

Warm Approval for C. P. L. A.

Labor Age

Militancy and Money

A. J. MUSTE

An Educational Fiasco

CARA COOK

No Wage Demands!

AN EDITORIAL

DECEMBER, 1929

25 CENTS

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Labor Age

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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.

Prosperity's Dangerous Age

In Which Sundry Villains Appear Upon the Stage

WISE men came to Washington late in November, conferred, and agreed. Wages of serfs and servitors should not be cut. One sage, one Henry Ford of Dearborn, made so bold as to aver that wages should go up. He made a profound statement: Wages had not kept pace with production. More goods were on the market than the faithful and loyal among the masses could purchase. Stocks in warehouses were not healthy for stocks on Wall Street. But in one voice, all 22 of the overlords of America declared: "The Nation's Prosperity for the Future is Assured."

The faithful and loyal could immediately put on a more cheering aspect. These grave family conferences at the White House have had to do with the strange ill-health of that pet of the current era, Prosperity. She has come into a very dangerous age. To learn that ritzy times are still ahead may cause us all to forget that little matter of unemployment and the recent shearing of the lambs. We will all go out and buy another radio on the installment plan, in happy anticipation of the added purchasing power that is coming to our pocketbooks. These pulmotors may save Prosperity for a time—in a land where machine development has as yet brought more involuntary leisure than the blessed leisure for study and happiness.

But Prosperity's illness arises, alas, from deeper sources. She is suffering from Profititis. Just forget for a moment the Higher Mathematics of Wall Street, and turn back to the dear old arithmetic lessons of long ago. Add and subtract a bit, and you will find that the huge profits of recent years take just that much from the purchasing power of the workers who keep the wheels of industry turning. This hoarded wealth cannot possibly buy all the shoes and clothes and dollar watches that must be bought to keep us employed. When it mounts too high, unbought goods begin to appear in windows without buyers. Unbought goods line the shelves of stores

and pile up in warehouses. Wall Street reels, unemployment paralyzes industry. Blood-letting must be applied—and the application is invariably made to him who can stand it the least. This is the highly scientific manner in which we produce panics and get rid of them, until the next one comes along.

Sundry villains have been found lurking in the dark places of the present Depression. Some of them have caught each other, and have shouted "Thief" at one and the same time. Babson blames Congress for not passing the proposed Robber Tariff. Other voices blame Wall Street for intimidating Congress with the threat of panic. These have a more genuine ring. Carter Glass points at the National City Bank, ruler of our island colonies. The National City, admitting payment of \$54,000 for sugar lobbyists, calls upon the God of Bankers to witness that the exploitation of colonies makes for Prosperity. In this hubbub, the real villain remains unmasked: The Profit System.

The one potential menace to this System—the Labor Movement—is still weak and vacillating. At Toronto it began to look about again, and to show some signs of renewed vigor. All through the country the cry of the unorganized comes to its ears. Cowardly and semi-slavelike as some of these unorganized workers are, they must be reached and quickly. When they do raise their heads, Injunction Judge, Police and Frame-up are leveled at them with a savagery not seen for many years. Organized Labor has no option but to continue ringing the tocsin bell.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SOCIALISM

HERBER HOOVER may yet become a rival of Mark Twain and Eugene Field as our outstanding humorist. In the Presidential campaign of one year ago, he damned Alfred Emanuel Smith with one word. "Socialism" was proclaimed the issue. Public ownership of electric

power became associated in the muddled brain of the ultimate consumer with free love, "Red murders" and general damnation. It was insinuated that the union of the Pope with Karl Marx was supposed to be too much for any free-born American.

Now Herbert adopts a sort of vapid, left-handed "Socialism" to save American Big Business from itself. Public works are the magic remedy for present day ills. Messrs. Foster and Catchings have wrought well. Their books on the difficulties of the Profit System are now being translated into action.

It is better business at that than the bungling of Capitalism up to date. Caught in a nice dilemma, Big Business is making the best choice that it can. The choice involves two unpleasant prospects. One of them is: The cessation of wide-sweeping organization campaigns, on the part of the working people. The masses are to leave their economic fate in the hands of the superior intellects—and select "samurai" class of which we have heard so much of late, even from Liberal quarters. (But then, Liberals are almost always soft headed as well as soft hearted.) The A. F. of L. agreed to that in part, at least, while the crisis or alleged crisis is on.

The other prospect that irks us is: The establishment of a Business Bureaucracy, with a network of extra-legal agencies all over the country. We agree that Big Business has no alternative but this, looking at the situation through its own glasses. The NEW YORK EVENING POST—most conservative of conservatives—is correct in hailing it, however, as an anti-democratic movement. (November 23rd issue.) The Chamber of Commerce is to take a hand at governing, and thus continue logically the open control of government by Big Business.

Our regret is, that Labor has not yet felt equal to combatting these encroachments on government by Big Business. It has had no program of its own. Time after time it has acquiesced in Chamber of Commerce domination. Now that Chamber of Commerce "Socialism" is at hand, Labor has not even maneuvered itself into saying: "Why, that is part of our program." It might have done so logically, pointing out where in the C. of C. idea is defective. That chance has been lost.

Until Labor seeks to gain power, it will never have power. It will always play a poor third fiddle. Until Labor gets over its feeling of inferiority, it will continue to be treated as inferior.

NO WAGE DEMANDS!

AFTER the Wise Men there came to the White House those who were scarcely so wise. A. F. of L. leaders walked with the President, and talked with the President—and agreed to make no new wage demands!

This is much the same as a love-lorn young man promising forever to give up the girl of his dreams. It may be a noble gesture, but it scarcely helps the promisor. The agreement places the Movement in a rather awkward position. We are relieved to hear that the South is not to be affected by this promise. Whether other unorganized sections are to be left unorganized is not yet disclosed. But how can higher wages and better conditions be urged for non-organized mills and communities, when the organized centers are to remain stationary by agreement? The Movement finds itself obligated to do less than Henry Ford has done, in going out of the industrial conference and immediately promising to raise wages. To the average working man, the great publicity artist of Detroit appears a greater force for their welfare than the Labor Movement itself, in the present crisis.

We might have been led to expect something entirely different from the leaders of the A. F. of L. The President's appeal gave them a splendid opportunity to denounce the orgy of gambling that has placed Industry at the mercy of money maniacs. Then, there is the sordid denial of the most elementary rights that is increasingly marking American industrial life. A live Movement would have seized the occasion to send through the country the story of the gross injustices existing in our current laws in practically every industrial community. The leadership remains paralyzed psychologically. It seems incapable of assuming any national leadership, in the midst of the new conditions in which it finds itself.

While the A. F. of L. heads were at the White House on this curious mission, the city government of Indianapolis was using the public police force as private guards for the Real Silk Mills. The workers there were rarin' to go out on strike. King Jacob I. (Chairman Jacob Goodman of that company) called on the anti-union government of that depraved municipality. His call was heard, and 100 policemen were placed outside the mill, and 50 inside. Manhandling a group of leaders inside the mill, these agents of corruption broke the strike.

As long as the Movement runs around saying "Yes, yes" to every suggestion that comes from those who are in charge of the anti-union citadels, these conditions will continue unremedied. The agreement of "No more wage demands" handicaps every organizer out in the field. Face to face with growing discontent with "Open Shoppery," seen everywhere, the Movement hog-ties itself in the very beginning. The present "philosophy" of the A. F. of L., witnessed again in this case, is a bankrupt "philosophy." It allows Labor to think only with the Big Boys, and not for itself.

The New Orleans Debacle

What Happened to a Militant Strike

By J. W. LEIGH

ONE of the most disastrous strikes in the history of the South has just ended, although officially it is still on—the street carmen against the New Orleans Public Service, Inc., one of the artificial creatures created by an act of Congress, protected by the U. S. government, acting through the Federal courts, whose mandates can be backed up by bayonets and machine guns if necessary.

July 1, nine years ago, the New Orleans Public Service, then the New Orleans Railway and Light Company, broke with its employes in a dispute over the scale of wages and the closed shop, but after fifty-four days of haphazard street car transportation public opinion forced arbitration and a contract was signed with a slight increase in wages and better working conditions.

In 1925 another conflict arose and a strike vote was taken. The union gave the company sufficient time to frame an answer to their demands and asked for arbitration, setting a time limit thereon. Instead, at the request of the company, an injunction issued from the chambers of Judge Hugh Cage, restraining the men from quitting work and at the same time tied up all available funds of the local union in the various banks and trust companies.

Nevertheless, public opinion again forced arbitration and a contract for one year was signed.

About this time there was formed within the workers' ranks an organization known as the Protective and Benevolent Association, under the guise of a social club, but which was in reality a dual organization promoted by the company, it was said, for the purpose of disrupting the local union.

Employes who became affiliated with the "social club" were immune from discipline for minor infractions of the rules, and only a slight reprimand for

major infractions, while those who refused to join were continually "on the carpet."

Ringleaders of this dual organization, were suspended by vote of union from membership, and they, following in the footsteps of the company, applied to the courts for relief. The officers of the local were ordered to reinstate the offenders to full rights and privileges.

Another year of strife passed and in 1926 the New Orleans Railway and Light Company passing into the hands of a receiver was re-organized under the name of the New Orleans Public Service, Inc.

But when the end of the present contract drew nigh many were the murmurs of discontent. Committees without number were appointed by the union to visit the general manager of the Public Service, A. B. Patterson, asking for a conference in order that many petty grievances might be ironed out.

Both Mr. Patterson and the board of directors flatly refused to enter into any negotiations with their employes. Storm clouds began to gather on the horizon, and after many secret conferences of the union (proceedings of which were promptly reported to the board

of directors by members of the Protective and Benevolent Association who held their membership in Local No. 194), a scale was drawn up and presented to the company for signature. One of the major points in the proposed agreement was arbitration on all matters pertaining to the welfare of the men and the company.

Of course, a slight increase of wages was asked and a re-arrangement of working conditions also inserted. These the union did not expect and was willing to forego as luxuries, but held out strongly for arbitration.

The company talked open shop, the wonders that could be accomplished by free and independent work-

This article is important because, in addition to the vivid portrayal of the militant struggle of the New Orleans street men it presents some suggestions on strike strategy, a matter deserving of earnest consideration. We seriously question, however, the correctness of some of the suggestions made by the author. It is possible that it would have been good strategy for the street carmen in New Orleans to discourage the operation of jitneys in the city and so to tie up transportation completely. Is it really conceivable that if this had been done and business had been brought virtually to a complete stand-still and the street-car men and their families and friends had then gone quietly home on the morning when the strike was called, refraining from peaceful picketing, the Public Service Corporation would have accepted the situation in a passive attitude? Would no strike-breakers have been brought in? When after a few days the street car men and their families sitting calmly at home began to starve, would their appeal for strike relief have been indeed irresistible? We do not by any means advocate violence or destruction of property as a union policy and we readily grant that if the union in New Orleans pursued such a policy, it may have been playing into the hands of its enemies, but the alternative suggested does not have the ring of reality and practicability.

men and began to write letters to employment agencies in the North and East.

Officials of the local union called a strike meeting on the night of July 1, at the Dauphine Theatre; voting was in shifts, and at 2 o'clock on the morning of July 2, motormen, conductors, meter readers and track inspectors were instructed to cease operations at four a. m.

Arrangements had been made that the crews would take the cars to the barns at the completion of their runs, receive a receipt for fares collected, but under no consideration were cars to be taken out.

The crews obeyed and 1,200 carmen were on strike, with 351 street cars and 28 buses tied up in the barns.

For ten days not a car moved and transportation save for automobiles was at a standstill. Thousands walked to their offices and shops without a murmur, and as the toil of the day was completed contentedly walked again to their homes and families.

Police were hurriedly rushed to the barns to guard the property of the company and a federal injunction was issued by Judge Borah on behalf of a bondholder in New York City at the instance of the Chase National Bank, acting as a fiscal agent. *The government of the United States was in control.*

Strike breakers from the East and North began to arrive by the car loads, and, headed by escorts of police, were marched to the various barns where quarters had been prepared for them. In these were placed the latest types of cooking utensils, dishes, such as the average workman had never dreamed of, napkins, silverware (which it is said has disappeared piece by piece), and the menu—oh boy, you couldn't buy such meals at the best hotels in the city for two and a half dollars, cigars were in abundance, and "coffin nails" were supplied by the hundreds. The only thing missing were finger bowls—these importees would not know what they were for anyway. Colored waiters were engaged to look after their wants with loving care. Even their sensual wants were provided for, if the newspapers and testimony of police officers making the arrests can be believed, as it is stated and the night court records show it—ten of the "gentlemen of the breakers" were arrested at a Negro house of prostitution with ten of the greasiest, disreputable looking women ever seen in the night court for many moons. Somebody paid the fines of the male and female participants in the whoope party and the warning went out "be more discreet."

Irish Confetti Greets Cops

The first disturbance occurred when two hundred strike-breakers were marched to the Canal Street barns, headed by mounted police. Their arrival was witnessed by a crowd estimated conservatively at fifteen hundred spectators. The silence was tense—then a brick was thrown—and the crowd rushed the police and the motley crew under their protection. More bricks, paving stones and pop bottles added to the confusion.

Suddenly above the din could be heard the wicked crack of a revolver—the onlookers stood petrified; then guns began to bark promiscuously and the lust for blood was on.

From a gathering of spectators to witness the incoming of strike breakers it turned to a wild, howling

mob with men and women, shouting side by side "kill the scabs," "down with the police," "to hell with the Public Service," and "we dare Patterson to come out."

Again came the whizzing of bullets, and two citizens of New Orleans sank to the ground mortally wounded. Two of the striking carmen had been shot to death.

Later a coroner's inquest rendered a verdict that they "came to their deaths by pistol wounds in the hands of unknown parties."

Came next the injunction proclamation issued by Judge Borah—full sheets of pretty white paper with the Judge's name and that of the Public Service in large-sized letters, coupled with that well-known name in labor circles "Injunction," in which each mother's son and daughter was restrained from doing anything that might hurt the feelings of a street car, much less the imported scabs, under pain of displeasure of the honorable court of the United States. Selah!

Marshal Hires Jail-birds

The United States through its representative certainly did a good job in selecting the deputies. Later it developed that one of the deputies had been arrested and convicted in the criminal court in this city of stealing a ham at one time, and later of swiping some jewelry. He was transferred from the main thoroughfare to the suburbs. Others have openly boasted of being familiar with jails in various sections of the country, but the government, which "are the taxpayers," antied up ten dollars for a day of eight hours with board, etc., for these birds.

Police records show that a deputy United States marshal who guarded the cars during the day operated a jitney for hire between sun-down and sun-up—working both ends against the middle.

