

# LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## Political Revolt

Prospects for a New Alignment.....*Howard Y. Williams*  
"God Save Grundy's Pennsylvania!".....*Louis Francis Budenz*  
Toward a Labor Party .....*Joseph Schwartz*

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## The No Strike Policy

*In The South*

A. J. Muste

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WHAT PRICE SOLIDARITY? (An Editorial)

THE MARCH OF THE MACHINE

And Other Features

MAY, 1930

25 CENTS

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Vol. XIX—No. 5.

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## CONTENTS

EDITORIALS:	Page
WHAT PRICE SOLIDARITY? THE CARPENTERS' UNION, HOW NOT TO MAKE PEACE, A GREAT BUILDER SPEAKS, SHALL WE BE THE TYRANTS' HENCHMEN? TIME TO ACT, RETURNING SANITY, LEWIS TRIES TERROR.....	1
POLITICAL REVOLT BREWING.....Howard Y. Williams	5
"GOD SAVE GRUNDY'S PENNSYLVANIA!".....Louis Francis Budenz	8
TOWARD A LABOR PARTY.....Joseph Schwartz	11
"NO STRIKE"—THE POLICY IN THE SOUTH.....A. J. Muste	14
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD.....Harvey O'Connor	16
THE MARCH OF THE MACHINE.....Justus Ebert	18
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.....Louis F. Budenz	19
ONE YEAR AND AFTER.....	21
IN OTHER LANDS.....Patrick L. Quinlan	25
SAY IT WITH BOOKS—	
A FRENCH ALICE IN WONDERLAND.....J. F. Anderson	26
PSYCHOLOGIZING LABOR.....Ruth Gordon	27
SUCCESSFUL MUNICIPAL OPERATION.....Israel Mufson	27
MASSES-MULCTING MERGERS.....Mark Starr	28
WHAT OUR READERS THINK.....	29

## IN THIS ISSUE

THE confidence that sixteen million citizens placed in President Herbert Hoover and his Republican Party at the last election is beginning to fray at the edges. Nay, even more, exasperating rents are evident in the garment of all-powerful efficiency and prosperity with which they were clothed. Within a year the fervor of many of their enthusiasts has turned into disillusionment. As presidents go, the American masses now see Mr. Hoover as just another Republican executive playing the political game for those who filled the flesh pots of Republican campaign strategy. The Democratic Party is of less consequence. Attempting to outbid the Republicans in their search for Big Business support and with the latter becoming wetter day by day, it would take more than the smile of a "happy warrior" to establish a real difference between the two parties. Any fight between the Republicans and Democrats is a sham battle. The masses are beginning to realize this. Howard Y. Williams, secretary of the League for Independent Political Action, now completing a speaking tour which took him from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, addressing luncheon clubs, ministers' associations, labor unions and every other sort of meeting where all shades of political opinions were represented, sees the development of a third party as a reality in the immediate future. He relates of the incidents which lead him to this conclusion in "Political Revolt Brewing."

Mr. Williams was born in San Francisco, is a graduate of the University of Minnesota and Union Theological Seminary. Following the War, Mr. Williams was for ten years in charge of the Peoples Church of St. Paul, where he distinguished himself for effective moral and civic service to the people. In 1926 he was the candidate for Mayor of the Labor-Progressive forces, receiving over 26,000 votes and coming within a few hundred votes of election. In 1928 he was the Farmer-Labor candidate for Congress and again received a large vote. He is now travel-

ling over the United States organizing, stimulating and cooperating with local third-party political movements that will eventually unite to create for this country a critical opposition party comparable to the British Labor Party. Mr. Williams has a keen insight into political and economic institutions and problems.

PENNSYLVANIA is more like a feudal principality of the Middle Ages than a free state of the United States in the 20th century. The citizens in that benighted commonwealth may vote but the Mellons, Grundys and Vares run the show. Politically and industrially the state is as completely under the domination of the reigning hierarchy as were the subjects of the Medes and the Persians. Among those who had more than his fair share of experiences with the laws of the Mellons and the Grundys is Louis F. Budenz, organizer for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and one of the Executive Secretaries of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. He has a tale to tell under "God Save Grundy's Pennsylvania!" which throws added light upon our delusion that the last war was fought for democracy, and the Republican tariff was established to protect the wage earner.

PHILADELPHIA, the stamping ground of one of Pennsylvania's political Napoleons, always has offered a delightful interlude in the study of democratic procedure. The spectacle has ever been amazing, though many times far from elevating, when viewing the antics of Labor in its attempt to follow through the non-partisan A. F. of L. political policy. In "Toward a Labor Party" we find this diversion continuing, though the progressives threaten to break up the pretty little game of the past and really line up labor sentiment for an independent Labor Party. Joseph Schwartz, the author, is Chairman of the Philadelphia Conference for Progressive Labor Action, secretary of the Labor College of Philadelphia and one of the leaders of the political insurrectionists.

GENTLEMEN may prefer blonds but very seldom trade unions, if you get our meaning. The Southern campaign has now turned into a polite dissertation on the academic value of unions to the Southern employer. It is a game in which any gentleman may enter with complete composure for not even a necktie will be ruffled in this scuffle of words. What all this fine talk will lead to and where in this picture the southern workers, who ostensibly are not gentlemen in the accepted aristocratic sense, will fit in is discussed by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College in "No Strike"—The Policy in the South."

ONE Year and After" continues an analysis of the work of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, projects plans for the future, and especially evaluates the position of each individual member of the organization, his duties and effectiveness. Progressives who are wondering what to do in this work of rehabilitation and awakening will find the answer in this article.

FOLLOWING the Fight," "In Other Lands," "The March of the Machine," "Say It With Books" and "What Our Readers Think" complete this issue.

# LABOR AGE

May, 1930

## EDITORIALS

THOSE either puzzled or disappointed at the tactics pursued by the American Federation of Labor in the Southern organization drive will find the minutes of the quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board of the Carpenters' Union, held in Lakeland, Florida, in December, 1929, and reprinted in

### What Price Solidarity?

the CARPENTER, its official journal for February, 1930, enlightening. It will be recalled that Labor, united, was to pool its resources and march upon the citadels of exploitation in massed phalanx. The Southern drive was to be a test of Labor's solidarity—of the A. F. of L.'s ability to meet its crucial problem. A letter was sent by President Green to all the affiliated unions pointing to the significance of the campaign and calling for unstinted support.

This appeal reached the General Executive Board of the Carpenters' Union while its members were solemnly deliberating amidst the balmy breezes of the playground of the tired. It must have been around two o'clock in the afternoon, when the magnificent 18-hole golf course was beckoning with all the lure of a velvet-skinned mistress, that this crying epistle, reeking of misery and sweat, of hunger and wretched despair, was called to their attention. Soft hearted, their souls going out to the undernourished and underpaid textile operatives, the appeal almost ruined what otherwise should have been a pleasurable surcease from their harassing labors. But these were men used to solving unpleasant problems. With the speed of efficient executives the matter was taken in hand and immediately disposed of.

"Communications from the A. F. of L.," read the minutes curtly, "asking for aid for relief of Textile Workers was read as information and request denied."

That's all. There is hope that none of the members of the Executive Board wobbled his strokes in his golf game that afternoon.

There is the answer to the puzzle. If the Southern campaign, which was to be a crusade with fire and mass demonstration, turned into a dignified, noiseless and business-like procedure; if Labor, which was to gird its loins with the sword of righteousness calling the southern workers in rebellion against their industrial serfdom, is instead leading the foray with the palm leaf of caution, appealing to the employers for their kind consideration; if the spirit of militancy, which for once lifted labor's conclave out of its deadening somnolence, was drowned in the Potomac and a policy of non-resistance, a no strike dictum, was promulgated as the higher strategy in its place, the minutes of the Executive Board's meeting of the Carpenters' Union explain the reason for this changed front.

Labor's solidarity has left the union halls and entered the golf courses, the stock exchanges and the bank vaults. Lakeland is psychologically and materially much closer to the Houses of Morgan and Rockefeller than to the un-

painted and unadorned shacks of the southern hill billies. The price of labor solidarity is thirty pieces of silver.

THE Carpenters' Union has a membership, last reported, of 322,000. The dues are high and the international treasury affluent. It is one of the richest and strongest organizations in the American Federation of Labor. The officers are among the highest paid of labor officials.

### The Carpenters' Union

In the April, 1930 issue of THE CARPENTER, the union's official organ, there is a reprint of a statement issued by the Building Trades Employers' Association of Cleveland, O., on the carpenters' International Home, situated in Lakeland, Fla., where the General Executive Board meets and where the decision, not to contribute to the southern campaign, was made.

"... It (the home) has a gorgeous setting built at one of the highest points in the state on a tract of land consisting of more than 1900 acres and covered with 46,000 citrus trees. An eighteen-hole golf course is also one of the features of the place.

"The home and the ground together are said to represent a valuation of more than \$2,000,000. The building itself does not have the appearance of an institution but is constructed on the lines of a modern hotel, or resort, and is one of the show places in the state of Florida. . . .

"Moving pictures are shown once a week and religious services are held every Sunday afternoon. . . ."

There is no begrudging the wealth and prestige of this powerful organization. We can only wish that all other workers build as nobly—as far as material possessions go.

But in reading of the action of the Executive Council on the appeal of the southern textile workers we are reminded of another Carpenter who said something about the uselessness of laying up wealth on this earth if one loses his soul thereby.

THE much-heralded London Conference has come to an end. President Hoover, who undertook to establish "prosperity by proclamation" last fall, is now proclaim-

### How Not To Make Peace

any more in the latter case than in the former.

There is one outstanding achievement of the London Conference and that has nothing to do with peace, is indeed much more likely to prove some day an agency of war. The United States has gained naval parity with Great Britain. No one on earth henceforth is to be permitted to have a bigger navy than ours. The economic superiority which we have achieved by rapid strides in the

last generation is now to be expressed in terms of naval tonnage. This, although we are unquestionably less likely to be attacked than any other power on earth. To some of us it comes as a shock to recall that it is only a little over thirty years since in 1898 there was a good deal of apprehension in the United States as to whether we could lick the fleet of—Spain!

When you have said parity for the American navy, then you have told nearly the whole story of the London Conference, and since such a vast smoke-screen of language will be thrown about from press, platform and pulpit to obscure that fact, it might be well to leave it standing here in LABOR AGE in all its nakedness.

However, from another standpoint it may be better to mention what little ground for hope of peace is given by the results of the Conference. There is not to be the unrestricted naval race which there might have been if no conference had been held. There is to be a "holiday" in the building of big battle-ships for several years. It will cost us "only" 600 million dollars, more or less, to attain parity with Great Britain under the London figures, whereas it would have cost twice as much or even more on the basis under discussion at the Geneva Conference a couple of years ago. This is providing that France and Italy, who could not come to an agreement at London, succeed in doing so later without greatly increasing their tonnage, in which case England would have to increase hers, and, of course, we ours. There is also an agreement which may somewhat modify the cruelties of submarine warfare in future conflicts.

For the sake of the British Labor Party and Premier MacDonald, we wish that a more encouraging report might be given, but the DAILY HERALD of London, the organ of British labor, doubtless hit the nail on the head when it said a few days ago: "The gains of the Conference are plain enough. But at the same time it would be folly to over-value them. It has neither achieved disarmament nor assured peace."

Labor throughout the world, and especially in the United States, will have to become stronger and its passion for peace much greater than it now is before we arrive at that date when "the war drums throb no longer" and the peoples meet in "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

NO one will guess that the usually somber and unadorned pages of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, dealing as they customarily do complexly with the complex

### A Great Builder Speaks

problems of a complex world, can harbor within its covers a delightful oasis devoted to fanciful literature. But the impossible has happened and in the April issue of that erudite publication, those hankering for the imaginative fountain of requited romance can drink their fill and be unrestrainedly joyous. In these days of stark realism, when the minutest soul-weary motive is dangled before mankind unto the nth horror, it is good to discover one source unspoiled by naked exposure which marks this age above everything else.

Standing like a modern colossus, with both feet firmly rooted, one on each extended coast line of this far flung domain, the secretary of the Workers Education Bureau of America, and by Grace of God, educational advisor to the Industrial Relations Department of the Episcopal Church, looks over the endeavors of the lowly seeking light and learning and finds them good.

With the characteristic modesty of a Great Builder, knowing that future generations will gaze astounded be-

fore the edifice so nobly erected and place the credit on the shoulders of the proper genius, the secretary, with a spirit of sacrifice that is engaging, discards the personal pronoun, singular, for the more inclusive, "We." In this method there is emulation of another outstanding figure of this generation. But while Col. Lindburgh, steering his little craft across the wastes of the Atlantic, had his vision obstructed by the sleets and fogs of unkind nature, uncertain as to course and doubtful of final success, the driving force of workers education in America is not confronted by any such misgivings. With clear eye and undaunted imagination he envisages the whole intellectual horizon, detailing with the fidelity of the artist the onward march of the mentally hungry. What matter if places, names, dates and numbers are left to the inward inspiration of the readers? Only the carping realists will cavil at such omissions.

