church conferences; even the conservative Boston Central Labor Union—all these and scores more are joining the demand on Gov. Young for an immediate pardon for Warren K. Billings and Mooney. LABOR AGE readers owe it to themselves and these two valiant labor men to write Gov. Young at the state capitol, Sacramento, Calif., reiterating that demand.

\* \* \*

But who will help the Centralia loggers? Imprisoned now for 10 years in the gloomy recesses of Walla Walla penitentiary out in Washington, they are in danger of being forgotten because they are tucked away in a remote corner of the country. But if ever men were innocent, if ever workers could demand the active help of all good men and true, then these Centralia lumberjacks deserve that help. Almost single-handed Carl Brannin of the Seattle Labor College has been carrying on the struggle for the victims of the American Legion fury. Aided by Elmer Smith and a

few others, he has aroused the Washington labor movement to demand of Gov. Hartley—himself a lumber boss—the pardon of these I. W. W. condemned to 25 to 40 years for defending their hall against a mob. It is time for workers outside Washington to make an insistent demand on Hartley for tardy justice for these lumber workers. Their case is every bit as meritorious as that of Mooney and Billings.

\* \* \*

Since bakeries have become bread factories, the Bakers Union has had a hard time fighting trustification with its ever-present labor-hating tendencies. In Boston, reports Organizer Chris A. Kerker, conditions, under which many bakers are now working in some shops, are deplorable. Long-hour shifts have returned, wages are being cut and inevitable speedup is driving the bakers to an ever-increased output per man. Organizer Kerker has been negotiating with Boston boss bakers, with many settlements reported with individuals, although an understanding could not be reached with the association.

\* \* \*

On the Pennsylvania railroad, shopmen are organizing openly again. Even Pres. Atterbury has signified that union men will not be fired ipso facto. This powerful road tried to break the back of the shopcrafts during the 1922 strikes, but unionism has shown vitality by sticking to the job in face of unparalleled terrorism. Now a partial victory is won, with more to follow. On the open shop New Haven, the nation's premier junkpile, shopmen are carrying on union organization work again. On the Chicago & Northwestern an important concession has been won in forcing the road to arbitrate differences which it had said never would be arbitrated. The shopcrafts have toughness and determination. A hard bunch to keep licked!

\* \* \*

Throughout the south are islands of unionism. They are to be found around the big railroad terminals. There the homes are better than those of other workers, conditions more decent, independence more apparent. The big four brotherhoods and the shopcrafts are responsible for that. Their power is brought to mind by the successful conclusion of hard-

fought demands of the shopmen on the Southern railroad for increases comparable to those of the New York Central and other northern lines. After the Southern's poverty blues had been duly sung and discredited, the unions stepped in to take increases of 5 to 6 cents an hour, or \$150,000 a year, all told. The railroad unions, having won better conditions for themselves through aggressive unions, should lend a helping hand to the southern mill workers.

\* \* \*

A study in dualism is presented by the shoe industry in America. The recent convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, the A. F. of L. organization in New England, attests to that. Reports showed no fewer than four unions contesting for power, and with none of them within miles of majority control. The A. F. of L. union has seen locals and cities slip from its control—Haverhill, Lynn, Boston. The Shoe Workers Protective Union, the United Shoe Workers, the Independent Shoe Workers, all independent of each other and for the most part antagonistic, contend for the allegiance of the laster and cutter. They blame the Boot and Shoe's no-strike compulsory arbitration policy for the constant rebellions against the A. F. of L. union's authority.

\* \* \*

Many good ideas were in the air when wives, daughters and sisters of unionists met at Unity House in the Pocono hills to discuss good and welfare. Geneva Marsh hammered away for a labor red cross, always on the job for strikers' relief and defense. As in Elizabethton, strike machinery seems invariably to be clumsy, if existent at all. Valuable weeks are lost and finally, when the strike may be on its last legs, other unions come tardily to the rescue. Miss Marsh wants a federal council of women's auxiliaries to take over this job and show the men how it ought to be done. Sec. Edith Christenson of the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League applauded and asked why the federal women's council shouldn't also fight for women's legislative rights.