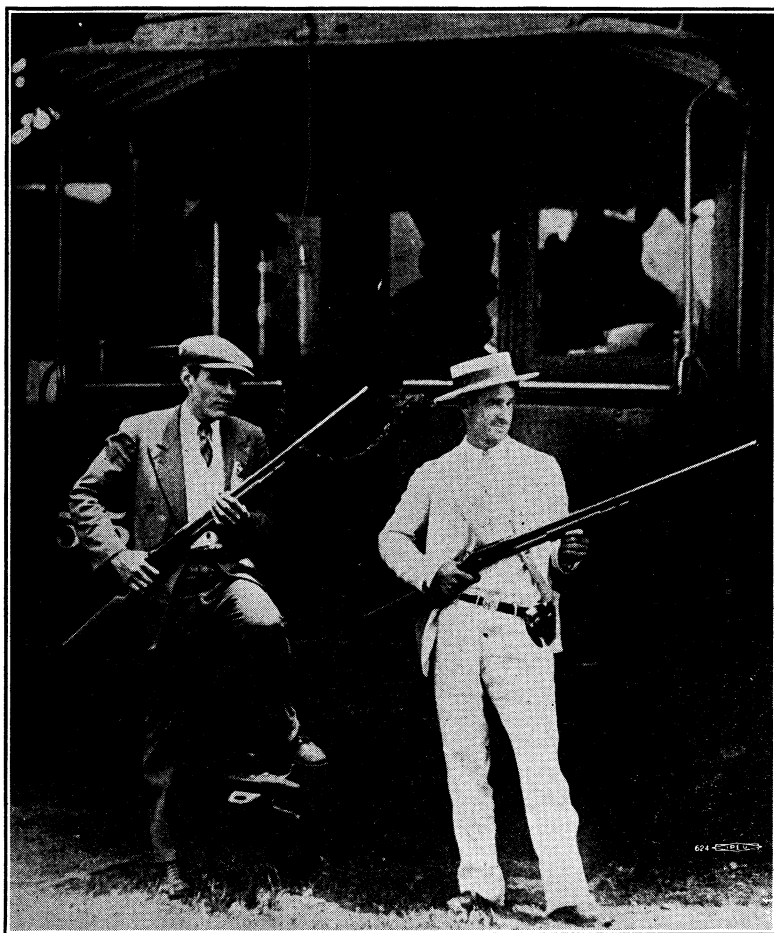
Then came the day when the Public Service announced the running of cars and invited the public to ride and be merry. United States Marshal Victor Loisel was on the job bright and early with police and deputies. The honor of the first car out was accorded to the Canal Street barn. Here ten thousand people were on hand to give the affair an auspicious send off. In addition to Brother Loisel, high officials of the police department were on hand. The car came out on schedule time—so did a volley of bricks, stones and empty pop bottles.

The car got as far as Rampart Street, a distance of one mile and then stopped—a wreck, made so by bricks received during its journey. The motorman and conductor deserted their boat and disappeared in the crowd. In the meantime, one thousand men and women began the work of destruction and tore up sections of the track on Canal Street.

Later in the day another car from a distant barn made the run to the end of Canal Street at the river. The car was enthusiastically greeted by a reception committee, which took possession, saturated it with gasoline and touched a match to see the flames shoot up.

Cars then began to run daily, schedules being made by United States Marshal Loisel who gave his itinerary to the newspapers. But the public refused to patronize the street cars; for weeks they ran empty save for the crew and marshals armed with guns.

U. S. DEPUTY MARSHALS



International Newsreel Photo.

Two of the 200 deputies who got \$10 a day for breaking gallant street carmen's strike

Mass meetings were held in various sections of the city denouncing the Public Service. They were addressed by labor leaders and representative citizens, many of whom were looking for political advancement. Speakers were termed "Reds" by the non-union newspapers when the tide seemed to turn stronger against the Public Service.

Then came a climax. At a mass meeting held on the Claiborne neutral ground it is said the Public Service deliberately invited trouble by running cars in close proximity to the gathering, numbering fifteen thousand people, and sounding the gongs in a tantalizing manner.

A boy, scarce ten years of age, yelled "scab" at a Tulane Avenue motorman, who, taking the heavy iron bar, struck the child, inflicting a several scalp wound. The motorman was mobbed. A riot call sounded and the police, hundreds of them, responded, headed by Superintendent of Police Theodore Ray, with tear bombs.

Superintendent of Police Ray was felled to the ground by a brick thrown by someone, and other high officials of that organization received bruises on various parts of their bodies. Clubs were freely used by the police and

the gathering was dispersed, but not until the assemblage had denounced in no uncertain terms the actions of the so-called guardians of the peace.

Other meetings were held later and also broken up by the police, an announcement being made that no more permits would be given for street gatherings.

Jitneys were running, approximately thirteen hundred of them, conveying the public to and from the down town section of the city. The Public Service asked that these operations be discontinued by the city officials calling their attention to an ordinance to that effect put on the statute books some years ago after the termination of a previous strike.

The city fathers looked with favor on the idea, for it is said that some of their friends were stockholders in that corporation. It was proved that the chairman of the city board of liquidation was a member of the board of directors of the Public Service.

A petition signed by fifty thousand taxpayers and voters of the city was prepared and presented to the commission council asking for the repeal of the jitney ordinance allowing any and all to operate conveyances for hire, without the formality of putting up a surety bond of five thousand dollars for the faithful performance, etc. A delegation of labor men marched to the city hall while the council was in session to present the petition.

The council chamber was crowded with spectators. Among them was a tall, handsome woman, dressed immaculately in white. She stood aloof from the crowd.

Then the door of the council chamber opened and the acting Mayor and the council filed slowly to their respective offices, Walmsley in the lead.

Clear as a silver bell rang out the voice of the woman in white, "That's him," "get Walmsley," "get him, get him."

The Battle at City Hall

It needs but a spark to ignite a powder magazine. These two words "get him" seemed to electrify the assemblage, and a free for all fight ensued. Acting Mayor Walmsley was slugged from behind and before; he put up a good fight and several of his attackers hit the floor; Commissioner Hall, said to be a friend of the Public Service crowd got his, but as the commissioner is a good runner he escaped considerable damage. Commissioners Klorer and Habens received one or two cracks and ducked. Walmsley was the fighter and was willing to continue the matinee for the benefit of the attendance.

Then the shrill sound of a whistle could be heard and police as thick as the proverbial flies at the unloading of a Mississippi packet boat loaded with sugar swarmed up the steps of the city hall, trampling men

U. S. DEPUTY MARSHALS



International Newsreel Photo.

Two of the 200 deputies who got \$10 a day for breaking gallant street carmen's strike

and women beneath their feet and the crowd made a rush for the police. Four men were arrested charged with inciting riot, and fined heavily.

The petition to allow the running of the jitneys was refused. Various union organizations at regular and special meetings voted an assessment of from five to ten per cent of their wages to assist the carmen in their struggle, and a benefit of ten dollars a week was paid to each of the men who remained loyal.

Hunger Drives Men Back

In three months less than one per cent of the men violated their obligation and went back to work but by the first of November it is estimated that at least 400 returned to work owing to the starving conditions of their families.

The famous New York agreement signed at a conference participated in by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the Public Service to which representatives of the local union who were in New York at the time were denied admittance, when digested, proved to be an open shop agreement pure and simple, providing for the return of the men when needed, without providing for arbitration on any matters whatsoever.

This agreement was presented to the organization for their acceptance but was rejected by an almost unanimous vote. Later the same proposition was again presented for their consideration, but the union replied with a counter proposition which was rejected by the company.

Conferences were held outside the city and the men again requested to accept this open shop agreement on the promise that they would be returned to work at an early date. Pressure was brought to bear and the men decided to accept the open-shop plan, with no arbitration, by almost unanimous vote.

While the strike is not officially off, the Public Service has gained its end—and *no union men have been engaged.*

An effort is now being made by the company by means of injunction proceedings to stop any and all jitneys from operating, suits being instituted against each individual member.

* * *

At the beginning of the strike with the enforcement of the jitney ordinance, traffic would have been paralyzed, save for a few struggling street cars, manned by incompetents, and the great department stores, shops, factories and the like would have been compelled practically to close their doors, both from the inability of employes to reach their respective destinations, and also from the dearth of patrons.

With business at a standstill the merchant princes through their organization, the Association of Commerce would sit, as it were, in the game and demand an investigation.

Then the ace in the hole—fifteen hundred former employes of the Public Service and their dependents would have startled the city with a cry for bread.

We, citizens and voters of the city of New Orleans, born under the rays of a Southern sun, our wives and our children are suffering the pangs of hunger, would have been their cry.

Our means of livelihood have been taken away from us by outlanders, men of ill repute, many of them have served terms in various jails, criminals—the outcasts of society, imported here by the officials of a foreign corporation.

We are liable to be dispossessed from our homes for the non-payment of rent, we are penniless. Give us food ere we perish!

These appeals from starving humanity could not be passed unheeded—they would be echoed from the pulpit, in the various charitable institutions and public opinion would again force a settlement, despite the association of commerce, which is pledged to the open shop in New Orleans, the manufacturers' association, and the non-union press.

On the shoulders of the local officers of the carmen's union and the representatives from the international organization can be placed the blame for the loss of the strike, which may prove a death blow to the union movement in the South. Its effects will be far reaching, for when on the morning of July 2, traffic was completely paralyzed, save for a few whole-hearted automobile owners who gave lifts to workers, the bulk of the membership of the union should have remained peacefully at their homes foregoing the time honored tradition of picketing, so dear to the hearts of the militant leaders, and at the same time informed the constituted authorities, that they, the union, and their friends stood unqualifiedly for law and order.

A committee headed by the officers, representative members of the international, should have visited the superintendent of police and assured him of their support in maintaining order and assist in the conviction of any person or persons who were intent on wreaking vengeance on the property of the Public Service or its employes.

For Law and Order

This same committee should also have visited the mayor and commission council and insisted that all laws relating to traffic be observed, and at the same time point out in no uncertain terms the existence of an ordinance forbidding the operation of jitneys unless all legal requirements were complied with, using as a slogan, "We stand for Law, the Protection of Life and Limb of the Citizens of the City, and though the Public Service has refused our request for recognition of the union we hold no malice, but wish them well."

During the height of the strike no less than thirteen hundred jitneys roamed the streets at will assisting the meagre schedules of the New Orleans Public Service Inc., in transporting the populace to and from their homes and places of business, and materially assisting the down town merchants, who staged "below cost" sales in an attempt to force the people to ride the street cars.

For practically two months no owl service was maintained by the street car company, the runs beginning at 6 o'clock in the morning and terminating at 12 midnight.

The jitneys sponsored by organized labor and the carmen's union filled the gap and assisted the Public Service to break the strike.

Labor Congress Sputters

W. E. B.'s Shattered Cooperation Hopes

By CARA COOK

THE 300 odd trade union delegates filed noisily into the ornate ball room of the Bancroft Hotel, whose non-union employes have been a particularly hard nut for organizers to crack. A non-union orchestra played in the mezzanine. Guests and delegates continued to arrive all morning in taxicabs belonging to an open-shop company. The chairman of the local committee rapped for order, made a short speech to the effect that while nobody could tell what would come out of the meeting, much would inevitably be accomplished if attempted "in the right spirit,"—and the first New England Labor Congress was under way in Worcester, Mass., on October 25th.

The usual invocation followed by a local minister, who went on to say that, having gone to work in a mill at 15 he knew about labor's problems, and was convinced everybody must work together "if we are going to do the work God has assigned us, and if we do not wish to share in the fate of Soviet Russia."

The President of the Central Labor Union then made a speech of welcome in which he said the time had come for labor and management to forget their differences and propose a new alliance for mutual self-protection. He invoked the high-mindedness of the financiers, land-owners, merchants and lawyers who signed the Constitution of the United States as a proper guiding spirit for the deliberations of this Congress, upon which "the eyes of the country are fixed." He announced that free speech would be the order of the day, and would inevitably result in finding "the saving germ of truth and logic," but advised the "skeptical and invidious" to park their opinions in "exterior darkness."

He then called on the Mayor of the City, whose labor record is far from bright, to say a few words of welcome. He did this nicely, with a hurrah for Worcester, hurrah for New England and hurrah for our skilled workers.

A Business Booster

The Secretary of the Worcester Chamber of Commerce came next. His remarks were received with "laughter and applause." They too were a boost for New England "where we do big things and keep quiet about it, while in the South and West they make big of little things." The Chamber of Commerce supplied the committee rooms and handled the registration of delegates.

He was followed by the local Democratic Congressman, who made his address a plea for higher tariff protection of New England industries, particularly boots and shoes. He outlined clearly the conflict of sectional interests on this question. The Middle West wants free hides, New England protected shoes; the Southwestern sugar raisers want a tariff, New England

consumers un-taxed sugar; Western farmers want casein products protected, but factories making coated papers want cheap casein. He admitted that sectional tariffs caused higher prices elsewhere, "which might be offset by raising wages" (where is it?) but that "anyway New Englanders ought to protect their industries. We live here, have our homes here, and our interests are centered here. Let us stand up for New England," and the devil take the rest of the country, one concludes. The possibility of international tariff action was not mentioned by the worthy politician from Washington.

Labor Education's Prize Offspring

The next speaker was Thomas Burke, President of the Workers' Education Bureau, under whose auspices the conference was arranged. He congratulated the previous speakers, and went on to talk of "the marvelous achievements accomplished in this wonderful progressive age by the intellectual inventive genius of man, and the brain and brawn of the whole human ramifications of American industry in the colossal development that they have achieved in the scientific, mechanical and material work." He declared that the Congress was the prize offspring to date of the W.E.B., climaxing the "evolution and method of workers' education" inaugurated by the Bureau several years ago, and that the purpose of the Congress was "to explore the possibilities of a closer agreement between labor and management which would enable us to plan together for New England's future."

This was supplemented at length by the New England representative of the Bureau from a summary prepared by the Bureau on the state of New England's industries.

And the opening session of the first New England Labor Congress, "the biggest thing that has happened to organized labor in this country," was over!

Opening sessions of any conference are seldom important. Key notes are struck, purposes outlined, and welcomes extended, and then delegates proceed to discuss whatever interests them, and to quibble over irrelevant details to the dismay of the program-planners. The Worcester Labor Congress ran true to form.

Anyone who watched the organization of the New England Labor Congress has to smile at the much advertised urge of New England trade unionists with such a fanfare of publicity and official pressure as New England labor has never experienced.

"Nothing's ever had so much publicity since I've been in the labor movement here," said one old timer to me before the conference, "but damned if I know what it's all about. Looks to me like a first rate chance to let company unionism into New England."

That certainly was not the intention of the sponsors

of the conference, although it may prove to be the tragic outcome. Apologies may be advanced on the grounds of sheer desparation—that it is better for a weak group to compromise with a strong opposing group, and hope for a better break later. Even approval may be registered of the theoretical principle that sitting down around the conference table to talk things over with one's enemies is ethically nicer than fighting it out openly.