A few issues ago we made reference to the fact that workers education, under the official stamp of the Workers Education Bureau, was a diminishing ectoplasmic phenomenon. It seems we have been mistaken. In our ignorance we assumed that the many summer schools for women workers; the projects conducted by the Industrial Departments of the Y. W. C. A.; the Rand School of Social Science and Brookwood were independent activities, not only divorced from but in some instances repudiated by the W. E. B. With contrite heart we acknowledge our error. The "We" of modest charm, utilized by the keeper of the light, happily brings all the wayward children into an inclusive fold, under a single direction.

We joyously call the attention of our readers to this Great Builder's proud record of achievement—in rhetoric.

OUT of the riot at the anti-Fascist meeting in Cooper Union on April 6th in which an obscure anti-Fascist worker, Carlo Mazzola, was killed, another, Salvatore Vellucci, wounded, and six men arrested, springs a burning truth, which should arouse the indignation of every liberty loving American citizen.

### Shall We Be the Tyrants' Henchmen?

It is well known that the riot originated as a direct result of an attempt on the part of a federal detective, a certain Piaggio, to arrest Armando Borghi, one of the speakers and a refugee from the Black Shirt regime in Italy. Charges have been made that detective Piaggio acted the way he did at the instigation of the local Italian Consul who is said to be anxious to have Borghi arrested and deported to Italy. Borghi arrived on our shores a few years ago as a visitor, and it is charged that when he deposited his passport with the Italian Consulate in Boston, Mass., to have it renewed, the document was wrested from him and never returned. This despicable and rather cheap trickery of the Italian Consulate in Boston has made Borghi a United States visitor without a passport.

We are told that Borghi is residing in the United States on a renewed stay as a visitor granted to him by the immigration department, which had him bonded. Why, then, did detective Piaggio try to arrest him at a public meeting?

We fully appreciate the reasons that forced Borghi desperately to flee the place of the meeting where his arrest was sought. The fear of being deported to Italy and delivered to Mussolini's bloody Black Shirts would make any man a desperate resistant to arrest. Detective Piaggio's action cannot fail but arouse the condemnation of every intelligent human being. Even Police Commissioner Whalen called it a foolish thing.

A careful review of the facts leads us to the conclusion

that if our immigration restrictive laws were conceived so as to allow political refugees from tyrannical regimes a free stay in our country, the Cooper Union tragedy could have been avoided. Borghi, being an exile from Mussolini dictatorship, should be allowed refuge in this country of ours, as should all others in similar circumstances. Other civilized countries recognize and observe the right of asylum for political refugees, why not the United States?

Are we to assume the role of refugee hunters and tyrants' henchmen? Are we to throw overboard our noblest tradition left us as a heritage by those who founded this country, the heritage of political asylum? Is our country to become the secret agent of Mussolini's vengeance against Italian patriots who want to bring back democracy to their own land?

From a reliable source we have just learned that a national campaign for the right of asylum in America has been sponsored by the Italian Labor and Anti-Fascist daily *IL NUOVO MONDO* and the American Civil Liberties Union. The need for such a campaign was never so imperative and urgent as at present. It is a campaign to humanize our immigration laws and to put this country on the same level with the most democratic nations. We should all pledge our fullest support to such an effort.

**T**HE non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. has completely failed to solve the major problems confronting the American workers. Long before the depression

**Time To Act** arrived the serious difficulties arising out of the injunction, the yellow-dog contract, the denial of constitutional civil liberties to workers when in conflict with their employers were not met by the official political strategy. Since then more and greater complexities face the workers and all Mr. Hoover's commissions, and all the sooth-sayers from Republican and Democratic ranks cannot create jobs, cannot prevent wage-cuts and cannot stop the spread of the specter of general insecurity which is making a nightmare out of the lives of the workers.

Everywhere there is evidence that the masses are getting restive under the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" method. They now know that such a policy is barren of results. From every section of the country groups are expressing that restlessness in the formation of local labor parties to carry forward labor's cause.

Labor newspapers are taking polls in order to establish the sentiment of the workers politically. The results are astounding, if considered in the light of their attitude just six months ago. Even in puzzled Philadelphia, where labor has been playing seesaw with the Republican machine these many years, a poll by the *UNION LABOR RECORD* showed that 41 per cent of those making returns favored a Labor Party.

Farmers and middle class citizens are equally dissatisfied with the present supposedly two-party system. The story by Howard Williams in this issue reveals how general is the feeling for a new political alignment, an alignment that would spring out of the needs of farmers, workers and all others who contribute by labor or brain to the total welfare of American life and give them the recognition and service denied by either the Republican or Democratic Parties.

With the Socialist Party making steady gains in its membership; with independent Labor Parties springing up everywhere; with sentiment for a third party the dominant interest, it is time for labor to get behind the various moves

for independent political action and exert its solid influence on its behalf. Never was time so opportune as at present for Labor to join the cleanest and most progressive forces in American life. Never was time more ripe for Labor to throw off its shackles of conservatism and at least in this endeavor join with those who look to the future.

**I**T gives us pleasure to record here first signs of returning sanity to the ranks of organized labor. Hatreds unbounded have vent their spleen for so long that it seemed as if they would hold claim to power forever. Especially were the needle trades a shambles

### Returning Sanity

where blind fury, bent on unheeded destruction, tore its way through without mercy. In the end both "lefts" and "rights" could claim but pyrrhic victories. If the lefts were eliminated from power the rights soon found themselves in no more enviable position. Where the "lefts" stepped down, or were rather pushed down, in many instances carpet-baggers, self-seekers, corruptionists entered. The whole situation is best described by A. I. Ship-lacoff in the April-May issue of the *INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKER*.

Writing about the wave of investigations that is now throwing up the debris in some needle trades unions he explains that all this is "an aftermath of the insane crusade of the Communists.

"It was their wild onslaught that brought the 'Rights' together, regardless of their character and past records in the Labor Movement.

"The same is true of the methods used. When your house is on fire you don't stop to worry about the fact that the water in the bucket is muddy.

"Thus, after several years of Communist destructive work in the more progressive unions, the pendulum swung to the right and then in some cases to the wrong instead of to the hated left."

This is an example of soul searching that should be emulated by all other trade union officials where the swing of the pendulum has reached the "wrong." Coming as it does from an official who has the high respect not only of the progressives but of every shade of opinion in the American Federation of Labor, it is a welcome sign of returning sanity.

**D**EFEATED in the courts of Illinois John L. Lewis now resorts to booze, boodle and terrorism in a desperate effort to regain sovereignty over the Illinois miners. In true

**Lewis Tries Terror** gunman style, at the command, "Let him have it,"

Lewis mercenaries armed with clubs, blackjacks and guns, launched a murderous attack upon Adolph Germer, vice-president of the reorganized miners' union at Royaltown, Ill., on April 18. A meeting was scheduled to take place that day at which Alexander Howat and Germer were announced to speak, but Lewis's henchmen were determined to stop at nothing to prevent it. Although Germer was severely cut about the head, a policeman was shot and several others were injured the miners held their meeting and declared against Lewis and in favor of the Springfield union.

Such terrorism is the last stand of a man who sees his power fast slipping. It will arouse in the heart of every honest unionist greater contempt than ever for the man whose policies ruined what was once the most powerful union in America, it will bring fresh support to the reorganized union and will strengthen the miners under the leadership of Howat in their determination to drive John L. Lewis to ignominious retirement.

# Shop Elsewhere!



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

You will get no service here, little man.

# Political Revolt Brewing

By  
HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

## *Sentiments and Prospects For A New Political Alignment*

ALMOST one-third of the earth's surface is being governed today by labor and radical parties. It is a growing world-wide movement. How soon will this influence vitally grip the United States?

In the last six months there has been a rising tide of dissatisfaction with the present political regime. This is evidenced by many facts. The growing unemployment, the increasing agricultural depression throughout the South and Middle West, the corresponding industrial depression produced by the speculation crash, have made people vocal in their expression of unrest, even in conservative circles. Speakers of the League for Independent Political Action have been accorded unusual response from all types of audiences throughout the country.

The recent tour of the members of the executive committee of the Socialist Party to Los Angeles and return has indicated by the large audiences addressed how keen is the interest in finding some way out of the present dilemma. Norman Thomas has attracted crowds in the last six months that one could never have anticipated his drawing together. I have boldly proclaimed to middle-class forums of 500 people and more the necessity of breaking away from the Republican and Democratic parties and forming a new political alignment to deal with our problems of unemployment, old age security, public ownership of public utilities, justice to the workers, farmers, negroes, and a more radical approach to disarmament. All over the country such somewhat conservative groups have applauded me to the echo. One recognizes that when in a red-hot political campaign pressure begins to be exerted on such folks, many of them would fail us, yet there is disclosed the feeling that is there. Workers everywhere have told me that if the situation had become much worse this winter there would have been open revolt. I believe that is what we are coming to in the next few years unless there is developed a new political movement which will use politics in a much more creative way to meet the situation.

Following addresses before city

clubs, noon-day luncheon groups, ministers' associations, and conservative church organizations, business and professional men in large numbers have voiced their sympathy with a new progressive political party and have denounced the present lack of conflict in ideas and constructive opposition between the old parties. Many small business men who previously have always remained loyal to the Democratic or Republican parties will be on our side in the new alignment. The development of chain-stores, consolidation of banks, industry, etc., is crushing them between the mill-stones and these corner-store grocers, druggists and others of their class will henceforth in large numbers be with us.

### **Social Agencies Swamped**

Social workers, while tied up so largely to the status quo through their dependence on Community chests, are rebelling against the present methods of large-scale industry in scrapping workers at so early an age, in the ruthless discharge of men with dependent children, in the stern ignoring of the unemployment situation and the refusal to deal with it constructively. In practically every large city this winter the social agencies have been desperate. Heads frankly admit that they have not been able to handle the situation. Hundreds of thousands of children have developed rickets and other diseases this winter due to malnutrition. Their whole future is undermined by the inability of parents and social agencies to provide the bare necessities of life. These social workers respond heartily to the challenge of a new political alignment which would use government to prevent such crises.

In universities and colleges there is an increasing group of faculty and students interested in progressive and radical political ideas. They will be glad to have a part in a new political movement. Recently at Bowdoin College, a conservative institution in the conservative state of Maine, I addressed over a hundred men students on the desirability of a new political party. The men responded with vital

questions. Afterwards they purchased literature, signed up memberships in the League for Independent Political Action, and asked more questions. One of the professors remarked that he would never have believed that those men would have responded in such a whole-hearted way. Liberal speakers get such responses in almost every university. Many students and faculty members are anxious for an opportunity to work through a creative political party. No such opening is now afforded.

So much for the sentiments to be found around the country for such a new political alignment. Now what about the prospects for its achievement? In Minnesota you have the Farmer-Labor party with Henrik Shipstead in the United States Senate, Paul Kvale in the House of Representatives, and about one-third of the members of the state legislature, in addition to holding many municipal offices. Undoubtedly this party will elect Floyd Olson, county attorney for Hennepin County, governor of Minnesota at the elections in November. In any new political alignment this would largely be the Minnesota contribution. The leaders and rank and file of these forces would welcome a new national party and would give their strongest backing.

### **Socialists and Political Amalgamation**

In Milwaukee and Reading Socialists in power are giving splendid administrations. In New York City and other places they are exerting a powerful influence. In speaking to Socialist locals I have found them everywhere very responsive to the idea of a larger federation of political forces. I am confident that Socialists can be counted upon to cooperate with other groups in a larger amalgamation. They could still be a smaller entity within the larger whole, perhaps a little more to the left, and constituting, like the Independent Labor Party within the larger British Labor Party, a prod urging on the greater and slower-moving body.

Then there are the progressives now



working within one or the other of the old parties. Many of them have told me how dissatisfied they are trying to lead under the handicap of Old Guard pressure. They have told me how they would like the thrill and enthusiasm that would come from having a party with great creative, constructive programs. A progressive of that rock-ribbed Republican State of New Hampshire, a former governor who has led the revolt against the Senators of "wild jack-ass" fame, said to me, "We shall never get anywhere trying to work through one of the old parties. We must start a new movement." As soon as a new party

### CAMPAIGNS FOR THIRD PARTY



HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

Executive Secretary, League for Independent Political Action.

gets under way, many of these independent progressives will join us. It would be political suicide for them to leave the old parties now and would cause us to lose their valuable influence as exerted upon government, even under the present regime.

A new party with a conception of increasing social control should have the support of the American Federa-

tion of Labor. The backing of the leaders is not forthcoming at this moment. However, I have yet to talk with an international officer of any of the unions who has not admitted that eventually the workers of this country must go into politics in a movement of their own to get what only politics can give them in the way of protection to the right of peaceful picketing, social insurance against unemployment, old age security, maternity benefits, the social use of taxation and the abolition of war. The tragedy is that though the leaders believe this they are doing nothing to prepare the workers for the eventuality. In the

last six months I have addressed Central Labor Councils in cities East, West, North and South on "The Trade Union in Politics." The challenge has been for independent political action and the formation of a party of our own. Everywhere the response of the rank and file has been hearty. The president of one State Federation of Labor said publicly, "We must have a party of our own. We shall never progress without it." A city president at the close of one meeting declared, "I am converted. When are we going to begin here?" In one assembly a motion was passed urging every delegate to carry the program back to his local for definite consideration. This rising tide of feeling among the rank and file of the labor organizations will eventually change the present leadership of the A. F. of L. Nothing can stop the growing conviction that if the present treatment of workers in southern textile mills, Pennsylvania coal fields and hundreds of other places is to stop, and workers are to get their fair share of the good things of life then they they must have a political expression which is interested in them. I believe that the time is nearer than we think.