*This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Bureau Manager of The Federated Press.*

# In Other Lands

## MacDONALD FORCED TO GO SLOW

Flushed with its victory over the Tories and Liberals at the general elections the Labor Party stood forth as a symbol and a light for the workers of other countries,



*Boston Herald*

### A Little Worried

the last time MacDonald formed a government. It has office and administration but no real power, for it lacks a clear majority over the combined old parties. Should MacDonald try to pass legislation of a fundamental nature he will risk an adverse vote in the House of Commons. This means the Labor Premier must go slow with disarmament and with liberal treatment of Egypt, India and China. He will not reverse action on Singapore as the fortress is nearly half finished. To dismantle Singapore means to offend New Zealand and Australia which help to finance it, and no government in England will antagonize those two important Dominions.

The Labor Government will not be able to reduce the fighting strength of the fleet on account of the sensitiveness of the people of all classes for the people are almost 100 per cent navy minded, vested interests aside. The verities and realities of the food supply and the foreign trade with far away outposts make the fleet the first and last line of defense of the country and some of its possessions, they say.

There is talk of London scrapping its naval bases in West Indies, and though Bermudas and Halifax are not mentioned, which taken with the general discussion of peace issues is a step in the right direction. It creates a new psychology in Britain and in Europe, as well as spiking the U. S. big navy men.

In the matter of unemployment MacDonald and his aide Thomas have the hardest nut to crack. Thomas talks of emigration, and there is a suggestion to reduce the age limit to 60 or 65 and increase the child labor age two or three years as a measure of relief to cut in the unemployed list. Still any remedy proposed must cost

money and it must be voted for in Parliament. The whole question resolves itself into the value of a party accepting office with a minority in Parliament. MacDonald and his advisers may yet have reason to regret they did not agree to the resolution advocated at the Liverpool Labor Party Congress, two years ago when it was proposed that the party should not accept office unless it had a clear majority.

The absence of Left Wing members from the cabinet and the proposal to have a consultative committee to act as a clearing house for complaints within the party would lead one to conclude that MacDonald after a few months will have more to contend with from his own membership than from the Tories or Lloyd George.

## REPUDIATES WAR RESPONSIBILITY

Celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Versailles treaty, Berlin and all that speaks for the Reich repudiated responsibility for the war and left the way clear for the ex-Kaiser to return to the Fatherland. While it accepted the findings of the Young Commission it makes a new demand for the Rhineland. Unemployment is still rather high, but reports from the centers of population are that the number was reduced from the three-quarter million to the half-million mark. It is significant that though all the governments of Central Europe are even weaker than Germany's and though the economic conditions are by no means good, no serious disturbance is reported. Politically and economically Central Europe was never so quiet.

## IRELAND AND THE CHURCH

After the nation paid tribute to the late John Devoy, the revolutionist, and gave his remains the greatest national funeral ever held in the country since Parnell, both Church and State combined to give the world the greatest exhibition of medievalism since Peter the Monk roused Europe. It marshalled half a million people in Phoenix Park, Dublin to a mass in anniversary of religious freedom and the election of Daniel O'Connell to parliament. O'Connell was the first Catholic to enter Parliament since King James II. As the celebration follows the passage of the Censorship Bill and the exclusion of Shaw's books from some of the libraries one sees the triumph of clerical reaction in Ireland as well as in Spain and Italy. Mexico often compared with Ireland has allowed the Church to operate once more, but under restrictions that tells one that Rome has lost the battle. The church conceded almost everything to the government for the privilege of carrying on and is content to play the second fiddle while in Ireland it dominates supreme.

## FRANCE POSTPONES DEBT PAYMENT

While ever damning the Russians for repudiating the debts of the Czar the French through their Parliament repudiated their debts to the United States by putting off payments for another six months. The French parliament gave Uncle Sam a blow in the face, and to the surprise of all, Washington has taken it rather meekly in contrast with its past treatment of Latin-American countries and Russia.



# "Say It With Books"



## BIG BILL HAYWOOD

I. W. W. Leader

Bill Haywood's Book, *The Autobiography of William D. Haywood*. International Publishers, 1929. 365 pp. \$2.50.

THE Scotland Yard men who took me off the boat at Liverpool a few years ago gave my trunk a careful search for arms and red literature. All they found was my "line-a-day." But in it was a suspicious notation. I had written on a certain day: "Interviewed Bill Haywood about labor spies."

That was enough for His Majesty's Imperial Bolshevik Sniffers. They rushed me back to the ship and put me under lock and key and heavy iron bars for the night. Meanwhile they made a really thorough examination of my traveling effects even removing the matches from every penny match box.