No Time for Love Feasts

But when there has been a decrease of 10 per cent of employed workers in New England in two years, when practically every industry shows a decrease in number of establishments, when the backbone of her industry is moving South, and when attacks upon her labor laws are becoming more and more persistent, it is no time to apologize, or compromise or conduct theoretical love-fests. I am, therefore, here charging those responsible for this fiasco with a deplorable failure to adopt the proper educational tactics to meet the desperate situation which faces not only New England workers, but workers throughout the country at the present time.

Now why was the New England Labor Congress a fiasco?

1. Because it was not predominantly a rank and file affair. It was initiated and pushed entirely by officials. Discounting a contingent of over 60 trade unionists living in Worcester, the 300 delegates were noticeably from the upper trade union crust. One even remarked that "this Congress seems more like an A. F. of L. convention than a district conference." There were in addition nearly 50 visitors and speakers, including professors, employers, clergymen, politicians, managers and scientific experts.

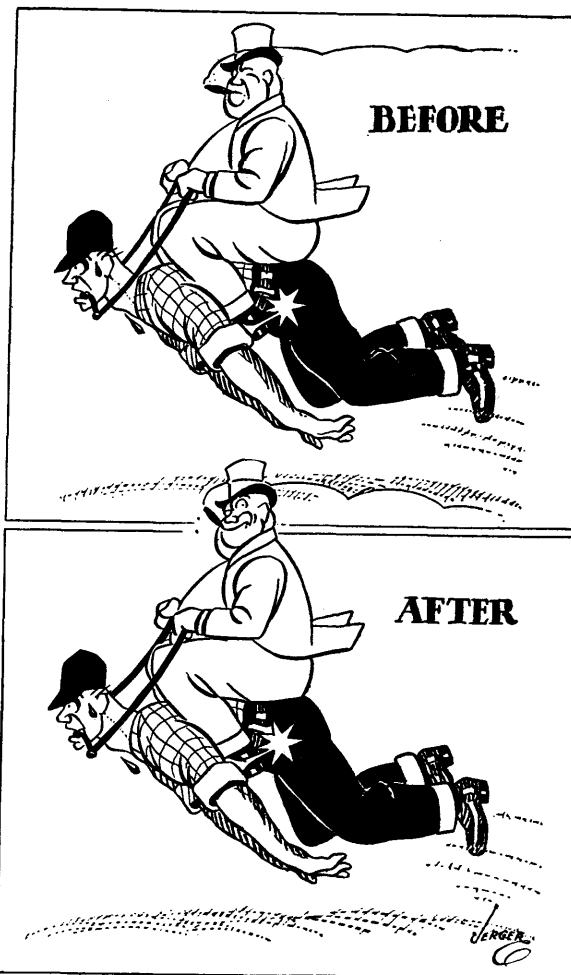
2. Because it was a set-speech affair. To be sure, about half of those set to speak failed to show up, but even so the local delegate had little chance. Six reports of ten minutes each were allowed in the final session to present the findings of the trade committees; that was as near as the individual delegate got to expressing his opinion of the speeches made. One chap told me before the conference that he had turned his credential over to a fellow worker telling him to go if he wanted the trip; he saw no point in going because there wouldn't be a chance to talk.

3. Because the main point of the conference, namely to provide a common meeting ground for representatives of labor and capital, failed to materialize when the "cooperating" employers and managerial representatives did not show up, with two exceptions. These were John J. Scully, President of the Boston Building Employers' Association, and James J. Lawrence, textile commission merchant, and President of the New England Economic Council, a "boost New England" organization of employers and business men.

The gist of Scully's speech was that jurisdictional disputes in the building trades cause millions of dollars in losses to building contractors each year, and labor should eliminate these disputes.

Mr. Lawrence denied the whole assumption of the conference, namely that New England industries were

RESULT OF COOPERATION



The W. E. B. brand of education proves a fiasco

in a bad way. On the contrary, he declared, New England was exceedingly prosperous; that that was due to intelligence and hard work.

One other speaker should be mentioned. Ethelbert Stuart, Commissioner of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, came like a refreshing cold breeze in a stuffy room. He declared that the textile industry was going to the "bow-wows," that quoting impressive statistics about total numbers employed didn't help the individual worker a bit, that there was undue optimism about the absorption of displaced workers into new industries which are throwing them out almost as fast as the old ones, and that the trade unions must develop scientific investigation methods for their own self protection.

As for the rest of the scheduled program, it is a list of those not present: Owen D. Young, of the open-shop General Electric concern, who had been the prize guest advertised; T. E. Mitten, of company union fame in Philadelphia, who had recently died; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Otto Beyer, Consulting Engineer of the Railway Employes' Dept., A. F. of L.; E. W. Dana, Man-

ager, Boston Elevated Railway Company; A. J. Anthony, President Glenwood Range Co.; J. Foster Smith, President, Naumkeag Mills, Salem; Mabel Leslie of the Women's Trade Union League; Edward E. Hunt of the U. S. Department of Commerce, and, what rankled most in the breasts of the delegates, everyone of the six New England governors, all of whom had promised to come, and all of whom had appeared at the employers' Congress in the same city ten months previous. Two sent spokesmen to soften the blow. President Hoover also sent a telegram saying that he was "mindful of the importance of the Congress." And withal, one perennial enthusiast dubbed it the "finest gathering in the history of life's hemisphere!"

4. Finally, we consider this Congress to have fizzled on concrete results. These were outlined in the form of proposals for possible future action by Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, followed by a lengthy parliamentary wrangle, and adopted with by no means unanimous approval. He proposed (a) that the Congress become an annual institution, the officers of the state federations of labor constituting themselves a permanent Council of New England Labor, (b) that individual New England industries should seek similar conferences with their own employers, and (c) that summer educational institutes should be held along the same lines as the Congress.

Dampening Enthusiasm

At this point a grievance was aired that the New England Council, aforementioned employers' organization, had not invited any transportation trade unionists to its party in Boston Nov. 21, to discuss the railroad situation. A bit of a dampener at this high point of cooperation enthusiasm!

At the closing session, the 10-minute reports from the separate trade committees were given. These were probably the most valuable speeches of the conference, for they represented the collective impressions of the delegates themselves. Building trades, transportation, metal trades, teachers, power industry, foods and beverages, dairymen, amusements, textiles, boots and shoes—all had their say. There was a tendency to pass the buck to the employers, and let it go at that, but it is here in the detailed reports of these trade committees that any value in the Congress' discussions is to be found.

And now the show is over. "America" is sung with fervor, and the conference comes to a "beautiful and dramatic close." Reports the local trade union paper, "There are many emotional incidents. Old labor leaders meet friends from widely separated cities, clasp hands with an iron grip, and look all that they cannot put in words. After all, it is forever true, 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin'." The session breaks up, the delegates pass out into the lobbies where striking New Hampshire textile workers circulate subscription lists for money to prevent evictions as winter approaches. Were their bosses invited to cooperate in this conference?

Newspaper men hurry off to try and fish a snappy story out of the sea of words. The leaders begin to leave. John Frey, President Green's representative, is returning by army airplane. He has just been awarded a lieutenant-colonelcy; he must get back to Washington to talk before the Army War College. Will he preach cooperation between trade unionism and militarism too?

Where Does it Lead To?

What is left when the final newspaper blurb has been given out, when the last convivial drop is drunk, and the delegates are on their way back to their locals? One illustration of sound cooperation, in which both labor and management deal with each other in a square and above board manner, was presented by John P. O'Connell. His story dealt with the procedure established in the Naumkeag mills, where the workers and management meet periodically to discuss the problems of their industry and where genuine cooperative relationships have been established. Aside from that, is there any evidence of a revived enthusiasm for trade union organization, a sharpened sense of the dangers threatening in this "new industrial revolution," a new alertness to the sugar-coated pills for "labor troubles" that benevolent employers are paying their experts hundreds of thousands of dollars to concoct, a renewed dedication to the principles of militancy on which the trade union movement in this country was founded and which has marked its every step forward?

No. There is tremendous relief that the thing is over, that a show of strength was made, and that no undignified developments marred the proceedings. "Not a single incident occurred which in any way interfered with carrying out the entire program," boasts the labor paper. Perhaps the public has been fooled. Perhaps even we have hoodwinked the employers into loving us like brothers from now on. There is a surface glow of optimism that maybe, some way, some time, something good will come out of this abstract principle of cooperation, but underneath there is a disturbing realization that it takes two to cooperate, that one party didn't appear at the table, that that party is laughing up its sleeve at the discrepancy between its organized power and Labor's, and that while with one hand it is feeding its playmate soothing platitudes about working together for the good of everybody, it is with the other squeezing more profits out of him for the same labor cost.

There is too a pious faith that *education*, any old kind of education, will perform the miracle. Education is always dragged in at the end of these conferences as the unfailling solution, but there is never a question raised as to what kind of education, what are we educating towards, where is all this ballyhoo leading us?

But, you may complain, this is all negative; it is purely destructive criticism. Then I invoke that prince of critics, William Shakespeare, who tells us that "a wise skepticism is the first attribute of a good critic." One cannot start to construct upon a false foundation; the debris must be cleared away first. In view of the facts herewith presented, it seems that a thoroughgoing skepticism is not only justifiable, but unduly lenient.

C. P. L. A. Wins Warm Approval

More Branches Are Organized

WITH full steam ahead the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is plowing through the morass of sloth and indifference which has been permitted to accumulate during the past years, paralyzing activity and dampening ardor. New life and new hopes are being stirred up and everywhere, wherever a C. P. L. A. er puts in an appearance, eager faces look up for inspiration and direction. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is bringing to the surface long suppressed emotions which for want of encouragement have been sputtering helplessly in ineffective negation. Now the more intelligent rank and filers are finding in the C. P. L. A. a proper outlet for their enthusiasm and they are happy. New Haven, Conn., New Bedford, Mass., Philadelphia, Pa., Buffalo and Niagara Falls, N. Y., are just a few of the centers reached by C. P. L. A. representatives. In all of these places a warm welcome was extended to the messengers of the "newer unionism" and hearts were gladdened at the new opportunities opened to the militant and progressive laborites for work within the vineyard of labor.

In New Haven more than a score answered the call of Walter E. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of District Lodge No. 2, International Association of Machinists, to meet on Sunday, November 10, for the purpose of building in that city a progressive activity to stir up the local labor movement to the need for modern policies for labor's advancement. Brother Davis worked hard to make this meeting a success and his efforts were well rewarded. Representatives from practically every union of New Haven came to pledge their help in the organization of a C. P. L. A. branch. Machinists, metal polishers, pattern makers, cigar makers, tanners, railway clerks and teachers were among those present. Most of them took the floor after Israel Mufson, Executive Secretary of the C. P. L. A., concluded his remarks, and expressed unequivocal support of the progressive program. Every one had the same story to tell—the weakness of their own organization, the thousands upon thousands of workers who are unorganized, and the need for attention to the unskilled and semi-skilled in the large scale industries if labor is to regain its lost power and prestige.

A good deal of literature was distributed. Under the earnest and energetic leadership of Brother Davis the progressive movement in New Haven is bound to become an effective power in the future.

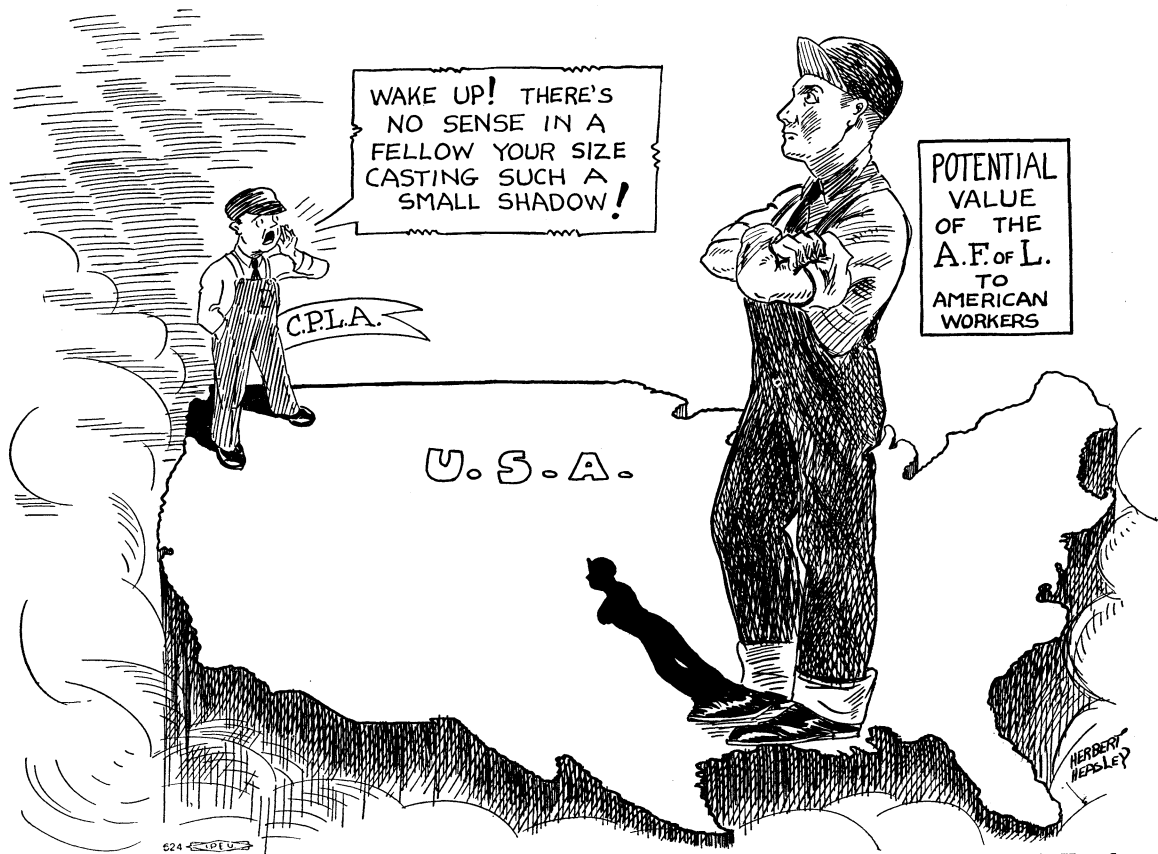
A little further east, out where the workers have been subjected to a terrible siege of unemployment, wage cutting, and the hapless unconcern of capital of any sense of decency in its treatment of its mill hands—the same "hands" that have been grinding out millions of profits for the privileged owners—the message of progressive labor comes as the one ray of hope in a most desperate situation. New Bedford, Mass., that same New Bedford where the workers, after putting up

a most courageous fight during the past year against further aggressions of capital, were forced to accept a five per cent decrease of their already rock bottom wages of \$16 and \$18 a week, is becoming a deserted city. Twenty thousand inhabitants have left this community during the past years seeking better luck elsewhere. The textile workers there are wondering whom Matt Woll's American Wage Earners' Protective League is going to benefit, for thus far the highest tariffs which are protecting the textile industry meant nothing but starvation wages for the mill operatives. So the workers are exceptionally keen for a message that holds hope of delivering them from bondage—the bondage of fear of unemployment, of low wages and of political ineffectiveness which makes them the targets of policemen's clubs every time they try to better their conditions.