In addition to the votes of the masses of workers of brain and of hand, we must have the cooperation of the farmers. They have always been "rugged individualists." Their isolated life has not taught them how to cooperate. Gradually, however, the force of circumstances has compelled them to get together. The best and largest cooperatives in this country are often being run by farmers. In state after state they are becoming an increasingly progressive influence. The present agricultural depression is drawing farmers and workers together in state after state. When farmers are like those in the South,

many of them unable even to purchase shoes and stockings for their children this last winter, they have no money to spend in the cities. Immediately the effect is felt by city workers. Their common needs are driving them together. That is what produced the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

Farmer after farmer must borrow money even to buy fertilizer this spring. The present over-supply of wheat will have its more serious results next fall when the farmer is likely to receive a much lower price than the one now offered. In spite of his poverty the farmer everywhere is paying an altogether unjust share of taxation and is being exploited by the tariff. It is surprising to me that farmers have been fooled as long as they have by the old parties. The response today among farmers shows that slowly they are awakening to the reality of their position. A new political alignment that would challenge the farmers by an aggressive campaign among them would get a tremendous vote.

### How League Will Help

What are the immediate prospects for results in independent political action in the state and congressional elections next November? The League for Independent Political Action is cooperating with local organizations in a number of congressional districts scattered over the country, hoping to elect from four to ten outstanding third-party congressmen or congresswomen. The League stands ready to send in nationally-known speakers, the best literature that can be provided, and stirring posters to attract the voters. We shall back up the Farmer-Labor ticket in Minnesota. With hard work I believe the governor and at least three congressmen can be elected in that state. We shall cooperate with the Socialist candidates for Congress in the Milwaukee, Reading and New York City districts. With Mrs. Victor Berger running in Milwaukee and possibly candidates like Norman Thomas or Morris Hillquit in the Bronx borough of New York, I believe at least two Socialist congressmen can be elected next November. We expect to work with Independent Labor Party candidates in cities like Buffalo, New Bedford, Chicago, Atlanta and Los Angeles. In these cities with fair organizations and candidates, it seems to me that with strenuous campaigns, holding afternoon and evening house-meetings to which neighbors invite their friends, shop-meetings, noon-meetings, large hall-

# CAMPAIGNS FOR THIRD PARTY



**HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS**

**Executive Secretary, League for In-  
dependent Political Action.**

meetings, with use of the radio and four page newspapers once a week for six or eight weeks preceding the election, we might quite probably elect some more congressmen. This would be all the more likely if the present economic depression continues or becomes more acute.

There are several western states where an Independent candidate for the Senate would have a fighting chance if both old parties nominate reactionaries. In Colorado two reactionary Senators are in office, largely elected by their wealth. There will certainly be a third-party man in the running if both the Republican and Democratic parties nominate conservatives. The same thing will be true in California when Senator Shortridge comes up for election.

In a few states the progressive movement has had a set-back due to particular local occurrences. In the state of Washington the business groups have taken advantage of the Centralia incident and the various disturbances created by the efforts of the I. W. W.'s to secure better conditions, to frighten the voters and control them. There are many progressives in Washington but theirs is an up-hill fight just now. To a lesser extent the same condition exists in California as the Mooney-Billings case reveals. The bitter fight against the Non-Partisan League in North and South Dakota has practically wiped out the progressive movement in the latter state and makes liberals very cautious in the northern states. Labor-haters in West Virginia have used force and intimidation to crush any progressive spirit.

The South especially appeals to me as a fertile territory for a new political party. The striking economic situation so largely caused by conditions that could be removed by a creative use of politics makes a ripe soil for a new party. With not even the farce of opposition that we have in the North it has been easy for the Democratic politicians to sell out the people. This has been done so often that the voters are disgusted. The Smith-Hoover fight has opened the ranks for many of them to desert their old party much more easily. They would find it less difficult to vote for a new party than the much hated Republican party. At any rate we hope to put this judgment to the test next fall.

Politics is not making the contribution to American life that it ought, simply because of the lack of constructive opposition and a conflict of ideas. There is no question but that we shall suffer even more in the future than

## WATCHFUL WAITING



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

Hat in hand policy will not shake the apple loose.

in the past from this lack. Look at the increasing bad effects that will result if we keep up our present scandalous tariff policy. Here is Germany rapidly approaching us in the technique of mass production. Russia and Great Britain will soon be on a level with us. When those nations are able to sell as cheaply as we can, other nations will not buy from the United States due to the animosity created by our high tariff which wants to sell everything to them but buy nothing, and by the huge war debts. We are approaching the saturation point in automobiles, radios, building, etc. The whole future of workers and farmers is tied up in the foreign market. Are we going to let industrial groups keep up this monstrous tariff wall that fills their pockets just now, but wrecks the economic future for farmers and workers and breeds a hatred that might lead to war? Great economists believe that unless a new political alignment can be developed to change our tariff policy we shall face in the next ten years some of the crises in our basic industries that European peoples have faced in the last ten years.

Similar issues are at stake for the masses in the public ownership of pub-

lic utilities and the preservation against future war. A defeat in these fields means centuries of exploitation that will make little more than serfs out of us. I see indications that many are recognizing what is at stake. If we do not furnish the workers of this country with an intelligent, constructive, creative political party to meet the present situation, then if we do have larger numbers unemployed and corresponding reduction of wages for those who do work, there will be no other alternative but violent rebellion. If there should be revolution in this country it would be hard-fought on both sides. It would be bloody. It would leave awful destruction in its trail. It would ruin America. Our hope lies in an evolutionary use of the ballot-box. We have the votes. The power is in our hands. Surely we have the intelligence, the will, the spirit of service to act, to create this new political alignment that could abolish war in our generation, wipe out poverty from the United States in our day, go a great way toward the elimination of disease and accident, and build happiness in the lives of the millions of workers not only in this country but around the world.

# "God Save Grundy's Pennsylvania!"

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

OYEZ! Oyez! Oyez! The Court of Common Pleas of Northampton County is now assembled. All persons having business or grievances to present will please step forward. God save the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and this Honorable Court!"

The gavel falls for a second time. All we free citizens of this free land, who have arisen to greet His Majesty the Court now may be seated. Nay, *must* be seated. If we hesitate a moment, the otherwise human attendant, scowling, beckons us to be quick.

In this awe-inspiring fashion has the court of Common Pleas at Easton opened time after time during the past few months, to sit in judgment upon the striking hosiery workers of Nazareth. Its first act was the issuance of the now famous Stewart injunction, with the President Judge, Russell Stewart, upon the bench. That injunction has the true breath of Pennsylvania in it. Injunctions are things no longer uncommon in our trying times. This injunction is a peculiar Pennsylvania variety, which in time may spread to other sections, as infectious diseases have a habit of doing.

The significance of the Stewart decree has been grasped fully by the Scripps-Howard newspapers. On Saturday, April 5th, the NEW YORK TELEGRAM and WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS ran an editorial which brings the business out in its right perspective. Under the title, "Another Labor Injunction," this editorial says:

The country would be outraged if a court should attempt, tomorrow, to forbid by injunction adverse criticism of any sort, by anyone, anywhere, of business.

Yet a first step in that direction has been taken.

A judge in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, by injunction, has made it illegal, to tell the people of the community . . . not the factory workers, but all the people . . . about the evils of the yellow dog contract.

Workers of the Kraemer Hosiery Mills at Nazareth, Northampton County, are on strike because of the yellow dog contract and labor union officials have attempted to circulate leaflets denouncing the contract. The court forbade the

union men to do this or anything else that would interfere with the business of the mills.

It undoubtedly interferes with the business of the Southern California Edison Co., for instance, when newspapers and public officials and private citizens make statements opposing any grant to the company of government power from Boulder Dam.

The Edison Company feels it would be greatly to the advantage of its business to get some of that power. So, if Judge Stewart in Pennsylvania can protect the Kraemer company by shutting off the people of Nazareth from knowledge of the yellow dog contract, why cannot another judge protect the Southern California Edison Co. by shutting off protests against its Boulder Dam policy?

It is unthinkable that this country should tolerate suppression of free speech. Yet in Pennsylvania free speech has been suppressed. If the United States Supreme Court sustains the decree of Judge Stewart we are embarked on a course the end of which cannot be foreseen.

To be brief, every avenue of expression for the workers in a peaceful way has been blocked by this edict. The court and the company themselves apparently feel that they have been caught in a naughty act, and that they went too far. The court indicated this in its decree, making the injunction permanent. (Incidentally, it is now "perpetual," made so by the court sitting en banc—and that, you will grant, is a rather long time to be prohibited from speaking up against "yellow dogger.") Both court and company have been challenged publicly to cite the representative of the union affected for contempt, as he does feel contempt for such abuse of judicial power. Neither court nor company have acted. Somewhere we have read: "Thus conscience does make cowards of us all."

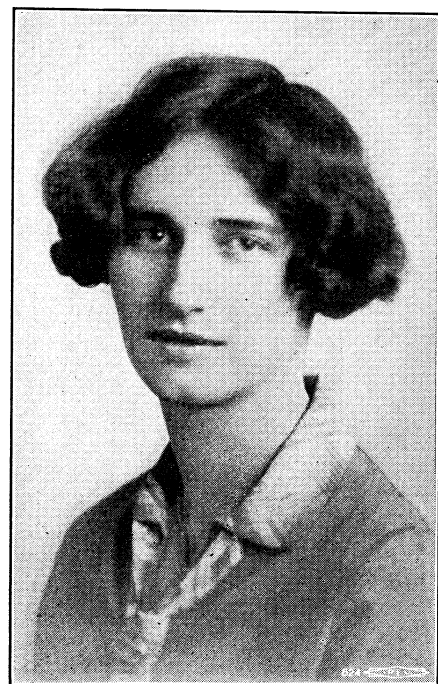
Conscience has apparently moved the District Attorney, likewise, or the nearest approach to conscience that he has. He has nolle-prossed the four remaining "riot" cases, after lingering until the last minute to do so. In these charges of "riot," there is unbarred the second comic act of the Honorable

Court. As has been well aired in the newspapers, the defendants in preceding cases were acquitted triumphantly by the juries, but were compelled to pay the costs. Borough officials and company bosses rushed to get their names in on the costs lists, as witnesses. Some charged for 15 days in court, though they had not appeared one day. Others who ran away from testifying put in their demand for "\$46.80" just the same. The defendants' costs ran into the thousands, although all had been declared "not guilty." Of all the cheap villainy which has passed in this country for justice during the last few years of increasing putridity upon the bench, this is near the zenith of perfection.

## How Judges Get Promotion

Solemnly the court, in the person of Judge Robert Stotz, assessed these costs and solemnly it confined nine young girls to jail when they could not pay them, instant. The Honorable Stotz, who keeps in touch with

## LEADS 44 HOUR FIGHT



LOUISE GAHEN

Secretary of Pennsylvania Women's Trade Union League strives for shorter hour legislation for women of Keystone state.

the common people by spitting tobacco juice across an incredibly long distance as he sits upon the bench, is an aspirant for higher judicial office. It is symbolic of Pennsylvania that he thinks he can obtain such promotion by serving the private interests.

That is the real motive back of his unusual act of bringing in his decision, neatly typewritten, in the "disorderly conduct cases," before he had heard the evidence. These "disorderly conduct" charges involved exactly the same acts as the "riot" cases: singing "America" and things of that sort.

The apparatus of the little game was complete: Justice of the Peace Fry of Nazareth finding every striker guilty who was brought before him: Stotz, as the judge sitting on appeals, approving every act of Fry's; the Sheriff, first, and then, the District Attorney obligingly arresting strikers, willy-nilly, on this fictitious charge or that. To go beyond Stotz would involve costs many times higher than the fines assessed in each individual case—and what would be found up higher, the Gods only could foretell. The Supreme and Superior Courts of Pennsylvania are not loaded down heavily with Brandeises or Holmeses.

One more instance only need be cited from the Nazareth record in the courts. It is the case of William Montplaisir, Chairman of the strikers. The mill management was out to get him and they got him. Accused of assaulting a scab by hitting him on the nose, he was found guilty on the charges of Judge Stotz, which practically told the jury to convict him. The sole accusing witnesses were two strike-breakers from Reading and a man who had been caught in the act of breaking open the safe at the Nazareth Inn. On identically the same evidence, for the prosecution and defense, for the same alleged act, John Morgan, another striker, was acquitted. This, despite the fact that six of the same jurors served on both juries. In the Morgan case, because of John's popularity in Nazareth, there was not the same desire to convict, and Judge McKeen gave the instructions. It is recognized in Nazareth and Northampton County, generally, that the Montplaisir episode was a clear-cut matter of frame-up, to which the court, in the person of the Honorable Stotz, lent itself.