That incident gave me some notion of the regard with which the secret service in the imperialist countries held the name and image of William D. Haywood. Anyone who had even "interviewed" him was immediately suspected. For them he personified the worst and the wildest in the American working class. Built on the lines of a cowboy or a big western farmer this brawny son of Rocky Mountain soil put fear in the hearts of dicks and corporation lawyers. How thoroughly they hated him, and how often they tried to trap him.

The autobiography this man has written will stand for decades to come as one of the most significant pieces of workers' literature. Compared with all the current overdone biographies and psycho-analytic studies of famous, or infamous, politicians and circus men it strikes one like a breath of clean air from Big Bill's own mountains. There is nothing to compare with it in the annals of American labor figures, nothing quite so simple, sincere and single in its purpose as the story of this bulky one-eyed leader of the I. W. W. It is 60 years—and 365 pages—packed with hair-raising accounts of labor wars, martial law, bull pens, workers' trials, exiles and deportations, Pinkertons, mass arrests, gunmen, press censorship, violence, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, narrow escapes, official lawlessness and terror, together with intimate stories and jokes, by and about this "undesirable citizen" as the late Teddy Roosevelt once called him. In other words it is a first-class "thriller" that should find first place on a list of books to be sent to political prisoners anywhere in the world. But the jailers would confiscate it.

Such incidents as the following become almost common-

place as one follows Bill from his birth among the Mormons to his death among the Communists. He is describing the way in which Pettibone, Moyer and himself were deposited in the penitentiary, framed-up on a charge of killing a governor:

"Here we are in murderers' row, in the penitentiary, arrested without warrant, extradited without warrant, and under the death watch. We had been kidnapped in the dead of night and did not know whether our lawyers were aware of our destination. Certainly no one could have expected that we would be put in the penitentiary without a trial, or even a semblance of an investigation."

But after reading this book, and after realizing how American corporations have always dealt with progressive labor organizers, one is prepared to believe that almost anything could happen to Bill. And it did happen, as it does today, to those who are active in, say, enlisting the southern textile slaves in an industrial union. It is almost impossible to think of a charge on which Bill or one of his close associates were not framed-up during those stormy years. He was arrested for every crime from smoking cigarettes to homicide.

Workers who have had an emasculated kind of labor history handed down to them in the adult evening classes of the Workers Education Bureau would do well to absorb into their system this story of the labor wars of Cripple Creek, Telluride, Coeur D'Alenes, Butte, Paterson and Lawrence. At the same time they should not forget that the corporations are actually as ruthless now as they were in Haywood's day. Rockefeller, Guggenheim and Long Bell Lumber are not names out of a distant past. They call today for the same kind of courageous frontal attack that they got when Bill was leading the Western Federation of Miners.

Of course, these corporations have now put on the mask of "employee representation" and have veiled their blood and iron policies with the other vestments of the "new capitalism." But in spite of their oily personnel men, their foundations, their public relations experts, their heavily advertised charities and footlight donations to science and education, they are still the enemies of the working class. In spite of the Ivy Lees and the Harry Emerson Fosdicks, scraping before the throne of the Rockefellers, their vicious open shopperly is still evident in both the labor and public policies of Standard Oil and the Rocky Mountain Fuel and Iron Co. against which Haywood valiantly fought.

Bill also ran into some hard-boiled employers associations in his day. There was, for example, the Citizens' Alliance, the strike-breaking body that once ruled the Colorado mining camps with gunmen. One of their typical local branches Bill says was "a net of venomous conspirators with a banker at its head." And along with the banker went the "tough gambler, the lazy preacher, the nasty pimp and others of the business element." Today, we find the manufacturers associations and employers bodies not quite so "rawly" represented. But in emergencies they always summon their masked mobs, as at Gastonia or Elizabethton to do their violent bidding. The old Citizens' Alliance has its disguised counterpart in almost every American industrial community today. The minute you try to organize they spring to the defense of the corporations.

Worker readers will be particularly interested in the stories surrounding the early days of the Western Federation of Miners when Bill was at his best. This period has badly needed to be illuminated and its lessons learned by American workers. There is also a good deal of strike strategy to be picked up from a careful reading of this story by the leader of scores of strikes.

Altogether the book is more than a temporary labor "best seller." It is a moving narrative of the working class during some of its stormiest decades. It contains enough drama for a score of labor plays. And it is full of inspiration for those who struggle today against the same forces that damned and imprisoned, but never defeated, Bill Haywood.

ROBERT DUNN.

## "IN THE SILK"

**Labor and Silk**, by Grace Hutchins. International Publishers. \$1, board; \$2, cloth.

"... and several churches in western North Carolina have arranged to make public announcement of the opportunity presented to those who wish to seek employment in the rayon plant."