These workers revolted. They found the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor not so good. They found the bosses were not non-partisan and so they decided it would be a pretty good idea to follow the bosses' lead. They organized the New Bedford and District Labor Party, their own political party which stands always for the interests of the workers. During the last election the party was successful in sending six of their own workers to the Council Chamber of New Bedford. John Wright, Charles Lavimoniere, Wilfred Lafrenya, Manu Seddon, Leo Ranney and Arthur Charrette are the half dozen stalwarts, fresh from the ranks of labor, who today attend the sessions of the city fathers to safeguard the interests of the toilers of New Bedford. Already the six were enabled to stop a higher rate grab on the part of the local power company which means hundreds of thousands of dollars saved to the people. If only the entire labor movement, they point out, would follow their example, and organize a labor party on a national scale, much of the suffering which the workers now experience would be eliminated. But not discouraged, they carry on and are sure of greater successes in the future.

It is natural that with such a spirit prevailing among the New Bedford workers, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action should receive a hearty welcome. At a meeting held on November 13 those present emphasized the need for the propagation of the program among labor for which the C. P. L. A. stands. The New Bedford Labor Party not only endorsed the purpose of the progressives but affiliated with it in a body. Abraham Binns who is one of the most respected members of the local labor movement and secretary of the weavers' union gave the C. P. L. A. his warm approval and expressed the hope that it will grow in size and effectiveness until the aims it stands for shall become the adopted policy of the whole labor movement. John Wright, President of the New Bedford Labor Party was chairman of the meeting. Walter L. Walm-

A CALL TO ACTION



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

sley, secretary, who is an indefatigable worker on behalf of labor, has willingly consented to become the agent for the distribution of C. P. L. A. literature.

II.

The best figures available credit Buffalo, N. Y., with a working population of 225,000 people. That is, a quarter of a million persons, of more or less mature age, are gainfully employed in industry. Yet the total strength of the organized labor movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, consists of barely 10,000 true and tried men and women. Surely there seems to be great need for a militant attitude towards organization work. The same sad story, that one meets with everywhere in attempting to appraise the strength of organized labor, confronts the investigator in his search for trade union sentiment. So here again the call for the organization of progressives to attempt to stem the tide of backsliding found willing ears among the more sincere and forward looking workers. When the Executive Secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action sent out a note that Buffalo was his next stop it found ready response among the progressive elements in that city and a fine attendance turned out to listen to the speaker. Despite the fact that the day had been raw and evening found the city shivering amidst a cold drizzle and a northern gale, old timers who had spent weary years trudging in season and out of season for the cause of

labor, and young beginners whose experiences were yet of the future, faced the storm with courage because of the message of hope which the C. P. L. A. promised.

The meeting was guided by the capable hands of Brother U. Long, a venerable member of the molders' union, and who still today, though grown white in the battle for unionism, spends his evenings going from doorstep to doorstep, telling the workers why they should join the molders' organization. Such spirit as Brother Long displays can never make him old and it is no wonder the call of the progressives found him with the youngest and eager to carry on anew. At the close of the main speech, and just before the meeting was thrown open for questions, Long expressed his sentiments in just one sentence, but that sentence was of such eloquence as to be worthy of quotation. "All my life," Brother Long said, "I have been striving for those things the C. P. L. A. stands for and I am happy to see my sentiments organized." In this simple phrase he expressed the feelings of the whole audience.

Many took part in the discussions that followed, notably Rev. Herman J. Hahn, a preacher who works at Christianity every day in the year. His parish is in a working class district and his flock are those toilers who have gotten round shouldered looking for some of that prosperity so much talked about. He himself has promised to distribute a dozen copies of LABOR AGE

every month and any other literature which the C. P. L. A. will issue.

At the conclusion of the discussion the meeting voted to organize itself into a Buffalo Branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. U. Long was elected temporary chairman.

There were many other good people present who deserve much credit for the success in Buffalo and who will strive with might and main to enlarge the branch to effective proportions. Some of them do not desire to be mentioned at present, but Robert Hoffman is one of them, the Rev. James D. Weyker is another. We shall hear from Buffalo in the future.

Beyond Buffalo the most logical next step is Niagara Falls. Long before one enters the town of sixty thousand souls much is heard concerning the labor movement in that distinctive center. In addition to being the famous rendezvous for honeymooners, Niagara Falls has the reputation of being the best organized community, as far as labor is concerned, in this part of the country. A casual conversation on the street soon convinces one of the correctness of the above assertion. The first man to be stopped to ask directions of was a labor man. The first talk heard on reaching the city was about the plans for building a new labor temple. At present, when many labor temples are white elephants on labor's hands, this optimism towards the future cannot emanate anywhere but from a good union town.

And it is so. Most of the skilled crafts in Niagara Falls are thoroughly organized. There is, however, a fly in the ointment. The unskilled workers, and those semi-skilled employed in the Niagara Falls factories, are like everywhere else in America, without organization. This condition riles the members of the Niagara Falls labor movement and at the last meeting of the Trades and Labor Council effective measures were taken to attempt to remedy this situation. This act shows, of course, that Niagara Falls Labor is progressive. Harry Daubney, one of the wide awake spirits of the movement, has been designated as organizer whose job it is to gather in the much exploited workers of the Niagara Falls factories. "Sure," he said, when by an official vote, the job was handed over to him, "I will not only get them into the union but in the labor party as well." Which proves the possibilities for a young man with wide vision.

And Niagara Falls has a Labor Party, just formed and brand new. About three or four months before the last election Edward Gray, Stephen Lamb, A. Alexander, President of the Trades and Labor Council, and many others, decided that dilly-dallying with that outworn non-partisan political policy never got them anything and never will. The bosses always told them to vote the Democratic or Republican tickets with promises of great things to come. But as has been the experiences of labor generally, the Niagara Falls politicians were no different. The bosses always got the good things while the workers had to be satisfied with the promises. This didn't go so well, especially with such a spirited bunch of wide awake trade unionists as the Niagara Falls boys are. So they decided to

open up on their own politically. Without time for effective organization, without money or other resources they went to the polls and grabbed off about 2,000 votes for themselves at the very start. This so encouraged them, as well it may, that they are already talking of capturing the city within the next few years. They are now busy building up the labor party for the battles it will have to face in the future.

Well, this is Niagara Falls. If any one is looking for pep, enthusiasm, determination to see labor through to victory, a meeting of the Niagara Falls Labor Party is the place. It is a tonic for that tired feeling and the slogan of the local party should be: Come to Niagara Falls Labor Party Meetings and Grow Young.

However, the point is that amidst such a spirit the message of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was as welcome as the flowers in May. At the first opportunity action will be taken to affiliate that body with the C. P. L. A.

During the past month Philadelphia fell in line and has a brand new Branch of the C. P. L. A. functioning.

At the last meeting of the New York Branch of the C. P. L. A. the Executive Committee announced the holding of a theatre party, the proceeds of which is to go towards LABOR AGE, the official organ of the Conference. Howard Y. Williams of the League for Independent Political Action said that his organization will concentrate on 12 Congressional Districts to send independent candidates to Congress. The membership committee announced that the C. P. L. A. is attracting the younger trade unionists, the future officers and executive board members of their respective unions.

III.

Equally important with the reception of C. P. L. A. speakers throughout the country and with the formation of the C. P. L. A. branches is the distribution of literature these efforts make possible. Primarily the work of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is one of education. No matter how good a speaker may be his message is limited if in addition the more permanent form of education, literature, is not introduced. So it will encourage C. P. L. A. members everywhere to know how effective is our distribution of pamphlets, magazines and other printed matter. Over two thousand copies of the pamphlet, "The Marion Murder," have already been disposed of and now a second printing is being sold. It may be added here that announcements of our publications in the labor press have helped materially in their sales. It will interest readers to note at what meetings and in what cities the C. P. L. A. publications were disposed of.

Among the organizations using C. P. L. A. literature are the Congregational Church Conference, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Free Synagogue Men's Club, Rand Book Store, labor unions and labor parties.

The cities so far covered are: New York, N. Y., Philadelphia, Pa., Boston, Mass., Tenants Harbor, Me., Buffalo and Niagara Falls, N. Y. These represent places where mass distribution occurred. In addition

hundreds of individual copies were sold in practically every State in the Union.

The Amalgamated Lithographers of America renewed their 75 subscriptions for LABOR AGE. The United Welders of America bought 100 pamphlets and 50 copies of the November LABOR AGE. J. D. Sayer, a New York union telegrapher, bought 100 pamphlets of "Why a Labor Party" for distribution among his fellow workers.

In addition to that which has already been enumerated, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the C. P. L. A. addressed many meetings on behalf of the Southern textile strikers. He spoke at Yale Divinity School, Springfield College, Vassar College, Philadelphia Friends' Forum, Economic Club of Columbia Univer-

sity and at other meetings held at Boston and Cleveland.

At all of these meetings substantial sums were collected for strikers' relief.

This suggests a form of activity in which C. P. L. A.ers can be engaged in. Distribution of literature is one of the most important functions of those who desire to have labor adopt those policies we stand for. In addition, there are many other things that can be done and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has embodied a list of suggestions in a four page pamphlet for free distribution on "What Is the Conference for Progressive Labor Action."

They are as follows:

What the Conference for Progressive Labor Action Can Do

Copies of this pamphlet will be sent free to anyone on request.

Through its official monthly organ, Labor Age, C. P. L. A. brings to the attention of the progressive elements the various incidents that occur in the day to day struggle on the industrial and political fronts. Its interpretation of events of official labor action and economic trends are helpful for an understanding of labor and of the underlying social forces at work in America today.

Through its permanent committee on Research and Publications, on which are outstanding labor economists and writers, C. P. L. A. provides literature on various prob-

lems before the labor movement, which are thought-provoking and constructive.

The C. P. L. A. staff is ready to give advice and assistance in promoting genuine workers' education projects and organization campaigns on the political, industrial and cooperative fields.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action acts as a clearing house for progressive workers engaged in educational enterprises and in any other activities pertaining to the labor movement. In all these situations it is ready to function for the workers and their friends interested in a victorious labor movement.

What C. P. L. A. Members Can Do

Join C. P. L. A. and get your friends and fellow-workers to join.

Distribute C. P. L. A. literature where it will count most.

Get subscriptions for Labor Age. Widespread distribution of effective literature has had an important place in every great forward movement.

Keep in touch with the national office by reporting all activities and developments to headquarters so that progressives all over the country may know what is going on and receive encouragement as well as suggestions for effective action.

Wherever possible form a local group and become a branch of the national organization. Such a branch need have no rigid constitution but can function best with a simple set of by-laws and a few officers such as chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and financial secretary-treasurer. The most important committees to be formed should be an executive and a membership committee.

The branch should meet regularly to discuss progressive measures and stimulate interest in them within the various organizations with which the members are affiliated.

It should help form study classes, labor colleges, discussion groups and open forums for the promotion of genuine workers' education among the organized and unorganized workers, whether directly under the auspices of the C. P. L. A. or not, depending on circumstances.

It should give special attention to developing an enthusiastic labor spirit in the youth of the labor movement and a labor point of view among unorganized workers. In this program the promotion of recreational features will be very helpful.

It should organize a permanent strikers' relief committee, a form of labor red cross, to help strikers when they are struggling for better conditions, with clothing, money, food and fuel, so that they would not be starved into submission.

It should arrange meetings for progressive speakers.

The local branch should be alertly on the watch for any organization work in its community, whether on the labor political, trade union or cooperation field and be ready to assist in all efforts of such nature.

Already the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has scored its first big victories. The decision at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor to back up the textile workers' organizing campaign in the South and its support of old age pensions were largely the result of the agitation carried on by the C. P. L. A. in the east. Further support from individuals, whether through membership in local branches or through direct affiliation with the national organization will eventually radically change the attitude of the A. F. of L. on many of the progressive measures worthy of support by a forward looking labor movement.

SEASON'S GREETINGS FROM THE SOUTHLAND



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

Militancy and Money

Needs of the Southern Organizing Campaign

By A. J. MUSTE

REPRESENTATIVES of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor met in Washington on November 14 to discuss plans for organizing the South. Such a meeting had been provided for in resolutions introduced at the Toronto convention in October by representatives of the United Textile Workers of America.

Two important recommendations are included among the half-dozen made by the policy committee of the Washington conference and adopted by that conference. The first provides that each international union (there are over 100 of them) shall designate at least one organizer to work in the South. He is to be under the direction of his own international and to organize the workers of his own trade or craft, but he is also to help in the general campaign, especially among textile workers. The activities of these organizers, while in the last analysis under the direction of their own internationals, are to be coordinated by President William Green, assisted by a committee of three to be appointed by him.

The second important recommendation was that President Green should appeal to the labor movement for a fund for organizing textile workers in the South. This fund is to be turned over to the U. T. W., which is to use it in any way it deems fit, for organizing, legal aid, relief, etc., in connection with the Southern campaign. An account is to be rendered to Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. to be forwarded to contributing organizations.

At conventions and conferences the chief importance frequently attaches not to the formal decisions recorded but to informal utterances and happenings. The same was true at Washington. The biggest contribution made to the conference was unquestionably in the speeches of the representatives of the State Federations of Labor of Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas, who had been invited to sit in on the conference. First of all, they painted the conditions in the South as to wages, hours, conditions of work and housing, without mincing words. They showed convincingly and in detail how the wage level, particularly of certain industries in the South, affects the whole South, and indeed the whole nation. Within a single state, for example, building trades' workers receive almost 50 per cent less pay in mill towns than in cities in other sections where the depressed standards of the mill economy are not in effect to bring down the level of all workers alike.

Ask A. F. of L. to Quit "Puttering"

The Southern labor men went on to say that in the past the "A. F. of L. has done nothing serious in the South." It had been "hit and miss" work and "put-

tering." There arose questions as to whether the present interest in the situation was whole-hearted or not. They stated flatly that if the A. F. of L. were not prepared to meet bitter opposition from employers, the courts, police, soldiers, the pulpit, the press and mobs, it would be better not to undertake the campaign.

The Southern labor men invited and urged the A. F. of L. to come South with a campaigning force, but they pleaded it must be a large-scale, militant, coordinated campaign. "If it is not to be that, it would be better not to start at all."