## "Out For Business"

Humorous light is thrown upon the judicial system of the "great industrial state of Pennsylvania" by a well-meaning letter received by me in January from a well-meaning "Alderman" of Bethlehem. The Alderman is the committing magistrate of the city districts, as the Justice of the Peace is of the less populated sections. Verbatim, the letter reads:

"I have taken office as Alderman January 6, 1930 and am out for business. I understand that you are head of the Union, if your people are in need of an Alderman I will be glad to be of service to them. Thanking you I am, Yours truly."

Here was an Alderman "out for business," and the "service" he would give us can be understood, for his heart in large part was in the right place. If we chose to give any one an unpleasant afternoon by bringing false charges against such neighbors, we might make headway under these favorable auspices. Without saying it so plainly, that is the general workings of the Alderman-Justice of the Peace plan. The "higher courts," though with more judicial poise, scarcely take a higher attitude. In the county where Bethlehem Steel is entrenched, they must listen to the masters' voice from Schwabland.

In the Philadelphia strikes, injunctions have been issued with the regularity of the ticking of a clock. McDevitt, the injunction-granter, did not hesitate to use unjudicial terms and phrases, both on and off the bench. He boasted that he would "get" the union officials, and suggested to the attor-

neys of the company that they bring these officials rather than individual strikers before him.

To say but a word more, this is the state of the nationally famous Indiana county case, in which the singing of church hymns was enjoined. And organizer Joseph Ritchie of the

## WORKS 54 HOURS WEEKLY



A tariff-protected textile operative in Pennsylvania.

A. F. of L. reports numerous injunction attempts throughout the state, to tie up union funds, in bonds for "the good behavior" of individual strikers or sympathizers.

The auxiliary apparatus of the "Law" throws its shadow over the lives of Pennsylvania's workers, likewise, stultifies them and crushes manhood and womanhood out of the masses. I can remember a cold, gray morning five or six years ago on which I emerged from Trotter's Mission in Pittsburgh, with mounted police looking over the line of unfortunate drifters who came out. I was on an incognito trip among the unorganized, and the police made my blood boil. But to the drifters these were real figures, carrying a message of awe and fear.

The same figures dominate the

## JUSTICE IN GRUNDYLAND



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

As it operates to serve private interests and against Labor.

Pennsylvania industrial scene. Sheriffs, special deputies, State Police, special Coal and Iron Police, odds and ends of all sorts of intimidating military forces to keep the workers in subjection—are common items of Pennsylvania's life. As a result, we see a vast region of unorganized industry, as challenging to Labor as the South; with the mighty feudal lords, the Mellons, Atterburys and Grundys, holding the whiphandle to the lash that cracks in legislative halls, court rooms and industrial establishments.

### Grundy's Bristol

Grundy's Bristol looks smiling enough from any railroad train on the main line of Atterbury's Pennsylvania. From the Grundian textile mill a huge smoke stack rises to dominate the scene. The Grundian name is on it, in immense lettering. Parkways, pleasant to the eye, run all around this industrial domain. Within there are other things: married men working at \$16 per week, married women with families to support receiving \$9 per week, immigrants brought in from Europe and hurried to the Grundy sweating apparati, although he cries aloud for higher tariffs "for the protection of American industry." Grundy has thwarted, crushed, strangled the life of Bristol, and he has come near to doing the same thing for the State. With lower wages and lower indus-

trial taxes than in the nearby industrial states of New Jersey and Ohio, Pennsylvania shows a higher overhead for industrial purposes than do these two other states. Should you desire to see examples of decay, go through Pennsylvania towns on foot and study them cursorily. They are far more depressing than New England's villages.

During the last anthracite strike, it was my privilege to make a tour on foot through the entire hard coal region, for the N. E. A. and the Federated Press. The sorry condition of

the anthracite miner, living in shacks against his culm banks, was a tremendous shock to me. In the soft coal fields the depression runs still deeper and cuts to the bone of community life. Physicians are leaving these regions, having become stone broke waiting in vain for a return of some sort of normal activity in the mines. Pennsylvania, colossus of industry, has made no provision—not even the most primitive—for the softening of the unemployment crisis. Unemployment insurance would be laughed at, or treated as dripping red with Moscow paint. The often-quoted classical example of the State Supreme Court's decision on old age pensions stands out by itself. The court held that such pensions could not be granted the workers, as this legislation was unconstitutional. At the same time, it placed its seal of approval on pensions for judges, as these parasites of social life were supposedly engaged in a hazardous occupation. It speaks volumes for the patience and long-suffering of the Pennsylvania herd that not one man was fanatic enough to enter the regal chambers of the Supreme Court, and express his contempt for the Pharisees upon the bench.

In the last session of the Legislature, Labor was treated with scorn by the various committees. It was the most reactionary State of the North. The anti-injunction and anti-"yellow dog" bills were laughed out of consi-

deration. There have been very few cases of such open ridicule for Labor and its spokesmen, in legislative halls, as were shown in that session.

What has the organized Labor Movement done to counteract this Gargantuan combination of greed and force which is weighing Pennsylvania down? A hopeful sign was the special conferences on political matters called by the State Federation of Labor in April, to discuss candidates for public office. It was evident from the first that Labor was bitterly opposed to one candidate, Joseph R. Grundy himself. The first conference, that of April 2nd, went unanimously on record against him. And yet, two weeks later the notorious Frank Feeney, President of the Elevator Constructors' Union, led a delegation of local building trades leaders to Mr. Grundy, to express their "loyalty" to him. As the State Federation of Labor complained in its official organ, the LABOR PRESS, Feeney had sat in the April 2nd meeting, when the unanimous vote against Grundy was taken; and then had gathered together the building trades clans to pay Grundy a visit and kiss Joe's big toe. The Feeney incident serves to show with what slime the present Labor Movement is coated.

### No Alternative Under Non-Partisanship

After denouncing Feeney as a "traitor", the April 16 conference endorsed James J. Davis for United States Senator and Francis Shunk Brown for Governor. This is the reputed Vare slate. Political observers agree, that under the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L., there was no other alternative for Labor than such a decision. Gifford Pinchot has come out for a number of labor measures, including curbing of the injunction and is putting up a spirited fight. The hard coal miners, remembering his aid in their 10 per cent increase fight, will support him despite the State Federation's endorsement. But Pinchot's legislative record for Labor is a weak and disappointing one, when subjected to close analysis. Although he traded and bargained with the old line politicians for passage of his Prohibition enforcement law, he could not do the same for labor legislation. The goal of the State Federation, on the other hand, is to defeat its arch-enemy, Grundy, in the primaries of May 20th. In order to do that, Secretary of Labor Davis has made alliances which include the running of Brown on the "slate" with him. To put over Davis, organized labor felt

that Brown had to be supported, and it was pointed out that he made a good stand some years back for the compensation bill.

The net result does indicate, nevertheless, how flat and unprofitable the non-partisan policy is. Labor has to acknowledge to itself that it can do nothing without the aid of a machine that is thinking of anything but Labor. It has to ally itself with Atterbury in order to defeat Grundy. It will be interesting to see whether this policy will lead to the abolition of the injunction, the passage of old age pension legislation, the speeding of anti-"yellow dog" legislation, or the putting on the statute books of the 44-hour work week for women. These are the four principal measures in which the State Federation is interested. The experiment should finally drive home the thought that Pennsylvania's Labor Party sorely needs resurrecting on a practical and effective basis.

Another encouraging thing was the attitude of all the candidates for Governor on the 44-hour law for women. It was the sole labor measure on which they all agreed. Whether this devotion will follow them into the Capitol Building remains to be seen. The ex-

## What Can YOU Do

FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CAUSE?

See Page 21

tent of the exploitation of women in Grundy's state has been brought out strikingly by Catherine Manning in her recent study for the United States Department of Labor. At present, Pennsylvania has a 54-hour limit for women workers, higher than that of competing industrial States. The Pennsylvania Women's Trade Union League attempted in the last Legislature to have a 44-hour law passed. The effort got but a little distance. The League, undaunted, has begun its fight early this year, and is conducting a campaign throughout the State on the issue. The individual unions have shown a greater interest in the proposal than might have been expected at this difficult time.

When all the wisps of hope are analyzed, however, it must be agreed that Pennsylvania is in a bad way. James Russell Lowell once paid reverse compliments to his native State of Massachusetts on the slavery question that could well be applied to Penn's Woods today on the part of Labor. Witnessing the lost strikes, the increasing enslavement of the masses, the mental and moral fog that lies heavy and low over the beautiful hills and valleys of the Commonwealth, we feel that the cry in the courts of the state is not out of place. It goes up like a morning prayer or wail of sorrow. "God save the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania!" Without question, it calls for a good dose of "salvation," worker-applied.

# Toward A Labor Party

*Philadelphia Progressives Combat  
"Practical" Politics*

By JOSEPH SCHWARTZ

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the trade union movement in Philadelphia may form a labor party in the near future. Organizations such as the textile groups, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The Pocketbook Workers and the Jewish trade unions will probably form the basis for a new political alignment. Many individual trade unionists are ready for the break. The most interesting thing about the new trend is that it is a rank and file movement.

Reports that have been given to the labor press about the labor political situation in this city are a mixture of facts and wrong analyses. What is worse, many socialists and progressive minded trade unionists who should understand the situation, are confused.

They don't know where they're going.

The delegates to the Central Labor Union are divided and all mixed up on terms, issues and candidates. The atmosphere is choked with political nonsense and political fencing. If ever proof was needed to show the failure of a "reward your friends punish your enemies" policy one need but attend a Central Labor Union meeting.

The president of the Central Labor Union issued a statement in which he highly praised the present Mayor of Philadelphia, Mr. Mackey, as a very dear friend of labor. The stamp of approval was given by the president not as an individual but as the leader of the Philadelphia Labor Movement. Eight hours, comprising two regular meetings were devoted by the delegates

to determine the validity of the president's stand.

The building trades contended that the Mayor was unfair to organized labor, therefore the president of the Central Labor Union took advantage of his position to betray the interests of the building trades.

On the other hand, a most fascinating reason was offered by the musicians for supporting the Mayor. The delegate of the Musicians cried, "The mayor previous to Mr. Mackey employed two bands of musicians for the city. Mr. Mackey employs three bands. The mayor is surely a friend if ever labor had one."

Four years ago, during the campaign of Mr. Mackey, the Labor Movement as a whole supported him.

Business agents attended the Mackey ball at the swellest feed house in the city at eight dollars a throw. Four years later many regretted the expenditure of a building trades worker's daily wage for one evening of mixing with the "high ups" in Philadelphia's corrupt political circle.

The President of the Central Labor Union in defense of his endorsement declared that if labor is to be consistent in a "reward your friends" policy it must say some nice things about its friends and be grateful for the very little that may be done for labor. Since labor would have to approach Mr. Mackey for favors, the president suggested that the practicality of the present situation made it advisable to support the Mayor.

### Customers for Life Insurance

The president cited two things that he personally had experienced indicating the Mayor's interest in labor. The president, as a salesman of insurance, representing the Union Labor Life Insurance Co., was promised a group policy by the Mayor covering police and firemen. The mayor was to give the business not to a private enterprise but to the trade union's own life insurance company. Furthermore, the

mayor was using his influence with Mr. Atterbury to have the Pennsylvania Railroad place a group policy of the clerks with Union Labor Life. In both instances the president of the Central Labor Union would be the agent securing the sale.

Whether there is any connection, as some delegates implied, between the endorsement of the mayor by the president and the promise by the mayor to the president for insurance business, might best be considered by another writer. It may be well to stray off the subject for a few lines to remind the readers of an interesting fact. Mr. Atterbury has won a deserved national reputation for his interest in the Labor Movement, at least from the smashing angle. The A. F. of L. has decried company unions and bosses' welfare schemes as offensive to the dignity of the trade union. Not that the A. F. of L. was aroused to an organizing spirit to ward off the "affront" but dignity is dignity.

The Union Labor Life was established by organized labor for the purpose of offering the trade union movement an opportunity to develop its own welfare projects. In a search for business Mr. Atterbury, hateful open shopper, is approached and offered inducements by the Union Labor Life agents, to develop welfare schemes that will make it more difficult to organize clerks into a trade union. What could be more demoralizing to a trade union movement than to organize welfare schemes for anti-union employers.

But the Central Labor Union continues with its ridiculous political policy that was handed down by an older generation of deceased labor leaders. During the present political campaign the many colors and interests arresting the attention of a spectator at a Central Labor Union meeting are nauseating or fascinating, depending on one's individual complex.

A considerable element of the building trades has endorsed Mr. Grundy, believe it or not. It is curious to note that Mr. Grundy has been accepted because of his position on the tariff question by a group of workers least affected by the tariff bugaboo, the building trades. There are rumors, not without foundation, that Mr. Grundy comes to Philadelphia with a good sized campaign fund.

The brains of the Labor Movement are divided. It seems that Mr. Vare's and Mr. Atterbury's candidates, Messrs. Brown and Davis, will secure a majority endorsement by the Central Labor Union delegates. Yet it appears that both Brown and Grundy will be elected.

It may be well to discuss the development in the textile unions from a political angle. The situation there is more hopeful.