—Textile World, May 18, 1929.

SO the southern mountain preachers near Asheville, N. C., play labor agent for the American Enka Corp., opening a \$10,000,000 artificial silk mill near the tourist city. Enka put job application cards in crossroads stores of mountain hollows, besides getting the ministers to advertise the company's need for workers.

No doubt some of the reverends made the joys and benefits of labor sermon subjects to emphasize the free ad. But I wonder whether any hinted of the rayon workers' rebellion just across the mountains in Elizabethton, Tenn., where the same sort of people were lured into great German-American mills to labor at miserably low pay for tyrannical bosses. Enka is Dutch-American, with Percy Rockefeller an interested backer.

Rayon's phenomenal rise to fame in the fabric world, the enormous profits it has brought the capitalists, the intricate inter-relationships of companies organized in a world cartel (trust), and something of the special health hazards to its workers make a fascinating chapter in Grace Hutchins' "Labor and Silk." For, although rayon is not strictly synthetic silk and does not duplicate exactly the fibre spun by the silkworm, it serves in almost every use as a silk substitute.

Why European-American rayon companies rush to southern states, with a steadily increasing number of real silk mills going South, is also told by Grace Hutchins. Other shifts in the silk industry, particularly from the old stronghold of Paterson, N. J., to Pennsylvania hard coal regions, are related. Technical changes in the industry are briefly indicated, with emphasis on the speed-up effect on silk workers.

The "Labor and Industry Series" of the Labor Research Association, of which this is one volume, is built solidly on the presentation of industrial facts from the workers' standpoint. It is intended to guide workers through

broader knowledge of their industries to more effective organization efforts. Robert W. Dunn's "Labor and Automobiles" appeared simultaneously with the silk volume and others are forthcoming on coal, timber, steel, textiles and other basic industries.

While "Labor and Silk" deals primarily with the spinning and weaving of real silk and rayon, it also includes something of silk knitting, hosiery and weaving of mixed goods: cotton and silk, wool and silk, etc. The author contends that the lines of the textile industry are not clearly marked because mixed materials are used in almost all branches. For this reason in some places her text may confuse readers unfamiliar with the industry. For instance, the mergers of southern mills she mentions and those of Fall River, Mass., are primarily cotton mill combines. Then, too, in the list of net profits of certain silk companies, on page 39, rayon and real silk weaving firms, hosiery and knitting concerns are thrown into one column, although not wholly comparable.

It would have been an interesting note to have added that the "prize winner" in her profits column is a *union* hosiery concern, Gotham Silk Hosiery Co. Is that an argument for or against unionism? "Labor and Silk" passes up the point.

In the history of American strikes, the 1913 Paterson silk strike is one of the biggest and most colorful. The author calls it "The Great Strike" of Paterson. Bill Haywood and John Reed come into her picture, but where are Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Pat Quinlan—who got a penitentiary term for strike activities,—and others who were so much a part of this fight, if leaders are mentioned? The exceedingly interesting description of "Big Bill" in the Lawrence woolen workers' strike of 1912, quoted from Marlen E. Pew, could well be sacrificed to give a study of Paterson tactics for the benefit of today's silk workers, not all of whom went through that struggle.

In her concluding "Problems of Organization," Grace Hutchins sums up well the points workers must consider in trying to build a national union of silk workers: (1) that many nationalities are in the industry; (2) that women, particularly young ones, are in the majority; (3) that craft lines have been broken by technological developments and shop organization is necessary; (4) that silk

companies now are big concerns with many scattered mills under single control; (5) that "persistence and stability in the work of organization will be essential."

Existing silk unions depend chiefly on the demand for shorter work hours to alleviate unemployment and mitigate the strain of speed up. But the author paints this possible future:

"A long view ahead sees machine development in a workers' republic giving all workers leisure enough to live and to create. It is already reasonable to estimate that the world's needs for goods and services can be supplied by four-hour shifts of adult workers in mines, factories and transportation. Only an integrated, scientific system of socialism, with the producers in control, would make this possible."

"Labor and Silk" is the only volume in existence for its purpose. It is packed with valuable data. Observation of silk workers around the world gave Grace Hutchins an exceptional background. The book should be indispensable to silk workers seeking to organize themselves in the face of organized employers and an ever more complicated economic order.

ESTHER LOWELL.

### SUMMER at BROOKWOOD

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