Building Trades for Quiet Methods

There was also a speech by a representative of the building trades. He gave notice in so many words that not too much money for organizing the South must be expected from the building trades' union. He went on to say that he was against the kind of organizing advocated by Southern labor. He described it as "waving flags and blowing bugles" and buying organizers at cut rates. (President McMahon of the United Textile Workers had suggested that organizers might be gotten to work for a salary of \$35 per week plus expenses—perhaps not an unreasonable thing to ask in view of the \$20 or less average wage prevailing among the workers to be organized.) The building trades' leader said, "a quiet business campaign with business methods" would do the trick. That was the method the building trades used. A Southern delegate gently remarked that in the state of North Carolina out of 5,000 bricklayers only 500 were organized. Not so good a showing for business methods! To this there was no reply, at least not in public.

There was also a speech by President Green. It paid a great deal of attention to the autonomy of the international unions, to the fact that no one must presume to give orders to them, and that the rights of the internationals were to be scrupulously respected in the forthcoming campaign. But the main body of President Green's speech was a passionate appeal for a big campaign in the South. He pledged that he personally would take part in that campaign. He put it squarely up to the international unions to come wholeheartedly to its support. "There will be no peace in the South," he said, "until the wrongs of the workers are righted."

Let us analyze now the factors which will determine whether the campaign will be a success or a failure, or at any rate, whether it is to represent an honest and praiseworthy effort or a weak, dishonest, outrageous betrayal of workers who are clamoring for the A. F. of L. to organize them.

The campaign must be the large-scale, militant, coordinated effort for which Southern leaders have asked. Anything else spells failure. The reasons are simple

and not too hard to find. For one thing, if an attempt is made to organize piece-meal, to attack a single mill or a few mills at a time, the combined strength of the manufacturers will be thrown against labor at that one point. No matter how long and desperate the fight, production will not be appreciably affected; the other manufacturers can reimburse the struck mills for their losses and labor will inevitably be beaten or worn down. Then the process will be repeated at the next place. That way lies defeat for the U. T. W. and misery and disillusionment for the Southern workers.

In the next place, knowing this full well, having had tragic experience in Gastonia, Marion and in South Carolina, Southern workers will not for long risk themselves on an isolated fight. They must have the feeling of a general movement which sweeps individuals and groups along in its vigorous course, in order to be drawn into the campaign.

Impossible to Localize Campaign

Furthermore, the labor conditions in the South are such that the conflict cannot possibly be confined to a single mill or a single area. Suppose it is decided to work in a particular locality; suppose results are obtained and improvements for the workers are secured—that news will spread like wildfire through the Southern mills. Everyone will want a share in the gains. Thousands of workers are so poorly paid and so irregularly employed that they could hardly be any worse off anyway if they were on strike. “Not all the king’s horses nor all the king’s men” will keep them in the mills if the union makes any headway whatsoever.

The idea that a quiet, polite, business campaign could or should be carried on fails utterly to take account of the opposition that is certain to be encountered. The Southern labor men made it plain at Washington that the sort of thing which has happened in Elizabethton, Marion and Gastonia will happen again. All the forces of the industrialists and much of the power of the state will be against any serious effort to organize. If that opposition would be disarmed by the union attempting an easy, quiet, one-mill-at-a-time campaign, there might be an argument for pursuing that course. Certainly no one will pay \$10 for an article if he can get it for \$1. But no sane observer believes that unionism will be permitted to gain a foothold anywhere unless it comes with determination, enthusiasm and power to unionize generally. To take one concrete point. In every strike on some pretext or other, soldiers will be brought in. Bringing in the troops, forbidding meetings, cutting down on picketing, means a lost strike. How will you meet this difficulty? By shooting the soldiers? Hardly. By persuading governors elected by mill influence not to send in the troops? Hardly. There is no way to meet the difficulty except to have so widespread a campaign, requiring the use of so many soldiers in so many places, that the taxpayers will get tired of having their money spent like water in order to keep down the wage level and thus injure and retard the development of the entire community.

The unionist from a skilled craft who argues for a campaign with “business methods” forgets some highly

important considerations. Once you have the union well established in the important sections of the country, with money, prestige, experience and power behind it, you may on occasion be able to organize a new locality by quiet business methods, though these occasions are rare enough. No union seeking to gain a foothold in a vast unorganized territory ever accomplished anything by this method, however. None of the big stable unions in the A. F. of L. today established themselves by any other methods than those of militancy, “waving flags and blowing bugles,” getting organizers to work for \$35 per week or less. It was not done on a business basis with big business pay.

Obviously also a small group of skilled workers may on occasion receive substantial concessions, and employers can reimburse themselves by cutting down on the pay of the masses. When, however, you undertake to raise the level of wages for a whole industry and a whole section of the country, you are up against a very different problem. You cannot get favors then by intentionally or unintentionally playing off one group of the working class against another.

Furthermore, methods which will work in organizing small groups of highly skilled workers cannot be applied to the job of bringing in masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled who are not accustomed to the idea of organization, are perhaps poorly educated and are compelled by the very nature of their work to act en masse or not act at all. For the sake of the workers to be reached in the South, as well as for the sake of support from the labor and liberal movements South and North, the issue in Southern textiles must be dramatized, and you cannot dramatize a nice, small-scale, eminently respectable organization effort. The very members of the skilled unions themselves will give support to a dramatic and militant effort, where otherwise they will be left cold and indifferent.

It is therefore the exact and literal truth that it would be better, more honest all around, to stay out of the South than to come in with plans for anything except a large-scale, militant and coordinated effort. Here is the first crucial test as to whether the American labor movement means business or is only kidding.

Dollars Not Nickels

Not less than a million dollars should be raised for the special fund to be used by the United Textile Workers for organizing the textile industry. Money is not everything in labor organization work, any more than anywhere else, but without funds this Southern campaign cannot succeed. The size of the fund will be a gauge by which to measure the steam in the boiler. Does labor care enough to give, and to give dollars and not nickels?

We have to face the fact that if the A. F. of L. appeal is to be met only by the internationals as such, there will probably not be a great deal of money raised. There are many internationals, and these often the most progressive and militant, which have troubles of their own, or are small and weak. They will give what they can but it will not be much. The internationals with the most money are often the least interested in the needs of the unorganized, and the most

backward about helping the other fellow. It has been demonstrated over and over again, however, that the masses of workers, organized and unorganized, can be reached by an appeal to help their fellows in a labor battle, especially when that appeal has such a poignant, human side as has the appeal of the Southern mill workers. If, therefore, the U. T. W. backed by the A. F. of L.'s call for funds and by the moral support of prominent men in the labor movement, will carry its message back to the local unions and to the rank and file of the workers, money in big sums can be obtained. In addition to the money thus obtained, the morale of the labor movement can be vastly improved if by such a nation-wide appeal penetrating back into the local unions, the movement could be made to feel that it was enlisted in a great humanitarian and labor crusade.

Right Appeal Will Win Response

There are people South and North outside the ranks of labor who will give to this cause. Let the U. T. W. sound, therefore, a nation-wide and convincing appeal to progressives and liberals to pour funds into its organization, publicity and relief fund. If progressive spirits everywhere can be satisfied that this is to be an honest, militant, coordinated and carefully planned effort, this appeal will get a response. Of course, no money will be available if there is to be only "hit or miss puttering."

Militancy and Money. These are the primary requirements. Certain other factors are scarcely of less importance.

There must be a carefully thought out plan of campaign and a board of strategy which keeps in close touch with developments and adapts the strategy to them. Where are the chief forces to be concentrated? What are the demands which are to be met? On what terms will settlements be made? What compromises are sound? Which ones are betrayals? Is the emphasis to be on reduced hours or increased wages? What kind of publicity and strike machinery is to be set up? What is the program of the union for the industry itself? All these and many more things must be thought out carefully. The days of impromptu, hit or miss organizing, are past.

Much depends on the kind of organizers placed on the job. So far as possible they should be Southern men and women. Above all they must be competent organizers. They must be given special training for this job and constantly supervised, guided and inspired from the central headquarters. Ten good men effectively used will do more than 100 chair-warmers or weak sisters. Adam Coaldigger made an important utterance on this subject in the Illinois Miner, official organ of District 12, U. M. W. of A. In an open letter to President Green on How to Organize the South he says:

WHAT LABOR FACES IN THE SOUTH



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

A crusading spirit on the part of the A. F. of L. will overcome this reckless force. Will organized labor rise to the occasion?

"If my memory don't fail me, it also seems to me I saw somewhere that you intend to borrow organizers from their respective International Unions and use them down South. Well, don't do it, Billy. The boys are all right in their ways, but their ways are not the ways of the South. It is even doubtful if their ways lead anywhere in the North, East, or West. Brother Fitzpatrick was blessed with some of those professional organizers during the great steel strike, and he had more trouble crow-barring them out of hotel upholstery than he had in organizing hungry Hunkies to whom the English language was Greek.

"I warn you especially against using national organizers of what once was the U. M. W. of A., because drinking, card-playing, chambermaid-loving and sleeping in the daytime are still looked upon as capital sins south of the Ohio River, and those are about the only things them boys know how to do expertly."

Everything that has already been said serves to emphasize still another point, namely, that no divided labor movement will be able to handle the Southern assignment adequately. Here is a task which challenges the brains and energy and devotion of the whole movement. All who are honestly concerned about

seeing the job done and a real labor movement in the South established should be welcome to participation in this task. The young, vigorous, militant elements in the movement are challenged by it. They could be fired to a new devotion to the movement if given a chance to share in the great crusade. Without them there is not enough energy to carry the cause to victory. Every great union has been built by its youth; so must this one. If these elements are not used they will certainly be either embittered or utterly disillusioned.

Business Depression and the South

Since the conference at Washington a development which even then merited attention has come to the front. The stock market has crashed. The bubble of Coolidge-Hoover-Mellon prosperity has, for the moment at least, been pricked. Precisely what effect this development will have on the general business situation remains to be seen. It is obvious, however, that Helpful Herbert and the big boys generally would not be conferring so fiercely and proclaiming so insistently that everything is glorious, if there were not some danger of depression, business slump, unemployment and all the rest. Whether there is or is not to be a general and serious depression, it is certain that for the moment the boom is over, and particularly that boom psychology has evaporated. What effect will this have on the Southern campaign?

The merest kindergartner in the labor movement knows that it is hard to organize workers and to call strikes in "bad times." If there are any people looking for alibis they can use this one for abandoning the Southern campaign, or at least putting the brakes on.

It is the present writer's opinion that tactics will certainly have to be altered at some points if the cotton industry, for example, is in for a serious depression, drastic curtailment, etc., but that to abandon or seriously to cut down on the Southern campaign would be a grave and unpardonable blunder. If everything that Helpful Herbert and other men of standing have been saying about the importance in this era of mass production of keeping up the purchasing power of the people is true, then one of the reasons why the country is now in difficulties is the low standard of living which has prevailed among Southern mill workers, making it utterly impossible for them to contribute their share to the nation's capacity for consumption. By that same token one of the best things that could be done to remedy the present difficulty would be to increase wages in the South as well as elsewhere and of course, raise the standard of living, and shorten hours so that there is more leisure to consume the output of our mass production industries. This whole argument about the importance of keeping up the capacity to consume has been made labor's own. Labor leaders have shouted it from the housetops. They will be traitors and fools if now they fail to hammer it home, or if in this crisis they ease up on the Southern campaign.

If the campaign is slowed up and the impetus gained is lost, then it will certainly be some time before another attempt to organize Southern textiles can be

C. P. L. A. PAMPHLETS

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made. In the meantime, employers will make certain concessions, a measure of stability may be achieved by the industry through killing off the least prosperous mills during the depression, and a scheme of company-unionism will probably be worked out. Then labor will find itself confronted with another stronghold of welfare capitalism which it is powerless to touch, and the present A. F. of L. unions will more than ever be placed in the position of being a tiny island in the midst of a raging sea of open-shoppers and company-unionism.

It is certain also that if bad times are ahead for Southern textile workers, if conditions are actually to be worse than they have been, there will be a tremendous opportunity to preach the gospel of labor and of revolt to them. This opportunity to give them workers' education, to teach them how it is that a system condemns its workers to such misery in the midst of plenty, must not be neglected. Let us come to them now with a militant and flaming gospel of freedom, and we can develop a labor consciousness in them, can plant deep in their souls hope for a better day and love for the labor movement through which they are to win that day for themselves. That work may not bear fruit over night in the establishment of stable unions, but it will certainly prevent further degradation of the standard of living; it will bring certain immediate improvements for Southern workers, and best of all it will lay the foundations for a militant labor movement in all its branches—trade union, political, cooperative and educational—in that section of the country.

No Turning Back

No, there must be no slackening of the pace. The A. F. of L. has put its hand to the plow. Let there be no turning back.

The six men who died in Marion, shot in the back by officers of the law after having been blinded with tear-gas, members of an A. F. of L. union, 100 per cent Americans, peaceful picketers — they are asking whether they have died in vain. They are asking President Green; they are asking the Executive Council; they are asking the international unions; they are asking the labor movement. The answer is soon to be given. The eyes of the nation are upon our movement as it decides what that answer is to be.

A Setback for Company Unionism

Railway Clerks Turn Tables on Employers

By PHIL E. ZIEGLER

A NEWSPAPER editor, unknown, when asked to give a definition of news replied:

"If a dog bites a man that is not news. But if a man bites a dog that is news."

By the same rule an injunction issued against a union in a labor dispute has long since ceased to be news. Scarcely a strike of any importance has occurred in recent years in which the injunction was not used by the employer to block, harass and defeat the workers. About all that is news in injunctions any more is the competition between equity judges to outdo each other in hamstringing the unions.

There went to the Supreme Court the other day an injunction case which is as unusual as would be the case of a man biting a dog—a case wherein a union applied for and was granted an injunction against an employer; a case, moreover, the outcome of which will have a very important bearing upon company unions and the future relationship between the legitimate labor unions and the railroads.

The appeal to the Supreme Court is the last leg of a two-year legal contest between the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Texas and New Orleans Railroad (Southern Pacific Lines in Texas and Louisiana) involving the cancellation of the Brotherhood's working agreement, the refusal of the Railroad to negotiate with the Brotherhood, and the right of the clerical employes of the Railroad to select their own representative.

Grants Injunction Against Railroad

More than two years ago, on August 3, 1927, Judge J. C. Hutcheson of the United States District Court, Houston, Texas, issued an injunction ordering the officials of the Texas and New Orleans Railroad to desist from their attempt to promote a company union, to recognize the right of their employes to select their own representatives without interference, influence, or coercion on the part of the employer, and to reestablish relationship with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks as the representative of the employes.

The events which led to the application for the injunction are interesting. During 1926-27 the clerks' organization was engaged in a general wage movement during the course of which a demand for a wage increase was served on the Texas and New Orleans Railroad. The demand was turned down, and in accordance with the procedure prescribed in the Railway Labor Act the Brotherhood referred the dispute to the United States Board of Mediation with a request that a mediator be assigned to the case in an effort to bring about a settlement.