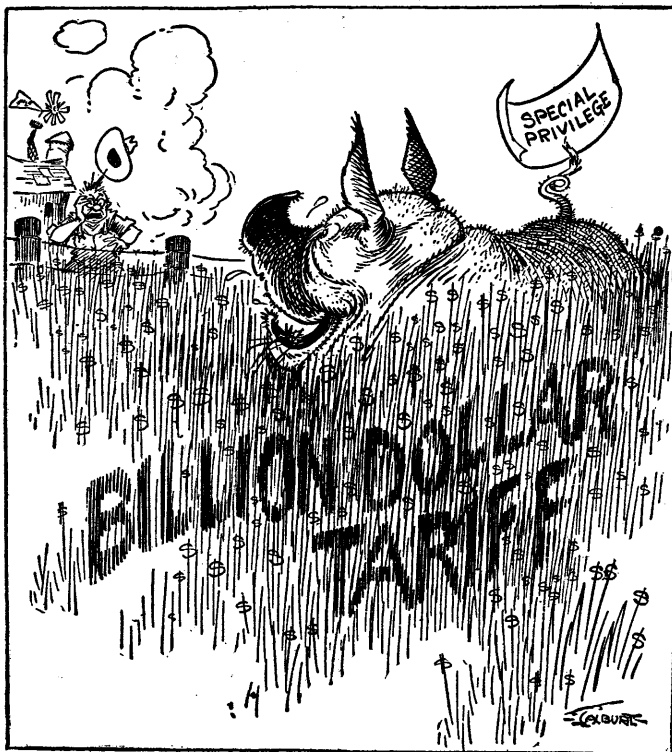
There is a section in Philadelphia known as the Kensington district. The textile industry, probably the largest industry in the city, is centered in Kensington. The workers employed in the mills reside in Kensington which is a village uninfluenced by the rest of Philadelphia. Kensington folks work and live in Kensington while there is no other trade group in this city living and working in the same geographical territory.

As is well known, the hosiery workers' union is the dominant influential trade union group in Kensington. It is the hosiery union that people think of when they discuss the trade union movement in this city. Events happen there!

The experience of that union in a recent strike against the H. C. Aberle mills resulted in a movement for political action. The union in the conduct of the strike found the political machinery of the city for the mill owner and against the workers. The following are a few incidents that moved the textile unions into action:

1. A civil service commissioner, before whom police were tried, represented the mill company as attorney. He intimidated the police into breaking picket lines and arresting workers.
2. A judge granted any and every type of injunction requested by the employer.
3. Another judge granted the mill scabs the right to carry guns.
4. A young union worker was shot in the back and killed by a mill scab.
5. The largest mass protest meeting ever held in Philadelphia turned out in an open square at the funeral.

### THE MENACE



N. Y. Eve. Telegram.

Farmers and industrial workers both need a Labor Party to keep this hog from gobbling up the nation's wealth.

The facts are not in chronological order. After a while police interference and injunction judges compelled the union to act. A mass meeting was arranged to arouse public sentiment against the action of the court and the police.

Prominent speakers were listed. William Green, A. F. of L. chief; James J. Davis, cabinet chief officer under three presidents; Senator Brookhart and others were to appear.

A theatre seating three thousand was filled to capacity while a crowd of about two thousand stood outside listening to the speakers through amplifiers.

It was a splendid gathering and a great opportunity. Neither Mr. Green nor Mr. Davis appeared to protest against the use of injunctions. Senator Brookhart fulfilled his campaign pledge to his constituents by speaking on farm co-operatives.

### Organize to Defeat Grundy

At this meeting there was announced the formation of the Northeast Progressive League. The object of the "League" as explained from the platform, was the defeat of Grundy. Everybody was invited to join with the "League."

One received the impression that ideas were "thrown out at you" without any attempt made to co-ordinate the purpose of the meeting. Though it was a protest against the use of injunctions it ended with the remarks of Brookhart on cooperatives and a suggestion to organize an anti-Grundy movement.

The injunction judge and the politicians seeing this mass protest made some feeble gestures to pacify the crowd. After a few days things became normal, police intimidation continued and the union worker was killed.

It was after this incident that the "League" began to assume some shape. Regular meetings were called and business was conducted.

Meeting after meeting was spent in clarifying terms, deciding tactics, and of course finding a goal. The term "Independent Political Action" was employed by all the participants. One group meant working within the Republican Party, another the formation of a third party. All were concerned about defeating Grundy. None proposed a method. The demand was for immediate victory. It mattered little who the beneficiary of the anti-Grundy sentiment would be, just as long as Grundy would lose.

It was during the "defeat Grundy" campaign waged with considerable publicity that Vare and Grundy were discussing the impending primary. State plums and the senatorial toga were at stake. Mr. Vare, anxious to maintain his power in the state, selected Mr. Brown as his candidate. Mr. Grundy, equally anxious for state control, felt that the Vare machine was weak. Grundy refused to see Mr. Brown as a candidate. The senatorial plum was unimportant.

Mr. Vare was not slow to see the rising tide of resentment against Grundy. The Northeast Progressive League was doing excellent work. Vare could not do a better job. Mr. Grundy, realizing the necessity or the desirability of dividing labor support somehow, secured the endorsement of some of the building trades elements.

The primary election was approaching rapidly. To be effective the "League" would have to act quickly. Members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action were a formidable opposition to anything but a Labor Party. A platform committee was appointed. It was the report of the committee that cleared the air for the primary fight. The platform committee recommended that the league adopt as its platform the following:

1. Old Age Pensions.
2. Unemployment Insurance.
3. Adequate Child Labor Bill.
4. Disarmament.
5. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.
6. Abolition of yellow dog contracts.
7. Right to picket.
8. Public ownership of all public utilities, and some other points.

It was unanimously accepted. The one problem that remained was: "How were these things to be won?"

### Everyone for Labor Party

The writer who read the report for the committee advised the formation of a third party. The debate that ensued disclosed:

1. That all were in favor of a third party.
2. That the practical thing to do at the present time was to take advantage of the primary and defeat Grundy. A Labor Party to be formed in the future.
3. That business agents of the Union led the fight to work within the Republican Party.
4. That the rank and file advocated a third party and no participation in the Republican Party.

A vote decided the issue. The "League" was to work within the old party. However, this did not settle the matter. Following meetings heard many debates for the third party idea.

Those favoring the policy of taking advantage of the present primary fight, not wishing to lose C. P. L. A. support, proposed that the "League" put its own candidates in the field on the Republican ticket for the primary with the purpose of forming a third party in the general elections. A majority of the people having already voted to defeat Grundy in the primaries, accepted. The progressives realized that two concessions were offered. The idea of defeating Grundy (a negative position) changed to working for candidates selected by a membership meeting and from the membership. This was certainly different from the usual trade union policy of endorsing candidates proposed by others. Again, a third party would be proposed for the general election.

### Progressives Offer Objections

The progressives felt that they could not accept this compromise. They urged:

1. That the old parties were not being challenged.
2. That participation in a Republican primary on the part of the League made the issue one of personalities rather than political affiliations, and principles.
3. Should any of the candidates win the Republican nomination a labor party for the general election would be setting a bad precedent if it endorsed a candidate on another ticket. Also that it would not be building for the future but stressing personalities.

The progressive position was not accepted. Candidates who are members of the League and of a trade union have been selected by the membership to run for office on the Republican ticket for the primary. A committee has been selected to lay plans for the formation of a labor party for the general election.

It is difficult to say whether Philadelphia, the citadel of Republicanism and Puritanism, will have a labor ticket. Much depends on what may happen in the primary campaign. If the speakers will give the workers the feeling of immediate success, a poor showing will make it more difficult to secure support. And if any of the candidates are successful a labor party will be embarrassed in giving its support to labor men on the Republican ticket.



# "NO STRIKE"

By A. J. MUSTE

## THE POLICY IN THE SOUTH

THE time for a final appraisal of the A. F. of L.'s campaign in the South, particularly in the textile industry has obviously not arrived. However, it is now fully six months since the Toronto convention resolved on this campaign and four months since it was launched. A preliminary appraisal of the main lines that have been laid down for the campaign would seem therefore to be in order. If it is proceeding on fundamentally sound lines, we can afford to be patient in waiting for tangible results in a situation obviously fraught with the greatest difficulty, especially in a period of depression like the present. If, however, the line laid down is inherently unsound, then it is better that that fact should be faced at once, so that no false hopes may be raised and so, if possible, a better road may be opened up.

The crux of the situation is unquestionably to be found in the so-called "No Strike Policy" followed by the A. F. of L. and openly announced by the United Textile Workers. "No strikes," according to a recent press dispatch, "is the watchword of the U. T. W. in its 1930 campaign for the unionization of the Southern cotton mills." According to the first vice-president of the union the policy is now meeting its first test in the Dan River mills in Danville, Va., where an effort is being made to induce the management to meet the union half-way in rescinding a recent 10 per cent wage cut, to accept its aid in labor stabilization, and to establish contractual relations. All this is in line with the policy enunciated sometime previously by Pres. McMahon himself, viz., that the severe pressure of unemployment in New England and Philadelphia has cut down the union's reserve funds so that it cannot back up Southern strikes with adequate relief, that in any case the union has already spent a million or more in the South over a period of years and that Southern workers must now show loyalty to the organization in dues payment before they can expect much more in the way of relief.

Obviously this raises very urgent and fundamental questions. What is to be said of such a policy? Is it a wise and sound, though cautious, ap-

proach to a very tough situation? Or is it fundamentally unsound and certain to produce no lasting and important results? Is it, perhaps, a cowardly betrayal of a group of workers, a confession of utter weakness on the part of the official Labor Movement?

Before discussing the wisdom and promise of the policy itself, a word should be said about the wisdom of announcing the policy so openly, propagandizing for it so insistently as is being done.

### Poor Tactics

This seems to the present writer to be a serious mistake. The psychology of it is very bad. In the first place, under the present circumstances and in view of the form which the announcement takes, it can only be interpreted as a confession of weakness. The world, including the employer, is bound to understand it as such. A union must often of course strive to make clear that it is not going out of its way to seek, much less to make, trouble. There are times when it is in no position to take on additional burdens, and by one means or another its enemies are likely to know the actual state of affairs about as well as its friends. There are limits to the big talk and bluff it can engage in. But unless all hope of being able to accomplish anything has been abandoned, an organization must put up some kind of front, make some show of determination, of courage, of hope, of readiness to do battle if need be. Even if there is no hope whatever, it is better to bite one's lips and keep still about it than to proclaim one's own weakness. It is conceivable that it might do some good to assure people that the union is peacefully disposed, but it can do no good to assure them that it is weak. This is the clear import of much that is being said and done in connection with the Southern textile campaign, and it is bound to have a bad psychological effect on Southern employers.

The effect of the announcement on the workers is also on the whole bad. The great essential is that they should be roused to action, to the willingness to do battle for themselves, even though they must in specific instances

be advised to delay a strike. The general "No Strike" announcement will not have this desired effect.

Likewise, the impression bound to be made on the public is bad. Much ado is made over the announcement that the union is now peaceful, it is not going to have strikes. The inference is that strikes and trouble in the past have been caused by the union, by outside agitators, as the saying goes. That is of course a falsehood. Strikes and trouble were caused by the intolerable and unjust conditions under which people worked, by the refusal of employers to do anything adequate to remedy evils, and by the fact that every peaceful move to remedy conditions on the part of the workers was met by discharges by the employers and by unfairness and brutality on the part of courts, police, militia and mobs.

Why then, permit the inference that union is responsible for trouble? Why permit the inference that now, though the fundamental evils remain, the union can adopt a new policy, can resolve away strikes and industrial unrest? This is bad education for the public generally. It is giving away the case to enemies of unionism, and doing it without any reason for it.

### Insulting Southern Strikers

Furthermore, much of the propaganda, intentionally or unintentionally, does a grave wrong to the men and women who in all periods and all sorts of places, and recently in the South, in Elizabethton, Gastonia, Ware Shoals and Marion have battled and suffered for the cause of unionism. All along the inference is that they were the cause and not the victims of trouble. The most flagrant instance of this repudiating and insulting of Southern workers who have borne the brunt of the battle was Pres. Green's statement in his Richmond speech to the effect that if the A. F. of L. had been in Marion last October there would have been no massacre there. His explanation, when he was questioned, that he meant there would have been no trouble if the A. F. of L. had been recognized and an agreement had been in effect, seems lame. But even if it is accepted, the fact remains that nothing has ever been done to

## REPUDIATED STRIKERS

correct the impression made; rather, there is a persistent attempt to disassociate the A. F. of L. from connection with any "unpleasant episode," to make it appear as "harmless as a dove." As I have said, this is an outrageous insult upon the strikers and martyrs of the South. Nor is any life left in an organization or movement when it seeks to forget instead of to celebrate its heroes and martyrs.

What shall be said of the "No Strike Policy" in itself, as distinct from the proclamation of it?

It is of course not startlingly new. It is just another form of the "peace policy" which has marked the official A. F. of L. program since the death of Gompers, and which attempts to organize workers by appealing to their employers and seeking to persuade them that having a trade union would be "good for the business," rather than appealing to the workers to organize on the ground that it is only by solidarity and struggle that they can protect and advance their material and spiritual interests. LABOR AGE has frequently stated its opinion of this approach and we need not dwell on it at length here. The policy assumes (unconsciously perhaps) that there is nothing very serious for workers and employers to struggle about; but if that is true then of course no trade union is necessary and both employers and employees will be just as well or better content with company unions or an open-shop.