Now, under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, when mediation fails a dispute becomes subject

to arbitration. The Act does not make arbitration compulsory; but arbitration is the very cornerstone of the law and it should be borne in mind that Congress passed the Act at the urgent request of the carriers and the labor organizations and upon the promise of each that they would respect the spirit as well as the letter of the law in an effort to make it function effectively in the peaceful settlement of disputes arising between them. One of the spokesmen for the new law when it was before Congress was a former official of the Texas and New Orleans Railroad.

Refuses to Arbitrate

The Texas and New Orleans Railroad, however, refused to arbitrate the dispute; and, as it will be seen later, in order to forestall arbitration, the railroad company seized upon the handy device of challenging the Brotherhood's right to represent their employes, on the ground that its membership did not constitute a majority of the carrier's clerical employes. Bear in mind that the organization was under contractual relationship with the railroad and had been for several years; that its officers were being met every day as representatives of the clerical employes in the adjustment of grievances, without the question of representation being raised until the wage demand was presented.

Simultaneous with the challenge of the Brotherhood's right to represent the employes there appeared on the scene a company union. Armed with company union application blanks, officers of the railroad went up and down the line recruiting membership. The mere fact that officials of the railroad were soliciting membership in the company union is enough to convince any fair-minded person that employes were coerced into joining it. But there was an abundance of other proof of coercion. Membership was solicited on promises of personal favors, promises of better conditions, and threats of dismissal for refusing to join the company union. With the company union launched, notice of the cancellation of its contract governing wages, hours and working conditions was served on the Brotherhood.

Thereupon the Brotherhood made application to the Federal Court for an injunction, basing its action on Section 2 of the Railway Labor Act, the third paragraph of which reads:

"Representatives for the purpose of this Act, shall be designated by the respective parties in such manner as may be provided in their corporate organizations or unincorporated associations, or by other means of collective action, without interference, influence of coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representatives by the other."

THE INJUNCTION MUST GO



Even if Labor can use the injunction in its own behalf in exceptional cases it is too dangerous a weapon to be tolerated

Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson granted a temporary restraining order enjoining the carrier, its officers, servants, and agents from in any way interfering with, influencing, intimidating, or covering the plaintiffs or any of the approximately 1,700 clerical employees with respect to their free and untrammelled right of selecting or designating their representatives.

Company Ignores Injunction

Officials of the railroad company paid about as much attention to that injunction as they would to an order coming from the office boy. Who ever heard of a judge issuing an injunction to protect a union in a contest with an employer? Who was Congress that it should attempt to say to an employer that he shall accord his employees the untrammelled right to select their own representatives with whom the employer shall deal? If Judge Hutcheson really thought that a powerful railroad company could be made to live up to the law by injunction or other means, he was mistaken and the railroad would convince him of that. The railroad would teach this learned judge that to issue an injunction against a powerful railroad company is not reckoning with its wealth, influence, power and prestige; is showing a lack of appreciation of practical values and is a waste of the paper on which the restraining order is printed. But subsequent events were to prove that the railroad company was reckoning without its host. It was up against a judge who believed that the law was made for the big fellow to obey as well as the little fellow.

The injunction was treated as contemptuously as

the proverbial scrap of paper. The railroad officials went merrily along promoting their company union. The pass privilege of the full-time officers of the Brotherhood was withdrawn so as to make it difficult for them to travel over the railroad. H. J. Harper, the clerks' general chairman, on leave of absence, was dismissed from the service. So were several clerks who were active in the union. If anything the company officials were more ruthless in the fight to disrupt the Brotherhood than before the injunction was issued. A wage increase was negotiated with the dummy company union. The increase amounted in round figures to \$75,000 a year. Keep that figure in mind as it has an important bearing on an incident that developed later on in the case.

After giving them sufficient rope to hang themselves attorneys for the Brotherhood went into court with some one hundred counts against the railroad officials for violation of the injunction. And then things began to happen.

Judge Hutcheson found H. M. Lull, G. S. Ward and J. G. Tooran, as executive, directive and supervisory officers of the Railroad, guilty of contempt of court, and in a stinging rebuke ordered them to restore to service the employees and union officials who had been discharged; restore to the officers of the union their pass privileges; disassociate itself from its dummy company union; reestablish and reinstate the Brotherhood as the representative of the clerical employees; to pay all court costs and the sum of \$2,000 to the complainants to cover attorney fees. If any one or all the defendants fail or refuse to perform and accom-

plish each and all of the things ordered by the court then, ordered the Judge, "such defendant or defendants so failing or refusing shall be committed to and confined in the County Jail of Harris County, Texas, until such time as such defendant or defendants so failing or refusing shall purge himself or themselves of said contempt. . . ." The injunction was made perpetual.

Plot to Rob Workers

It was during the contempt proceedings that a bit of evidence was uncovered which completely exposed the whole thing as a carefully planned but poorly staged plot on the part of the company to rob the workers of a fair wage increase.

Judge Hutcheson subpoenaed all documents of every kind that had any connection with the company union. Officials of the company by the time had come to have a good deal of respect for the court and had also discovered that the local officers of the Brotherhood had a nose for finding out what was going on behind the scenes. And when all the company union documents were subpoenaed by the court *all* of them were brought in including the following enlightening letter written by Vice President H. M. Lull to Mr. A. D. McDonald, President of the railroad in New York:

"A 10-cent increase is being asked for by clerks and station agents. There have been conferences but no agreement has been reached.

"The clerks west of El Paso have been granted a five-cent increase, and as the rates on the Texas and Louisiana lines are much lower than rates on other lines, the matter could not be arbitrated successfully.

"The controversy is now before a board of adjustment, but there is no legal obligation to arbitrate.

"The 10-cent increase asked for will cost the company about \$340,000 a year.

"If called on to arbitrate, I would decline to do so on the ground that the Brotherhood does not represent the clerks.

"*I am certain that we will be able to arbitrate through another organization for \$75,000.*"

Mr. Lull some weeks after the letter was written settled through "the other" organization for exactly that amount.

As pointed out above, Judge Hutcheson granted the injunction restraining the railroad from interfering with the employes' right of selecting their representatives without interference, influence or coercion—a right guaranteed by the Railway Labor Act and one which the court held Congress had a right to confer in order to insure that in the settlement of disputes each side shall be represented by those of its own selection.

The railroad company appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and that court by a two to one decision affirmed the judgments and decree of the District Court. A motion for a rehearing was also denied by the Court of Appeals.

The railroad company has now petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari, which, translated, means that the company has made application to the Supreme Court to hear the case.

The railroad bases its appeal mainly upon the following arguments:

That *mere suggestion or advice* (italics mine) by officers and agents of the Railroad to employes with respect to their organization, or selection of representatives is not unlawful, nor violative of the Railway Labor Act of 1926, nor subject to be enjoined. The decisions in this case are contrary to the decisions of this court in *Adair vs. United States*, 201 U. S. 161, and *Coppage vs. Kansas*, 236 U. S. 1, and violative of the First Amendment to the Constitution;

That the case is identical to that of the Pennsylvania case in which the Supreme Court held that the orders of the old Railroad Labor Board were not enforceable;

That insofar as the statute undertakes to prevent either party from influencing the other in the selection of representatives, it is unconstitutional and seeks to take away an inherent and inalienable right.

Supreme Court Decision Awaited

The outcome of this case is bound to have a very important effect upon the future of railroad labor relationships, and the entire railroad labor movement therefore awaits its final disposition by the Supreme Court with much eagerness.

If the Railway Labor Act is to function effectively; if disputes arising between the railroads and the employes are to be settled peacefully and without interruption then, as Judge Hutcheson pointed out in his decision, it must be made certain that in the first step in negotiations between the railroad employer and employe that representatives of the railroad companies should not meet representatives of the employes, *nominally elected by them but in fact under the influence and control of the railroad companies.*

If, because of the grave consequence of interruption to transportation, railroad workers are to have their economic power circumscribed by law; if, in the interest of uninterrupted transportation, an agency is provided for the peaceful settlement of disputes without resort to strike that agency must be such that it will operate honestly and impartially. Manifestly that cannot be accomplished if the employer (quoting Judge Hutcheson again) "has representatives on both sides of the table."

The free and untrammelled right of employes to select their own representatives is the very keystone of the Railway Labor Act and without it the whole structure would fall.

This case, therefore, goes to the very heart of the company union question. Remove the interference, influence and coercion of the employer in the selection of workers' representatives and you have removed the main prop of company unionism.

The Stock Market Crash

What Will It Do to Workers' Jobs

By CAROLINE WHITNEY

Labor's habit of joining in the chorus of Wall Street's songs is one that may make for a harmonious ensemble on a moonlit night but whether it gives labor the proper punch to put across its program is something else again. While the stocks were tumbling around every one's ears and nothing but blank despair greeted the falsetto prosperity medley, the American Federation of Labor was still "bullish" in its monthly business bulletin, announcing that all was well with the world and that dividends would flow on as ever. Even Herbert Hoover couldn't be so sanguine, Frenziedly he called conference after conference to try to stave off the oncoming depression.

"....Business is on a sound basis," the A. F. of L. monthly survey found, "Stocks of goods in general are not excessive and wage earners' buying power is higher than usual...." That was in November.

A few days later President Green announced his agreement with President Hoover that no wage increases would be sought by labor until business was more stabilized.

The article on this page is an analysis of the present financial and industrial situation by an authority who is scientific in approaching the problem. It gives us a more accurate idea of what to expect in the future without the wide sweep of Wall Street's manufactured optimism.

EVEN if every hod carrier, policeman, textile worker and Ford employe did not invest his surplus earnings in Wall Street, as reported in the newspapers, the recent stock market crash is still of more than academic interest to labor in general. What about our jobs, the workers may well ask, now that the orgy of speculation makes "prosperity" look seedy?

That depends on two factors. The sudden withdrawal of sums of money from the market for consumers' goods, particularly luxury articles, due to the sudden reduction of the number of people engaged in buying and selling shares, may effect industry adversely. And the cancellation of plans for industrial expansion, due to the inability of big business to raise funds by floating new issues of common stock as well as the inability of the banks to lend money to these businesses directly, because the banks must assist those of their customers who have been involved in the crash will further diminish productive enterprises.

Ever since Oct. 23rd, when the price decline began on a large scale, the newspapers have been full of stories about declining sales of jewelry, furs, radios, etc., cancelled orders, cancelled leases and other indications of a reduced ability of the public to buy expensive

goods. Yet why should this have been so? For every share of stock sold, there is a share of stock bought by someone else. Therefore, if speculator A makes money by buying General Electric at a low price and selling it at a high price, speculator B has put that money into his hands by buying the stock from him. If speculator A is then able to buy more luxury articles than if he had held his stock indefinitely, speculator B is able to buy fewer luxury articles than if he had not invested in the company at such a high price. Thus, if one group of people has been withdrawing money from capital or from capital gains in order to buy goods, another group of people has been withdrawing money from the goods market in order to increase its holdings of common stock. The total purchasing power should have remained undisturbed.

As a matter of fact, however, the banks have taken an important hand in the situation. They have been manufacturing more and more credit to take the place of money. Therefore, people have been able to go on buying shares without withdrawing purchasing power from the goods market. That this has been the case is shown by the fact that loans to brokers, as reported by the New York Stock Exchange, have been climbing faster than the market value of shares over a three year period, as the following table shows:

Ratio of Brokers' Loans to Total Market Value of All Listed Stocks

	<i>Per Cent.</i>
1926.....	8.04
1927.....	8.26
1928.....	9.14
1929 (first 10 months).....	9.33

That this ratio will decline, due to the fall in stock prices, is suggested by the fact that brokers' loans decreased \$585,000,000 during the week ended November 20th, while stock prices were rising. This would indicate that a larger proportion of securities sold are being sold for cash or on wide margins and therefore that money is being withdrawn from the goods market to pay for them. A decline in purchasing power can, therefore, be expected, and with that a lessening of business activity and an increase in unemployment.

New Stock Issues Abandoned

During the period of speculation rising stock prices reduced the dividend yield on common stocks. The average yield of 90 stocks declined from 5 per cent. in January, 1927, to 2.9 per cent. in September of this

LOADED DICE

year. As the decline was steady during this period, the inducement to corporations to borrow from the public by issuing new common stock instead of borrowing from banks at a higher rate of interest became greater. New issues of common stock averaged \$146,000,000 per month in 1927, \$297,000,000 per month in 1928, and \$674,000,000 per month in the first nine months of 1929. Since the week of October 26th, not only have new issues stopped, but corporations which at that time were floating new issues were forced to abandon the plan.

During the inflation period the banks, no longer patronized by large corporations, loaned to their customers on stocks and bonds as collateral. The increase in this type of loan by reporting member banks since three years ago, was 44 per cent, while the increase in all other loans was only 11 per cent.

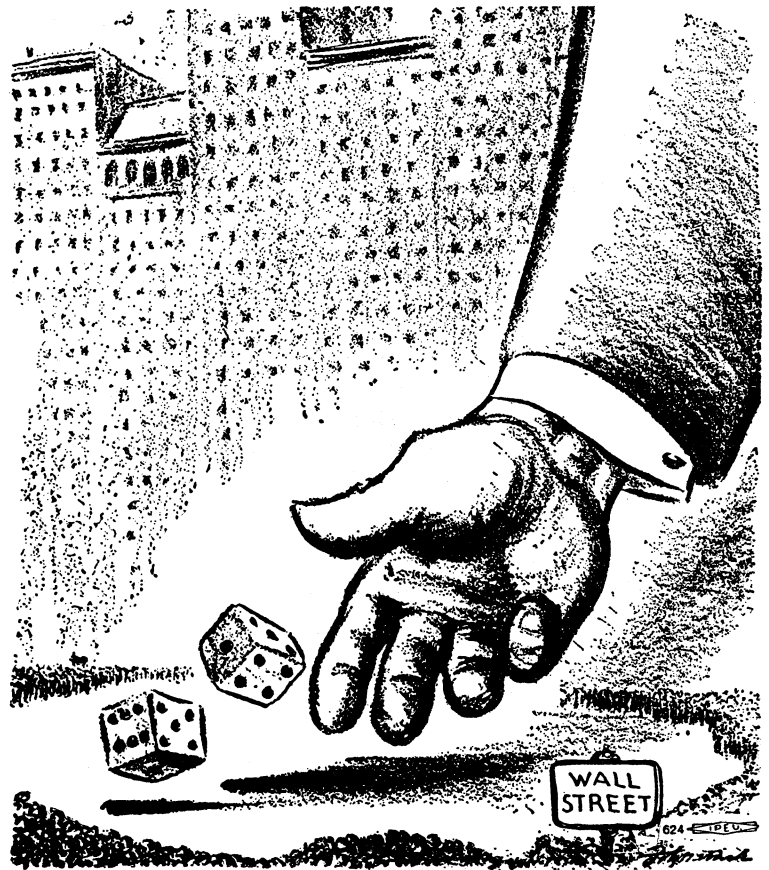
What this large amount of collateral means in the face of the stock market collapse is indicated by a note in the *NEW YORK TIMES* for November 7, which reads:

"The drop in security prices has provided some complications in loans made sometime ago on what was then considered ample coverage by bankers. In reviewing the market value of securities deposited as security for loans made months ago, bankers have found in some cases that their margin of protection was reduced far below what they would have desired."