An effort was made to organize the automobile industry in this way and it failed ingloriously. The policy was pursued in Elizabethton after the settlement last year which made the personnel manager of the company the arbitrator in cases of alleged discrimination against union members and former strikers. It did not save the unions or the rayon workers there from any other strike this spring:—and there is now practically nothing in the way of organization left after all the effort and suffering. The policy did not prevent a 10 per cent wage cut in Danville. There is no case on record where the policy has scored a success, though the willingness to "co-operate" may of course be a factor in securing an agreement where organized power or the serious threat of it exists. None of the present A. F. of L. unions was built by this policy. There is no reason to suppose that it will work in the South.

In the Southern textile field at present there are two types of situations. On the one hand, there are the mills which are "paying" little or not at all,



Marion strikers at height of heroic struggle during which six men were killed by deputy sheriffs. (A. J. Muste, third from right.)

faced with keen and cut-throat competition, operating at relatively high cost. In most cases such mills are owned or managed by the conventional employer, conservative, fearful of unions or hostile to them, not too far-sighted, with little social vision. Ask any intelligent and educated man in the textile field—employer, I mean—and he will tell you that for shortsightedness and stupidity these men are not to be matched in any other industry.

### Dodging a Union Headache

Now what is the effect of the present union campaign upon them? The answer is that it is exactly nothing. These people have enough headaches as it is and are not going to be bothered with a union headache in addition if they can avoid it, and avoid it they can if the union confines itself to peaceful arguing with them. The union cannot possibly argue any more persuasively than their fellow-employers have already done. These men, as already said, have no social vision and they certainly are not going to be won to accepting unionism for what it may do for the general good of the South in ten or even five years from now.

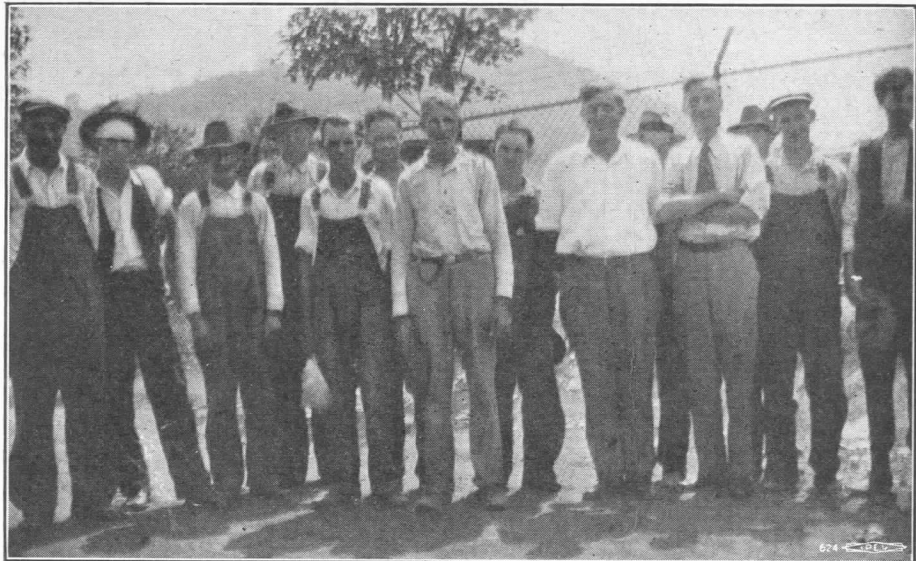
On the other hand, there are a number of concerns which are doing well. In some instances this may be due to luck, in others to good management. Among these concerns will be found some managers who know the world in which they live and have social vision, though many of them are just

the usual hard-boiled, successful business men. The latter is not going to accept unionism unless he has to, and he does not have to under present conditions of over-expansion, surplus labor, etc.; at least not at the hands of a union which is bound not to fight. That leaves the few outstanding men who are both successful practical managers and possessed of wide knowledge and social vision. Will not these men, at least, welcome unionism, indirectly even urge their people to join the A. F. of L.?

We have talked with a couple of such men, but we flatter ourselves that we should have known the answer even without that. These people are where they are, because in the competitive struggle they have managed to keep one or more jumps ahead of the others. Therefore they are "sitting pretty"—also as regards their labor relations. They can afford to keep up the houses in their mill villages, to pay somewhat better wages, and so on, and they do. The result is that they can have the pick of the labor supply, which gives them another little edge, and their workers are relatively satisfied. If they do begin to grumble, the boss can point to plenty of other mills where they can do worse "if you don't like it here." Now just as these men keep a jump ahead of their competitors, they are confident that they can keep a jump ahead of the union too. They may even say that the A. F. of L. is perfectly welcome to come in and try to organize their workers, for

(Continued on page 28)

## REPUDIATED STRIKERS



Marion strikers at height of heroic struggle during which six men were killed by deputy sheriffs. (A. J. Muste, third from right.)

# Flashes from the Labor World

Just how far can organized labor afford to let federal judicial tyrants go in trampling upon the right to organize and strike? Men will tolerate injustice to astonishing lengths, but somewhere the line must be drawn; at some point Labor must tell injunction judges where to head off.

Federal Judge Scott of the northern Iowa district is one black-robed servant of Big Business who has gone beyond the limits of labor's patience. He has made permanent an intolerable injunction that forbids strikers even to mention the existence of their strike against the U. S. Gypsum Corporation. This foul document is not the usual Yellow Dog Parker order forbidding picketing or upholding a scab's "liberty" to sign away his freedom. Not only strikers and all their agents are forbidden to talk about the Gypsum strike of Fort Dodge, but anyone "acting in aid" of the strikers in mentioning their grievances against the Gypsum trust is likewise in contempt of this honorable judge's court.

Federated Press, the national labor news service, has treated Scott's injunction with the contempt it deserves. To its 75 labor and farm newspapers throughout the country it sent a story exposing the Gypsum Judge's injunction, a story that has been widely reprinted in the labor press. In addition "Labor News," the weekly news magazine of the Labor Movement, in its issue of April 26 published the story under the heading: "Federated Press Defies Gypsum Judge's Gag; Labor Press Calls Bluff."

"Labor Age," in printing this comment on the Gypsum jurist is of course in contempt of his court; so is WEVD, the radio Voice of Debs. So is every labor paper in the country that dares to publish any comment "in aid of" the strikers who have held out heroically for years against the Gypsum trust. This is one time when a Federal Judge's bluff needs to be called. Does Federal Judge Scott believe his bluff has been called? If not he is invited to hale Federated Press, WEVD, "Labor Age" and the labor press into his court. Wouldn't it be a good story?

\* \* \*

Organized labor stands to gain vic-

tories, to strengthen the morale of union workers, to make unorganized workers look up to it, if it continues its smashing offensive against Yellow Dog Parker, a cheap North Carolina politician who somehow crawled up on the federal bench and is now slated for the U. S. Supreme Court. Nothing so encouraging, comments Laurence Todd, Federated Press Washington correspondent, has happened in this country in years. "What this battle (on Parker) has developed," he writes, "is the fact that in the people

The 5-day week is alright for other prosperous American industries. But it won't do in the printing trades. This is the edict of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which has forbidden any of its members to grant the shorter work week to union printers. Backing this pronouncement is the slimy "open shop" committee of the A.N.P.A., led by H. W. Flagg and followed by as desperate a crew of thugs and professional scabs as can be found under the Stars and Stripes.

The New York newspaper printers are intent on the 5-day week as the only way to relieve unemployment. Economy, plead New York publishers, wealthiest in the world. To which the printers retort, Pooh. Of course it costs more to equalize wages on the 5-day schedule, but the building trades have done it, and many unionized industries are trying it. As usual, it's the same old battle: Profits vs. Workers' Power. Which will win?

\* \* \*

One sad aspect of the printers-publishers fight is the exposed position of the Typographical Union. Historians of the Labor Movement well remember that industrial unionism was the keynote of the printing trades in the old days. The International Typographical Union originally held jurisdiction over the complete printing plant. Then crafts began to split off: printing pressmen, engravers, stereotypers, and now mailers. Industrial unionism made a last stand

in the Allied Printing Trades Councils, whose main business was union label promotion. But even here craftism now becomes supreme. Major Berry, the Democratic, American Legion, ultra-conservative head of the Printing Pressmen, withdraws from the council. If there is any more tragic sight in the union movement than union pressmen getting out scab newspapers, as in the Albany typo strike two years ago, we have yet to see it.

The threat is now from the photo engravers, who have just signed a 3-year agreement with the New York publishers. A technique is being developed whereby copy may be photoengraved without the intermediary step of type-setting. While still imperfect, the pro-

## PEONAGE!



N. Y. Evening Telegram

The nomination of Judge Parker is teaching the nation the true meaning of yellow doggery.

still resides—indeed is steadily developing—a power of protest against governmental arrogance which will be awed neither by the judicial ermine nor by the pomp and intrigue which surround the presidential throne.... Not all the detective-secretaries and tea-bought press eulogists and radio-glorifiers can wash out the veto which the people have stamped across the face of the Parker appointment.

"Exercise of this protest power has delighted the country. It has brought new courage to the Labor Movement, the defenders of the Negro race, and to independent thinkers who have a hope that the nation will begin to think about its economic organization."

\* \* \*

cess can be used in a pinch by strike-breaking publishers. Are the photo engravers now to be used to help break a printers' strike in New York, as pressmen are used elsewhere?

\* \* \*

It must be uncomfortable to sit in the seats of the mighty in the A. F. of L. building these days, and see labor unions voting one after another for the labor party. Imagine, please, the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, stronghold of conservatism, cheering for the Labor Party after all the fetid politics of choosing between James J. Davis and Joe Grundy for U. S. Senate? Just as significant is the vote of the majority of Rochester, N. Y., labor unions—no more progressive than unions generally—for a Labor Party in that city. There is even talk of a state conference of labor unionists, following the State Federation of Labor convention this summer at Buffalo, to discuss the building of a Labor Party.

\* \* \*

How many people are there with a conscience in America? Mrs. Bertha W. Howe of Staten Island, N. Y., is one. She wrote quite emphatically to Real Silk Hosiery in Indianapolis, after reading a Federated Press story: "It is not your good intentions that I doubt; it is that I am so firmly convinced that the self-respecting position of the laboring classes today is almost wholly due to organization, that, cost what it may to the employing class, I am for it. Nor do I overlook the many serious faults in labor organization; but, with all their faults, and with all the efforts of employers in these days to at least try to treat their employes fairly, I still believe that it is only by independent organization that the working class gains anything."

Here is one courageous woman who will no longer wear yellow dog hosiery and underwear, even if they were made under the perfect conditions by contented slaves. She strikes the keynote of the organized Labor Movement: Independence, of both employer's greed and employer's paternalism. We believe she would find Real Silk labor conditions a good bit worse than she suspects: the point is even if Real Silk paid high wages, it would still be an evil thing, suppressing the self-reliance, independence, and the urge to social control which workers must inevitably express if they are not to be mere wage slaves.

\* \* \*

Do you like to be gypped? Then don't send in \$2 to Consumers Research, Inc., 47 Charles Street, New York. It would interfere a lot with your belief in fairy stories—otherwise known as advertise-

ments. Consumers Research for example will tell you that the only useful purpose toothpaste serves is to leave a pleasant taste in your mouth and a fat profit in the manufacturer's purse. All the lather and bubble business of the shaving soaps is also sadly deflated by the chemists on the Consumers Research staff. All that the stuff can do is act as a cold cream to lubricate the face against scraping and cutting by the razor.

Just as important, this organization tells you about gyp radios, bum autos, poor safety razor blades, and compares canned peas, sun-ray machines, skin disinfectants and fountain pens. What an opportunity for the poor gullible consumer, sap that he is! At last he has a defense against high pressure salesmanship.

\* \* \*

Forty-nine Pittsburgh striking taxi drivers have been cited for contempt because they violated the second injunction secured by Parmelee Transportation Co. forbidding them to carry passengers in their own cars on a voluntary contribution basis. John Tait, militant strike leader, has been arrested and held in jail for bail for the fourth time. That he is a "suspicious character" is the latest charge.

With relief funds practically exhausted after 15 weeks of strike, the taxi men still maintain their ranks without serious break. Though Pittsburgh is cursed with unemployment, Parmelee is barely able to find men to muster 150 cabs.

Citizens impatient with Parmelee's anti-union pigheadedness have petitioned for the revocation of the Parmelee franchise. At the hearing, held before Commissioner Walker, ex-Mellon attorney of ten years standing, the local Parmelee manager admitted that his real reason for balking settlement was the demand of the drivers' union for recognition. The arbitration offer made by Pittsburgh clergymen still awaits answer from both sides.

\* \* \*

The same legal difficulty that formed the Lowell committee's excuse for confirming the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti may condemn Warren Billings to perpetual imprisonment. Chief Justice Waste of the California supreme court has announced that the investigation of Billings' appeal for pardon is being held up because the court is able only to study the court records of the case and has no power to subpoena witnesses who have knowledge of the frameup.

"The petition for pardon," says Justice Waste, "is based largely on affidavits obtained since Billings' conviction

and repudiating the testimony of a number of prosecution witnesses. There is no machinery provided for investigating angles of a case that happen subsequent to convictions." This is the same ground on which Mooney was refused a new trial when Trial Judge Griffin requested it. Waste also pointed out that the court is not examining the case as a body, but that the petition is simply before the individual members, who have no executive or judicial power. Even so, he believes it will be "some time" before any decision is reached.

(Prepared from Federated Press Reports)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930,, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Leonard Bright, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is (if owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer, 112 E. 19th St., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

LEONARD BRIGHT,  
Business Manager.

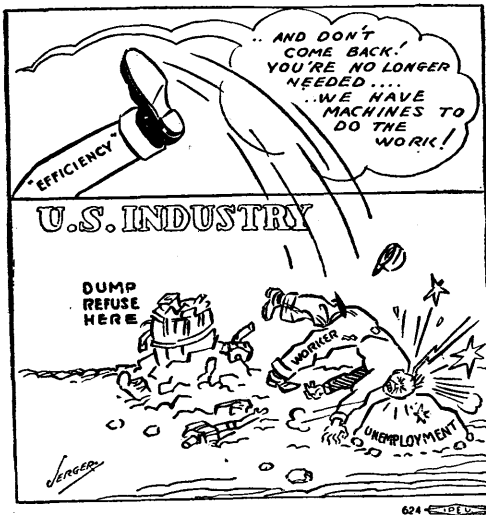
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1930.

(Seal) ERNEST BOHM,  
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1931)

# The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

At Easton, Pa., Lafayette College, Rutgers University and Lehigh University engaged in a three-cornered debate on "Resolved that the evils of the machine age outweigh its benefits." In the affirmative Lafayette declared that the machine age has destroyed man's individuality, resulted in unemployment and made war more possible. "And," they might have added, "more inevitable and catastrophic."

\* \* \*

It is not only colleges and universities that debate the pros and cons of the machine, workers everywhere are doing likewise, only less academically and more realistically. The steady way in which the machine mows down skill and dispenses with the mathematician, the musician and the actor, as well as the executive, fills them with a sort of awe, as before an impersonal, uncontrollable, fatalistic force. They fear it and don't know how to escape it, while so doing. It is a peculiarly helpless psychology, that is bewildered and paralyzed with the failure to understand it all.

\* \* \*

Haven't capitalists got a kind of dangerous naivete regarding the machine? At the recent Philadelphia Social Science Meeting a paper by Henry P. Kendall, President, Kendall Co. of Boston, asserted that the mechanization of industry would increase, but that there was no cause for alarm, provided management accepted increased responsibility. In Mr. Kendall's textile industry the management is doing the very reverse. It increases mechanization without any regard for output or employees displaced. The same is the case with management in steel, shoes, and nearly every other mechanized industry, including autos.

How then can Mr. Kendall talk so platonically? Has he a sense of responsibility himself?

\* \* \*

Talking about machine production, what is likely to become of the capitalist system when the highly collectivized output of industrialized Russia, meets the highly corporatized output of mechanized United States in the world's markets? Will that system then be drowned in a flood of goods? Or will the machine age be transformed into one of use instead of profit in the revolution, that is likely to result? It's a beautiful prospect, on an unprecedented scale!

\* \* \*

According to William Chalmers, University of Pittsburgh instructor, "The Edgar Thompson steel works at Braddock, a suburb of Pittsburgh, have cut the number of workers from 7,000 to 5,000 in four years while maintaining production." And this is far from being the last chapter in the book of steel and iron mechanization.

\* \* \*

This "sweep of technology," how does it affect the workers? Here's what another pedagogue, this time S. Howard Patterson, University Pennsylvania, has to say about it (in "Social Aspects of Industry"):

"Constant attention, continuous alertness, and physiological adjustment to an automatic rhythm are as tiring as great muscular exertion. The frequent menace of physical danger and the constant compulsion of the machine or the foreman increases this nervous tension.... By the use of machinery it is possible to speed the worker to his greatest possible exertion by forcing the human eyes and fingers to keep pace with those of electricity and steel."

\* \* \*

The March of the Machine is becoming ever more world wide. Ford tractors and autos are being exported to and built in Russia. Now comes news and that at Constantinople Turks are being taught to assemble autos in the Ford plant there. No doubt, in time, they'll also be taught how to assemble some new ideas regarding mechanized civilization. Watch out!

There ought to be no unemployment in Detroit, if the logic of L. J. Flint, open shop vice-president in the famous auto city, is correct. Mr. Flint attributes England's unemployment "to unions that kept out labor saving machinery." As there are no such unions in Mr. Flint's home town, since his open shop doctrine prevails there, we wonder what Detroit's unemployment is due to? Can it be an excessive output, due to improved, automatic machinery? Perhaps Mr. Flint will kindly explain.

Well, they're not all built that way. This refers to the beneficiaries and supporters of capitalism. Some of them see that their system possesses serious defects. Consequently they do not claim that union restrictions cause unemployment. In fact, for some of them, labor unions do not seem to exist at all. There's B. C. Forbes, publisher FORBES financial magazine, New York City. He says bluntly:

"Unemployment, involving political and other agitation, threatens to be the *bete noir* of America's future. Science, chemistry, invention, managerial skill, cheap electric and gas power have combined to effect tremendously increased production without corresponding increase in human labor. Endless mergers also release employers of all ranks—executives, superintendents, salesmen, technicians, rank-and-file workmen."

\* \* \*

Mr. Forbes' analysis of unemployment helps to account for many apparently unexplainable things. One of them is the number of able-bodied laborers and cultured white-collar workers now appearing in the Bowery breadlines. Another is the increasing number of letters on lowering age limits and the unemployment of middle-aged and old-aged executives, technicians, and similar salaried subordinates, appearing in the correspondence columns of the NEW YORK TIMES. These men never belonged to a labor union. Nor did they ever attempt to restrict capitalist development. On the contrary, they were loud in the praise of the latter and denounced all those who did not join in the fulsome chorus. Now look at the poor simps!

# Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

## WE HEAD FOR REVOLUTION

MAY Day's spirit has touched American industrial life superficially. International workers' action has scarcely been thought of; the American Federation of Labor, with a provincialism arising from economic conditions, has shied at joining hands in any resultful manner with brothers across the seas. The idea of warring upon Capitalism has been shunned. The establishment of a new social order, with Labor at the helm, has been looked upon as a dream bordering on nightmare.

Neither Communist riots in New York nor the triumphant failure of Hooverian engineering need occasion any shivers of revolutionary fear on this May Day. There must be bugaboos for the faithful and loyal; these will be taken out of their mothballs and exhibited in full dress. Bombs will burst in the bombastic bunk handed out by police departments, but nowhere else. The number of rip-roaring revolutionaries ready to attack Harper's Ferry *a la* John Brown will be multiplied on a compound basis, with each official statement. Everyone, in the midst of it all, can remain quite calm; there will be no revolution on May 1, 1930.

That much being settled, Progressives can look beyond this particular day and year to good purpose. Twenty-five years is a short period of time, so far as history goes. And twenty-five years will see changes that will make the word "Revolution" a much more practical thing than it is to day. (It can be heard now, among the workers, more than ever since the war. It is merely a term for getting rid of steam, as yet; on the order of the use of cuss words.)

Here are some of the developments that the next twenty-five years bid fair to produce:

1. The Machine will kill more jobs, progressively. Man power will be eliminated at an increasingly rapid rate. The Labor Movement at this hour feels this pressure more than any other one factor. Entire crafts are being swept away by the advent of man-saving machinery. Even progressive unions, which have safeguarded themselves to a degree, and have combined militancy in organization work with some form of protective "cooperation," find themselves often nonplussed at the problem these inventions produce. Unrest will grow with the growing shortage of employment.

2. Russia, the rising star of industrial production, will play hob with the international market. Its further entry into the struggle for world economic control will accentuate the unemployment crisis. Already Swedish and Belgian match factories feel the effects of Russian competition, and several of the latter have been forced to close down.

3. Unemployment insurance and old age pensions, supplementary to their humane benefits, will ease for a time the friction created by the armies of the jobless. New industries will help, but mildly—the machine playing its part there as well.

4. Tariff walls will be raised by all the nations, leading to ill-humor and recriminations. Bad blood will arise. War will be the alternative sought to stave off internal explosions.

5. Capitalism will seek, with desperate energy, to keep its grip tightly fastened on judiciary, police and military. It has already accomplished an almost perfect piece of jobbery in that respect. Anger at Judge Parker's nomination to the Supreme Court is of advantage for the sole purpose of keeping the fire of revolt burning. It is not a surprising nomination, any more than was that of Charles Evans Hughes. Both serve their masters, as courts have done all through the ages. The Hearst papers have calmly told us that Big Business is the boss of the nation.

We note the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia as something worth while looking at. The Capitalist Revolution in the United States is every bit as significant. It is now rapidly rising to its zenith. Twenty-five years should see it put to its greatest test.

A show-down is, then, bound to come. We Progressives have the job of preparing for that show-down. We must raise up an American generation of "agitators," gifted with a gentle hardness.

What may we expect of them? What must we set ourselves to, out of the present set-up? These suggestions are old but startlingly new, too, in their future as yet to be applied:

1. The spread of civil disobedience through aggressive non-resistance—skillfully employed. American history can be drawn on for the "authority" for such action.

2. Increase of international workers' thought in this country, leading to international cooperation. As an example, start with exploited Chinese labor destroying today the textile workers of New England and of Lancashire, and go from there to the final conclusion.

3. Establishment and maintenance of industrial unionism—an ancient idea now a crying necessity.

4. Creation of a Labor Party—not as an escape from the industrial struggle, but as an aid to it.

As the machine marches on, as jobs become scarcer, as Big Business becomes bigger, as the peace of the world is again threatened by Greed—these simple ideas must be speeded up. Progressives can well ask themselves if they should not move faster in the task that is at hand, in order that there may be a harvest of cooperative achievement when the larger crisis comes.

### "GREEN SEES REVOLT"

FOUR days after the preceding thoughts were written, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor joined the ranks of those who see Revolution ahead.

Appearing before the Senate Commerce Committee at Washington, and answering a question from Senator Johnson, he remarked:

"Men should earn money, not have it doled out to them without labor in return. But unless employers change their tactics toward unions we shall face either Federal unemployment insurance to take care of the jobless or have a revolution on our hands. The country cannot stand these continual shocks."

The NEW YORK TIMES of April 2 headed the article on these remarks: "GREEN SEES REVOLT AS THREAT OF IDLE." Part of this title is adopted here, to emphasize that the society of seers, who look forward toward Revolution as a possibility, is enlarging. It is also interesting to observe that President Green regards unemployment insurance as an antidote for Revolution, as he says we will get that "or" the other thing. That is exactly our humble contention. It is why we cannot see why a non-revolutionary body like the A. F. of L. cannot adopt it as a necessity.

Each of the four suggestions made by President Green on the unemployment problem has merit. There is a crying need for better public employment agencies, for advice to the older workers, for counsel to the technologically unemployed, and for a systematic public work program. None of these, however, will relieve the unemployed immediately when the shock of unemployment is felt worse. Unemployment insurance is the sole step that will bring help when help is needed the most. There is no way, logically or justly, to escape it.

Had the A. F. of L. launched a campaign for unemployment insurance at this present critical time, it would have provided one of the most popular talking points they could have had with the unorganized. It would have shown these unorganized, as stupid and cowardly as some do prove to be, that the organized movement is their friend at every turn of the road.

### THE NEW ORGANIZER

WHILE we have the future of discontent to keep in mind, with huge upheaval as the possibility, we have also the immediate present painfully with us.

Practical thought reminds us of the gigantic cost of strikes. Practical thought reminds us of the immense hazard of such conflicts, in any industry and particularly in the basic industries. Those things are realities that cannot be denied. Somewhere, sometime, nevertheless, a beginning must be made. There must be a few fanatical souls willing to risk; willing to go through Hell; willing to face jail and even gun-fire for the sake of enlarged liberty.

Without commenting on the "No Strike" campaign of the A. F. of L. in the South—which will be judged on its results at the proper time—it does seem that the South needs a series of strikes, before Labor can hope for any sort of near-permanent foothold in any Southern "heavy industry." Steel and Oil need flare-ups of some sort. Automobiles, ditto.

No second thought is required to appreciate that the negotiating of such organization efforts and such strikes is not a simple task. Men and women are to be mustered in some numbers for it. Young men and women, for this is the battle of the Young.

These young people cannot be thrown into the enterprise without some direction, discipline and training. This is a hard, old world and about the hardest thing in it is effective agitation. It is up to some agency to assign itself this function of training young crusaders, out in the field. The Progressives might well look into it. We believe it is up to them, somehow, to do this. The "new organizer" must be created ere long.

### KENOSHA POINTS THE WAY

PERHAPS it is with some diffidence that the author of these words and phrases should refer to Kenosha. The president of a certain international union has taken occasion to direct some unkind remarks at the direction of that

strike. It is most unfortunate for himself that he did so, as it revealed that he had not gone into the situation even in a cursory way.