Under the circumstances banks will be inclined to accommodate the customer by extending the loan, rather than to risk selling him out. This will reduce the power of the banks to lend. That the investing public has little confidence in the ability of banks to continue profitable lending operations is shown by the sensational drop in the price of bank stocks. Hence, large corporations, finding it impossible to raise money either from the stock market or from the banks will have to curtail programs of expansion. This will produce unemployment.

How long will the depression last and how severe will it be? The whole strategy of President Hoover is to shorten the period of bad business and diminish its ill effects. He has sought to create a psychological situation which would quickly build up business confidence. He has tried to stimulate public and private employers to undertake large construction programs.

President Hoover's Polyanna game, however, is counteracted by the reduced purchasing power that



Will aftermath of speculative orgy bring more misery and unemployment to workers?

stock market losses and reduced unemployment have brought. His encouragement of economic activity through new building is limited by the lessened ability of bankers and investors to finance such projects because of their being involved in the stock market crash.

An important thing to remember, too, is that most state and city governments are restricted in the amount of appropriations for public works, particularly when required suddenly, by constitutional and other legal provisions.

To the worker the stock market collapse is of importance chiefly because of its effect on employment opportunities. As we have seen, the banks hold the key to the situation. By withdrawing their credit, they have pricked the bubble of speculation and reduced consuming power, and hence, business activity and employment. By getting themselves tied up in the stock market, they have put themselves in a position where they cannot finance productive enterprises which would create jobs. Thus the stock market crash means less employment for labor.

Flashes from the Labor World

Six years on the chain gang, working on North Carolina's splendid concrete highways, was the maximum sentence which might have been imposed on Alfred Hoffman and three Marion cotton mill workers for the crime of leading a militant strike against the 67-hour week. But that isn't enough for North Carolina. Prosecutor J. Will Pless, Jr., and Judge V. G. Cowper got together and agreed it was just too bad that militant strike tactics don't constitute a major crime in the Old North State.

Up North, remarked the judge, where states are more advanced, they have special laws to cover just such cases. When a mill owner is hit over the head with a cane, it's no mere riot up north, Cowper intimated. Or when a striker shakes his fist in the face of a mill-paid deputy, it's not just resisting an officer. Just what it really is, the learned jurist said not, but he predicted that the coming legislature would take care of that.

* * *

Perhaps there is no pain or sorrow in Heaven, but just the same old Sam Gompers must have laid down his lyre to shed a tear, or interlarded a few cusses with hosannas when he heard the news from Washington that his successor, William Green, had been trapped into a bad bargain by that shrewd business man, Herbert Hoover. It's doubtful if even Gompers would have let himself in for Green's ludicrous position of promising that workers—most of whom are unorganized—would not ask for higher wages while Henry Ford, arch-foe of the A. F. of L., was announcing a general wage increase throughout his flivver foundries.

Ford has outsmarted the A. F. of L. once more, and in a decisive time for the automobile industry. In 1926, when the A. F. of L. convention descended on Detroit vociferating grandiose threats about unionizing the auto city, Henry suavely announced the 5-day week in all his plants. That was more than even the Federation had dared to ask at that time. All Green could do was to take up Ford's 5-day week slogan and appropriate it for

the Federation's own use. But Henry had pulled the union's punch.

Now with depression gnawing away at the motor city and digging in deep in other industrial centers, Ford once more proves himself a better labor prophet than Green by announcing a wage increase while the former Ohio miner, in his most dignified and statesmanlike tones, is assuring Hoover that organized labor will not seek wage increases. If you were a Ford auto worker, would you look to Henry or Bill for guidance?

* * *

More tragic than ridiculous was the Federation's part in the conference called by Hoover to avoid an industrial panic, following the stock market crash. Although aware that millions are unemployed and that this winter may be the most serious since 1921, the A. F. of L. went into the conference unarmed and unprepared. Not a word, reports Laurence Todd, the careful and well-informed Federated Press correspondent in the capital, was said by the labor leaders in behalf of unemployment insurance to care for the victims of depression. Instead were rehashes of the economics of the advertising gentry regarding the advisability of maintaining a high purchasing power—on the part of those without any jobs whatsoever!

* * *

Federal Judge Baltzell is up to his old tricks in Indianapolis. Two years ago he proudly tucked away two street car union organizers in jail for ignoring one of his pride-penned injunctions against unionism. Now he flings forth a court document forbidding Hosiery Workers Federation organizers to talk to Real Silk's yellow-dogged workers, with a view to joining the union. In 1927 the union carried on a hot campaign in the Hoosier city, but A. R. Yellow Dog MacDonald carried the day by yellow dogging the Real Silk employes with nice individual contracts in which they promise to give up their jobs if they join the union. A. R. is dead but his yellow dog lives, while both Judge Baltzell and his zeal for injunction still burn brightly. Organizer Steele says the resourceful Hosiery Workers

Union isn't going to give up the Real Silk Workers for lost.

* * *

Carl Haessler, managing editor and star reporter for Federated Press, relates an interesting tale in a current FP story. He warns that the speculations" contained in his story, obtained from sources close to the Illinois Miners Union leadership, may be "pipe dreams." But here they are:

If the Illinois Miners Union wins out in injunction procedure against Intl. Pres. John L. Lewis, who is trying to take control of the district, he will probably form a rival union. "In that case progressive miner locals all over the soft coal fields are ready to join with Illinois in forming a new bituminous union, leaving the anthracite to Lewis if he can hold it. Should Lewis win in the courts, there will be all the more reason, the strategists declare, for an independent honestly managed organization of coal diggers. In either case the dread specter of secession looms on the horizon of the court proceedings."

What, speculates Haessler, will happen if the Illinois union is successful in resisting Lewis? "If it becomes a second Amalgamated, with Lewis dwindling to the pygmy importance of Tom Rickert of the United Garment Workers, way is open for a powerful new labor federation in the United States." Such a federation, say those close to the Illinois union, would attract the railroad brotherhoods now outside the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated, and many unions restive within the older federation. The new body would press for a Labor party, push organization of basic industries and jump in where the A. F. of L. has long hesitated.

Haessler balances the arguments on the side of the old-established federation. "The A. F. of L.," he writes, "is the dominant and established labor movement of the country. In spite of John L. Lewis' disruptive efforts within what was once the federation's strongest unit, the federation, it is declared, will survive the present dis-embowelling, as it has many in the past."

HARVEY O'CONNOR.

In Other Lands

BRITISH TACKLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Having secured a series of brilliant successes in Washington, the Hague and Geneva the Labor Party administration turned to the economic tasks it was given a mandate to perform. J. H. Thomas and Margaret Bondfield had to present program for the relief of the unemployed and for an improvement in the administration of the existing laws. While subjected to a series of powerful attacks from the extremists and from the Left Wing groups in and out of Parliament the Government came off victorious. This was due to the prestige gained by Snowden and MacDonald on one hand and to the failure of the official opposition—the Tories and Liberals—to agree on a policy. The big card in MacDonald's hand is that no one wants a general election for at least another year. The economic results are: An increase in the dole and a mitigation of its hardships. A general increase in the old age pensions. Improvement in foreign trade through having secured a billion dollars in orders from Russia alone. The co-operatives got 180 million pounds worth of business from the Soviet a few weeks after the resumption of diplomatic relations. A favored nation treaty with the Argentine will in time help, though immediate results can not be expected. The Canadian trip of Thomas brought dubious results for, as the Daily Herald remarked, the geographical position of Canada makes trade with the United States inevitable as well as being more in harmony with world economics. Still it is admitted that the good will and trade preference will help a bit.

Lord Beaverbrook following on the footsteps of Joseph Chamberlain tried to develop an imperial protective tariff policy and like the latter has met with no encouragement from the people. He struck a snag that renders his campaign futile at home and hopeless abroad, with the possible exception of Australia.

Snowden has again shocked the Internationalists by holding on to 60 million of money belonging to German nationals, something that even "grabital" Washington refused to do. Snowden by that act of piracy has killed with one blow the agitation to abolish war debts. He has also played into the hands of American jingoes.

The industrial situation is not all serene for Lancashire, and other centers do not take kindly to slight reductions and the rationalization plan advocated by the Mondists and their labor supporters.

The naval conference can not bring peace to industry nor hope to anti-militarists as the agenda is too circumscribed. There may be a reduction in out of date armament but the airplane and the submarine will stand, especially since London does not want to give immunity to food ships.

The coal puzzle will be fixed up in a compromise but the inroads of oil and water power continue. The new constitution in the Labor Party prevents attacks from within the party from miners, M. P.'s or radicals. On this account the government in the House of Commons is safe.

FRENCH NATIONALISTS IN CONTROL

Paris is purse proud and cocky. It has almost as much gold as Uncle Sam in its banks and abroad. Its industries are busy but with wages and prices on the same grade. This leaves no margin for the workers, though the middle and upper classes are in clover. There were wage disputes but none of a serious nature. The Tardieu government has had its baptism of fire and has come out the victor in the clash with the communists and the Left. Although recognizing Moscow it does not let up in its war on the Third International. As Tardieu is a nationalist, Paris will fight at the naval conference for the submarine and airship, both of which they have in numbers too dangerous for British nerves.

The Reich while industrially busy is not yet financially sound though its citizens are showing signs of affluence. It favored Hoover's food ship formula as do most of the Central and Northern nations.

The referendum to set aside the Young plan has got its first stride despite Hindenburg's opposition but it will be defeated by default as were other extreme measures, notably the proposal to confiscate royal property.

Italy is in a bad way industrially and the plans of the Duce are not maturing as he expected. Conservative American visitors just back report no flexibility of action and no freedom even on small things. His deal with the Papacy while bringing the Dictator peace has given him no security. He is now playing an anti-French role and is trying to get new prestige out of the naval conference by demanding parity in land and sea with Paris. The French could say to him as the British said to Washington "Build up to us and you can have parity" and Mussolini would be muzzled.

RUSSIA STRENGTHENS POSITION

The Soviet is making good in its industrial program and is securing foreign credits to carry it out. In diplomacy it is winning all along the line. It got London recognition without making a concession on propaganda. It has aided in overthrowing Sadyk the Water Boy or British tool from the Kabul throne. It has divided China and is holding its own and more in Manchuria as well as making the new revolution a success. Stalin appears to be growing more powerful at home while the opposition is whittling away and the old guard led by Bukharin is falling into innocuous desuetude.

The Communists abroad are not making headway—rather they are losing everywhere. The one bright spot, the Berlin elections, are being made the most of but that is local and has no international significance.

China is paying the penalty of sidetracking its revolution for the golden promises of Japanese and British imperialists. Chaos and disorder seem to be the rule. Kabul won its greatest victory when it got British recognition for the new order. This is a slap at the supporters of the reactionists and a reversal in policy on the part of London.

P. L. QUINLAN.

SOCIALIST INTERVENTION IN AUSTRIA

The impending coup d'etat of the Austrian Fascists continues to be the center of all the international activities of organized labor in continental Europe. The fear that the socialist Schutz-Bund with its army of 200,000 might not be able to cope with the onslaught of its formidable enemy forced the European socialists to change their attitude toward the old bugaboo of "intervention." The very same people that were the first to oppose foreign intervention in any form (in Russia, for instance) demanded intervention in Austria. It started with something that looked like a purely socialist intervention and wound up with demand that the League of Nations, a non-socialist inter-governmental body, take notice of the Austrian violation of the Trianon Peace Treaty about armaments and secret military organizations.

This change of front came suddenly and met a unanimous indorsement of all the Labor and Socialist parties of Europe. It found its expression in the significant statements of the German and Czechoslovakian leaders, in the demonstrations and warnings of the Socialist Sport and Trade Union internationals, in the carefully-worded but very suggestive answer of Arthur Henderson, English Foreign minister and ex-president of the Labor and Socialist International, to the parliamentary interpellation of his colleagues. This very same attitude was simultaneously registered in the magnificent public statement of the French socialist statesman, leader of 101 deputies in parliament, Leon Blum and in the impressive declaration of Frederich Adler, secretary, and Emil Vandervelde, president of the Socialist International. And when it appeared that these warnings might not suffice, a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International was called.

At this writing the leaders of all the socialist parties of Europe are still holding their executive sessions in Brussels. But the latest news from Vienna gives the impression that all this intervention of organized labor was not in vain. The Austrian Fascisti and their foreign backers in Germany, Hungary and Italy have begun to see the light and the revolutionary achievements of Austrian Labor remain unchallenged.

* * *

If we are to believe the well informed labor press of Europe the socialist "intervention" was not the only one of its kind. They assert that the socialist statesmen of England, France and Belgium exercised during the last 4 or 5 weeks a very effective, although less spectacular "intervention" in three other countries: Lithuania, Poland and Hungary.

In Lithuania they were instrumental in bringing to a happy conclusion the movement to overthrow the dictatorship of Professor Waldemaros; in Poland, in checking the dictatorship ambitions of Pilsudski, and in Hungary, in forcing the Horthy government to promise a relaxation of dictatorship and partial political amnesty in exchange for a socialist indorsement of the much desired foreign loan.

It is true that in the last two countries the dictatorship still occupies very powerful positions, but the struggle of organized labor for political democracy is made much easier thanks to the moral intervention of their friends and allies in foreign lands.

* * *

The valiant fight that the Socialist Party of Poland and its leader, the Sejm (or Congress) president Daszinsky is waging against Pilsudski had two indirect results that deserve to be recorded. It brought a reproachment between the Polish and Jewish workers of Poland who had been hardly on speaking terms for years. It also helped to bring the party of the Jewish workers in Poland, the "Bund" nearer to the Socialist International. The "Bund" was the only socialist party of importance in all Europe that remained outside the International. As far back as ten months ago the national convention of this party refused to entertain a motion to join the Labor Socialist International. Now the attitude is changed and the majority of the Bund's Central Committee decided to recommend affiliation. A special convention is called for this purpose.

VOTE AGAINST COALITION

The 41st annual convention of the Labor Party in Belgium met in Brussels November 10 and 11. Among other things the delegates discussed an invitation of the government to join a general coalition. This proposal was voted down almost unanimously. The leader of the party, Vandervelde, himself a former Premier and foreign minister, spoke against the proposition, stating that "only in exceptional cases have socialists a right to participate in national coalitions with non-labor parties." They (the socialists) could join a coalition government only when they occupy key positions in it.

* * *

This in general was also the answer given by the French socialist party to the offer of four ministerial posts in the coalition government of the radical leader, Deladier.

The special conference of the National Committee met on October 27, and after a long and heated two day session adopted a resolution that refused participation in the government. Of the 3,113 ballots cast 1,590 were recorded against participation and 1,451 for, a plurality of only 150 votes. But it is worth noticing that of the 87 State Federations that took part in the deliberations 50½ voted for participation and only 36½ against. The "minority" claims that the 36½ won only because of the fact that the spokesman of one of the largest Federations cast all the 332 votes of his state for the victorious motion. The claim states that if the minority of the given state would have been permitted to cast its share of the votes, a radical-socialist government would be in power in France instead of the conservative semi-reactionary Tardieu government.

MARK KHINOY



“Say It With Books”



NATIONALISTIC VS. FREE EDUCATION

Lies and Hate in Education, by Mark Starr, The Hogarth Press, London, 197 pp. (\$1.25, including postage, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.)

LEGION is the number of those who have discussed the problem of freedom in education. But like the thwarted mice who collectively agreed to bell the cat, no way has thus far been found to put into practice the universally accepted remedy. The discovery of a successful application will be placed along side that of the discovery of fire as one of the seven most important events in life's development.

Led by such men as James Harvey Robinson, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, just to mention a few, a large mass of opinion has been generated in back of a new attitude towards learning—the attitude of a critical approach to the problems of living. The cry is to permit the troops of children that weave in and out of our educational institutions free play of their faculties without the binding effects of propaganda to create “Pattern” types of minds.

Opposed to this newer spirit are the demands of State. Industrial civilization, like the civilizations before it, still needs soldiers to fight its battles. Expansion of markets requires a rigid acceptance by the large populace of the “white man's burden” ideology. Conflicts that such expansions engender force the rulers of nations to adopt an educational program based on the exploitation of the fear complex and the glorification of nationalistic virtues as against education for rational understanding of the basic equality of man, be he black, yellow, white or green, latin, slav or anglo saxon, trying to solve to the best of his ability the question of making a living. Basically, the question is: Can the education sought for by the “liberalizing” philosphers and peace loving peoples who

think in terms of international understanding be introduced against the needs and wishes of exploiting forces which rely upon competitive markets and their attendant wars for power and wealth?

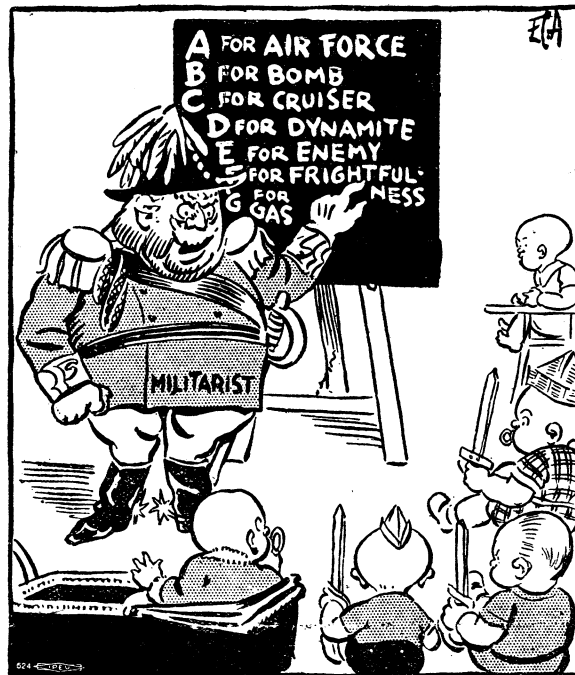
That the answer has up to the present been almost universally in the negative is proved by the works of Upton Sinclair and now by Mark Starr in “Lies and Hate in Education,” a Plebs publication. This excellent little volume deals primarily with the education of the young in Great Britain but reserves more or less space for the discussion of the same subject in France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Italy, Japan and China in the order named. Russia is optimistically given a clean bill of health by the author. His general conclusions are that, “Near East and Far East, Old World and New World, large countries and small have the same dangers, and the need for mental disarmaments is world wide.”

Considering the fact that “Lies and Hate in Education” in 197 pages, including a chapter each on “The Antidote,” a “White List of Textbooks,” and “Suggested Lesson Material” tries to cover the world conspiracy against free education, excluding the United States, the job is a good one. Certainly the classification of material, especially as far as England is concerned, is excellent. The other coun-

tries are of necessity rather sketchily treated due to the evident desire to keep the cost of the book down to within the means of workers and also because of lack of material.

Yet just as it stands it is an eloquent testimonia¹ to the process of “mind binding” that is going on everywhere. The palm goes to France, in this reviewer's estimation, where the eloquence of the chauvinists takes dizzy fanciful

THE MILITARIST'S A. B. C.



Frontispiece of “Lies and Hate in Education”

LABOR AGE

fighths. After breakfast this is what the poor French child is forced to digest: (From "Recitations in Primary School):

"If one wishes to accumulate all that each nation has expended of blood, of money and of efforts of all kinds towards the disinterested and unselfish objects, which must be only for the advantage of the world at large, the pile of French efforts would go up to the Heavens. And yours, oh nations! great as all of you are, the pile of your sacrifices would only reach the knee of a child."

The author's antidote is greater influence by parents directly over the child and indirectly by vigilant supervision of textbooks used in the schools. But since most of the parents are products or victims of the same school books the problem of belling the cat still remains unsolved. The more effective remedy, as suggested by this volume, is for organized agencies, like the labor movement, the more enlightened parents associations and other groups interested in a realistic approach to life, to keep a careful eye on the schools and their practices, for textbooks are not the only medium utilized for mental enslavement.

If "Lies and Hate in Education" is really the first attempt to bring to light propoganda for imperialism, militarism and capitalism parading as education in the British and Continental schools, then Mark Starr, its author, certainly deserves the thanks of all forward looking people. For the Englishman, and for the American as well, it shows what rocks are strewn in the path of universal understanding.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

A SURVEY OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

The Drift of Civilization, by the Contributors to the 50th Anniversary Number of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. New York, 1929, Simon and Schuster, Inc., 268 pp. \$3.00.

THIS symposium by 26 famous writers, such as Wells, Gorky, B. Russel, as well as celebrated scientists and men of affairs, discusses the present state of Western civilization and its various trends. The essays are classified under three heads, to wit: the future of Man, the future of Science, and the future of America.

The value of collections of this type should not be overrated. In the last analysis they contain nothing but a few more or less correct, yet grossly embellished, generalizations. The present publication, in addition, was sponsored by a private prosperous newspaper concern on the occasion of a half century celebration. The jubilant mood is naturally reflected in the unmerited optimism and joy of the most contributors. A few of them entirely disregard, while the others fail to bring into bold relief, the dismal sports upon the canvas of man's glorious estate in the 20th century, such as social oppression, shallow materialism, lust for money and power, etc.

At best, therefore, the reader may derive from the bulky volume a few brilliant observations only. Nevertheless, books of this kind are well worth reading, for they provide one with data and criteria for a much-needed general evaluation of mankind's present state and future possibilities.

From labor's point of view, the book contains two interesting contributions. "The Proletariat of the Future"

by Martin Anderson Nexö, a Danish fiction writer holding communist views, is a stimulating essay on the inevitable degradation of the working people under the sway of our materialist civilization. It concludes with a hope that the proletarian will recast the whole shape of civilization by "drawing the artistic consequences of his distinctiveness of character, and making the Everyday bright and brilliant and worth living for the many."

Of more concrete significance is the article "Labor in the United States" by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This spokesman of labor, after giving an outline of the American labor movement in the past fifty years, dwells in greater detail upon the brighter phases of the newest stage in trade union development as these are expressed in the "Amalgamated" of the clothing industry. Several constructive features of this union's work, such as employment exchanges, unemployment funds, labor banking, cooperative housing, etc., are described and commented on. Finally the writer takes up the subject of industrial democracy. The initial step in this direction taken by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers he defines as imbuing the workers with "a sense of citizenship in the shop and, therefore, a sense of responsibility with regard to their obligation to the industry." Of course, the final end of industrial democracy is the elimination of the profit-seeking motive as a regulating force in social life.

In sections entitled "Labor and Government" and "Paternalism vs. Democracy," Sidney Hillman forecasts the probable course of labor progress in America. He does not expect quick and easy victories, but, all the same, is far indeed from despair and compromise with the forces of reaction. Certain of the latter's industrial activities are, to his mind, disguised signs of changed conditions and portents of progress. He thinks, for instance, that the company unions and employe-representation schemes will either succumb in the struggle with a labor movement that has recovered its vitality or will themselves become transformed into genuine democratic associations of free men and women they now profess to be. It is essential, he says, for the maintenance and progress of our industrial system that, regardless of temporary setbacks, the labor movement should march ahead in its work.

HERMAN FRANK.

CONTROL THE MACHINE

Unemployment and its Remedies by Harry W. Laidler, Ph. D., League for Industrial Democracy, New York City, 32 Pages. 10 cents.

IT will be interesting to note what effect the recent conferences between President Hoover and business, banking and labor representatives will lead to. But one thing is certain, the problem of unemployment, always a problem but accentuated lately by the introduction of a new factor, the super machine—will not be met squarely. Business may promise not to decrease wages but it will not and cannot promise continuous work. And there's the rub.

Dr. Laidler, in his latest pamphlet on Unemployment and Its Remedies quotes authorities to prove that, "for the first time in the history of this rapidly growing country, employment in our two largest branches of industry—

farming and manufacturing—is manifesting a definitely downward trend.” Almost two and one-half million people, the pamphlet shows, have been eliminated in four major industries by improved machinery.

The remedies, in the author's opinion, are better statistical data on unemployment, public employment exchanges, a program of public works, unemployment insurance, reduction of hours of work, and last but not the least, a change in the system of society. “Only a pretty thorough coordination in the production, distribution and investment sides of industry will abolish the industrial anarchy which is one of the chief causes of industrial depression,” he concludes.

The pamphlet is crammed with facts that are useful upon every occasion. Ten cents will supply the reader with a wealth of specific information that can always be used in private or public discussions. I. M.

OBJECTION

IT is indeed regrettable that the columns of your always fairminded journal should unknowingly aid in belittling a work that is chiefly dedicated to (and has received unanimous praise from over seventy reviewers) the struggles and aspirations of the enslaved toilers.

Mr. David P. Berenberg in his review (November issue) on: “An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry” has made many assertions in a deliberate attempt to belittle the Editor and thereby the work as a whole. He says: “Nationalism seems to be a passion with Mr. Graham.” As a matter of fact the Anthology has fourteen anti-war poems. One poem by Tagore: “Nationalism” is an anti-nationalistic poem. The poems of O'Reilly and Davis are not nationalistic but Internationalistic. To quote from O'Reilly:

“Rouse, ye races in shackles!
See, in the East, the glare
Is red in the sky, and the warning cry
Is sounding—“Awake! Prepare!”

“Earth for the people—their laws their own—
An equal race for all.
Though shattered and few, who to this are true
Shall flourish the more they fall.”

Now from Thomas Davis's poem:

“But Russia preys on Poland's fields, where
Sobiesky reigned,
And Austria on Italy—the Roman Eagle chained—
Bohemia, Servia, Hungary within her clutches gasp.
And Ireland struggles gallantly in England's
loosening grasp.”

Mr. Berenberg continues his assertions: “There isn't a smile in the whole book.” For his benefit I will enumerate the following poems in the anthology that prove this as untrue. Monopolistic Monologue by E. Bradshaw. A New National Hymn by Wm. G. Eggleston. The Crazy World by William Gay. The Preacher and the Slave by Joe Hill. Pursery Rhyme by Gen. I. R. Sherwood. For Those Who Give Thanks by Bert Ullad. Fight—What For? by C. B. Whitehead. Irony by Babette Deutsch. The Hollow Men by T. S. Elliot. “Gentlemen” by E. N. Ewer. Fire and Ice by Robert Frost. Laugh It Off by Bolton Hall. Welfare Song by Will Herford. Advertisement by Alfred Kreym-

borg. Mice by Vachel Lindsay. A Christmas Carol by Ragnar Redbeard. Homo Rapiens by H. S. Salt. “Safe for Democracy” by L. A. G. Strong. Calliban in the Coal Mines by Louis Untermeyer. Dives by Cynicus. As It Is by P. P. and Lion and Gnat by Ivan Krylov.

MARCUS GRAHAM

ELLA MAY WIGGINS

*Lean against the wall. Support yourself, Edith Cavell.
No, you do not need support. You are calm and proud.
You know, once your breast
Is shattered with the bullets packed inside the gleaming
barrels
A wild horror will o'er sweep the world.
Your name will be the slogan of the Armies.
Shot. In cold blood. A woman.
You lie, dead, upon the stones.
The earth is bleeding with you;
Your murderers will bleed
And thousands will die murdering your murderers.*

*The bugles will blare because you are shot, Edith Cavell.
The sculptors will carve statues,
Governments dedicate monuments,
Preachers will preach to crowded churches,
Rousing hate for your slayers, and honor for a woman
shot.*

Shot. Shot. In cold blood.

*Where are the bugles that blare your name, Ella May?
Fall forward in the car. Support yourself.
No, you cannot. You are dead. Shot.
The earth—does it know? Does it care?
Four children know.
There are five altogether. But the youngest is too little
He does not care. He does not even know
He is dressed in a new bonnet
And taken to your funeral
And held in his sister's arms over your dier
To drop a flower.*

*Your armies—do they shout your name,
Or are they stifled trying to breathe their own?
Where, where is the voice that cries,
“Here is a woman, shot.
“Shot. In cold blood.”*

ESTHER FISHER BROWN.

A CHANT FOR SIMPLE THINGS

*A Chant for simple things,
Plain women cooking food,
Gold rings
On their fingers,
Simple men
With minds dim,
Living simply
On the rim
Of bottomless abysses,
Men eating,
Men snatching kisses,
Men drinking,
Women crying,
Children born,
Children dying.*

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

Announcing

That Beginning With the
January, 1930 Issue

Labor Age

will appear in a changed form that will enhance the appearance and value of the publication. The pages will be slightly larger in size, permitting articles to be printed three columns to the page instead of two as heretofore. Such mechanical changes will make for easier reading and permit better arrangements of illustrations.

In addition, the readers will notice in this issue a new contributor.

HERBERT HEASLEY,

cartoonist for the Railway Clerk, official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, has been added to the Labor Age staff. Mr. Heasley's drawings have been attracting wide attention for their intensity and clearness of conception. His three cartoons in this issue demonstrate the effectiveness of his work and the treat in store for Labor Age readers.

Future issues will continue to portray the struggles of labor wherever they take place with analytical articles and editorials that make this publication unique among labor journals.

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