"Kenosha" is of importance, outside any personal equations, as it is something that should be studied for what it may indicate to strike tactics of the future. Some of the achievements worth while noting in the Kenosha fight are these: 1. The company—one of the most powerful of its kind financially that could have been attacked, having many other interests than those included in the Kenosha lockout—lost \$800,000 in the first ten months of lockout and more than that in the past year. It has been totally shaken up in management, and it is generally admitted that it is in a bad way. Only its underwear plant in Bennington, Vt., kept the company's head above water, as it was. 2. A strike of 330 workers was projected into a theme of national discussion. It is safe to say that Kenosha received hundreds of times more publicity than any other strike of like size. This publicity, in turn, spiked every frame-up attempt made, even through a special Grand Jury, and with seven private detective agencies in the situation. 3. Out of the fight has come a local Labor Party, now in control of the county board. The future strength of this party will depend, naturally, on its local leadership in quiet times. 4. The central labor body, unknown before that time to any large extent, has become a dominant factor in the community. 5. Two mills have directly signed up with the union, and two others indirectly, out of the Kenosha fight. 6. The union loyalty of the locked out workers, after two years of battle, is remarkable, and wherever they have gone they have proved to be the backbone of support for the progressive policies of the organization.

Some of the things attempted in Kenosha deserving of consideration in the way of tactics for the mill and factory industries are these: 1. A mass picket line was preserved six months after a sweeping Federal injunction, prohibiting all pickets. 2. The battle was thrown into the political arena, and every attack upon the workers was anticipated, and a counter-attack ready at hand. Witness the expose of Judge Belden, 30 years on the bench, when he had called the frame-up Grand Jury, which fizzled so miserably. 3. The great amount of cover-up violence was attached firmly in the public mind, through constant publicity, to the labor spy agencies and agents provocateur. A number of instances of their violent acts were mercilessly exposed, better than in any other similar situation. 4. With a comparatively small number of workers involved, the public was aroused as it seldom has been on the side of the workers. The big parades, of as high as 6,000 people, bear witness to that. 5. The parade to La Follette's grave in protest against the injunction, and the willingness of the workers to go to jail won a public interest that prevented the company and its henchmen from doing many things that have been done against the workers in similar set-ups.

These are but a few items that can be hastily mentioned. The important thing is that the international president who spoke up about these matters should have informed himself better before doing as he did.

Incidentally, the occasion for his speaking up was an editorial in LABOR AGE a few months ago which suggested to him the advisability of making a try at organization in the factory industries, under his union's jurisdiction. This editorial, ironically enough, was not written by myself. But certainly, it is not yet "lese majeste" in the Labor Movement, to suggest that organization work be attempted. We cannot understand why any one would resent such a suggestion, unless he had decided not to push organization of the unorganized.



# One Year and After

**B**Y the end of the month, a year shall have passed since the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was officially launched. It was during the latter part of May, 1929, that the first conference of progressives was called in New York City, a constitution adopted, a name given the organization and the machinery set up with which to carry on the work of the C. P. L. A. But while the machinery was set up in May, it was not until the following fall that concentrated effort in presenting the cause before the elements inside and outside the Labor Movement was undertaken. For many reasons it was not found feasible or possible to push the progressive program in earnest before then. In reality, therefore, as far as real effort is concerned, the life of this movement cannot be reckoned as over seven months old.

Calendars do not, however, take cognizance of practical difficulties nor of higher strategy, and a year is a year as far as time is reckoned. So to evaluate the effect of twelve months of C. P. L. A. life, to make an audit of its achievements and failures, the National Executive Committee held a meeting on April 21, at which the problems confronting the Conference for Progressive Labor Action were gone into thoroughly; the opportunities and obstacles analyzed and a program for future action planned in the light of the experience of the past, and the needs of the present.

## The Fear Complex

Pooling the information gained by all those who are actively propagating the C. P. L. A. program, the meeting concluded that while there is almost universal dissatisfaction with the leadership of the American Federation of Labor among the rank and file, such dissatisfaction is difficult to organize because of the lack of self assertion among the workers. The complete domination of the officials over the action and opinions of the membership, ruthlessly expelling or discriminating against those daring to express a contrary view to that officially expounded, has developed a timidity and consequent apathy which has resulted, on the one hand, in a general fear complex and on the other in keeping young workers from becoming vitally interested in trade union problems. Labor union meetings are today con-

claves of old men thoroughly cowed who attend the union halls through habit. The young workers, not having even developed the habit of attending meetings, are conspicuous by their absence. Local leadership, which springs out of the need for action, and developed from among the young because of its interest in such action, is today practically non-existent. The past ten years of horrible dictatorship and suppression of new ideas has dried up the springs of source material from which such leadership flows.

## Steady Growth

This situation, while making the work of the C. P. L. A. more difficult, does not prevent the progressive idea from taking hold. Its spread is only at a slower tempo than would otherwise have been the case. Nevertheless, so needful is the work of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in the present labor scene that in spite of an environment that is full of obstacles satisfactory gains are being made and the work of the organization is progressing with increasing speed. Membership in the C. P. L. A. covers every section of the United States and organized local branches are flourishing in many eastern cities. The west is slower in following the lead of the east because it is more difficult to get to the workers in that part of the country but every indication points to an early uprising among the workers there. And once started, it will not be very long before the western progressives become a definite part of the C. P. L. A.

Aside from the activities centered around membership gains and the formation of local branches, the equally important task of literature distribution and educational meetings

shows similar progress. LABOR AGE, the official organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, has been improving from month to month, a fact to which many, many readers constantly bear testimony. Workers and those interested in labor problems are coming to look to the interpretive articles and editorials not only for information about the general situation but also for guidance in understanding the meaning of the various developments that are taking place. In short, it has achieved what has been the hopes of its publishers to make it, a distinctive labor magazine with a usefulness that is not duplicated by any other publication. Naturally, this improvement has resulted in an increased circulation, which in itself will eventually have the effect of making progressive opinion more widespread and coordinated.

The pamphlets which the Conference issues from time to time on subjects that are as timely as they are important are an additional contributing factor towards the growth of progressive sentiment in the land. Four of these pamphlets have already been published, their combined circulation

## IN THE ASH CAN



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson.

A place more fitting than the Supreme Court bench.

running into the tens of thousands. Three more are in the process of being printed and will be off the press soon. In addition to these many thousands of pieces of free literature have been distributed in the course of the year just closing.

Speakers have addressed Central Labor Unions, union meetings, churches, open forums, clubs, college classes and groups, everywhere finding an interesting response to the progressive program. Hundreds of such meetings, involving thousands of listeners, have been held in the course of the first year of the C. P. L. A. existence. Many public statements on matters of immediate moment to workers and to American traditional safeguards have been issued to the press and published by it. The C. P. L. A. was the first body to call the attention of President Hoover in an open letter to the flagrant violation of the agreement which the employers made not to cut wages in the present depression. It was first to promulgate a program for the nation to follow that, if carried out, would really have been effective in alleviating the present employment situation, and certainly in avoiding future ones.

Added to all that is the work undertaken to study particular industrial situations and to carry on educational work among workers leading to union organization. While in Marion, for example, where William Ross represented the C. P. L. A., our efforts ended in no definite victory, the failure can be laid more at the doorstep of the helplessness of the American Federation of Labor than to any shortcomings of C. P. L. A. strategy. It was Marion, nevertheless, which the U. T. W. first abandoned and which the C. P. L. A. took over, that was the indirect cause for the present southern drive. It is hardly likely that without the flare-up of the workers there, the A. F. of L. convention in Toronto would have taken any official action in the southern situation. And a word of caution may here be added. While no one can prophesy as to the future, the educational work started by William Ross for organization is by no means entirely destroyed. The lessons he taught these workers are in their hearts and minds and a new revolt may start at any time as a spontaneous rebellion of these exploited operatives. Who can tell?

Following further this line of activity our representatives are at present busy at several points in the steel industry lining up the more advanced workers, organizing study groups,

analyzing the steel industry for the problems involved in its unionization and thus laying the ground work for future concerted action against the open shop practices which now confront the workers. These efforts will be extended to other fields as circumstances permit.

### A Forward Step

With this survey before them, the members of the National Executive Committee decided to take another forward step by considering the establishment of an organization department, staffed by competent and experienced organizers who would devote their time in assisting groups of workers, not able to obtain other aid, in any conflicts they may be engaged with their employers for union recognition, wage disputes or for better working conditions. The matter came up for consideration after the New York Branch applied to the national office for an organizer to be used in the New York area in starting a general drive against the many non-union shops and factories in the city. Speaking before mill gates to the noon day crowds is to be one of the features of such a campaign.

In accepting the request of the New York Branch in principle, though the details will have to be worked out in accordance with the needs of the whole movement, the National Executive Committee was thinking of many independent groups of workers who already have a union but who have no one to turn to for assistance in time of need and to spontaneous outbursts as in Pittsburgh among the taxicab drivers where the local Branch of the C. P. L. A. assumed leadership and gave assistance from the very start of the trouble because the official Labor Movement remained cool to the strikers. With the establishment of

## GOOD MEDICINE



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

A dose of this remedy will put him on his feet again.

an organization department such activities will be better coordinated and planned and will be conducted with greater effectiveness than heretofore. This department will also be used as a training ground for young men and women who lack experience but have the enthusiasm and capacities for organization work.

### Enthusiastic Service

In this presentation of accomplishments and future plans of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the individual members of the organization have a functional place in the whole movement and definite duties to perform. Sometimes it is very easy to forget that any movement is no more passive or active than the men and women who compose it. There is a natural tendency to assume that the obligation is met with by the payment of dues and that the "Conference for Progressive Labor Action," as a name, will of itself bring into being all the changes we stand for. There is always the grave danger that the membership of even a progressive

organization may fall into the same false reasoning that now apparently is the mental status of the membership of the regular trade unions. Especially is such a condition of more dire consequence to a protesting, newly formed organization where funds are very meager, difficulties great and which must rely upon the enthusiastic voluntary services of the entire membership for most of the work done. The paid officers can only stimulate and direct. The membership should not wait upon them for all work that must be accomplished. Fortunately the danger pointed out here applies only to a small proportion of the membership. But it is necessary to emphasize it because at the present stage of our existence especially it is important that every member keep in mind the fact that whatever hopes we may have for a progressive Labor Movement in this country depend upon the effective application of each progressive united in the cause.

The first thing the membership should realize is that the presentation of the C. P. L. A. program before trade unions or individual trade unionists on every reasonable occasion is the most important function they can perform. Bringing the Labor Movement around to a revived militancy and a social attitude can be accomplished only when progressive trade unionists present these views at their union meetings. C. P. L. A.'ers should be enthusiastic propagandists for their cause. The same is true of those others who may not be trade union members. They have similar opportunities to acquaint their friends and associates with the C. P. L. A. program.

### Various Ways to Help

Every member should have our literature available for continuous distribution. Members should be agents for LABOR AGE, getting subscriptions from fellow union members, distributing sample copies among those whom it will do the most good, getting lists of names to send to the national office for follow-up work. The distribution of pamphlets should be handled in the same manner. No good C. P. L. A.'ers should ever find themselves without LABOR AGE subscription blanks, C. P. L. A. membership blanks or sample copies of LABOR AGE and of the pamphlets thus far published. Anyone complaining of ennui should immediately be approached as a prospect for C. P. L. A. activities. Work in the progressive

cause will overcome any boredom one may feel.

Those who are blessed with special training can find plenty to do in their various communities helping in the spread of the C. P. L. A. idea. Much information is needed on the specific results of the A. F. of L. non-partisan policy as it effects labor in the cities and states. Investigation of alliances between local labor movements and the dominant political party should prove interesting in its findings. The records of state legislators who achieved office with the aid of labor endorsements are a matter of significance and could be traced by progressives. The measures sponsored by labor and other social agencies which failed of passage are also important indications of the practicability of non-partisanism.

With sentiment for independent political action growing and local labor parties being organized everywhere there is need for bringing together such activity into state and national unity. Members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action should be alert to this sentiment in their own city, foster the idea as much as possible, and attempt to unify other such parties in the state into a state organization. The national office should be kept in constant touch with these developments for the aid it can give in the creation of a national Labor Party.

Other information bearing on unemployment, wage cuts, organizing efforts of existing labor unions, and general industrial conditions should be obtained through research by those progressives having the necessary qualifications. All this knowledge is essential in fostering the program of the C. P. L. A.

This, by no means, exhausts the possibilities for continuous activity by the membership. But among the points enumerated there are sufficient worthy projects to keep every one busy. Other ideas will gladly be received by the national office from any one interested in the development of the progressive movement. The important thing to carry in one's mind, however, is that the C. P. L. A. program, if it is to become a part of the policies of the American Labor Movement, must be made part of the "life force" of the progressives. It is significant as emphasizing the realism behind the C. P. L. A. program that when after a year of experience it came up for review at the meeting of the National Executive Committee it was unanimously declared to be just as vital today as it was twelve months

ago when it was first promulgated. Certainly such a sound approach to the problems of labor deserves all the backing that those who believe in it can give.

No protestant movement was ever able to get very far without the giving of themselves for it by those who embrace the cause. With all the membership always talking, thinking and doing C. P. L. A. wonders can be achieved. And wonders will be achieved when each individual progressive awakens to the possibilities within himself for work within the idea.

### The Beacon Light

Now that the stagnant years are of the past; now that the old ideas no longer can restrain the new from breaking through; now when everywhere dissatisfaction and disillusionment with what has been held up as of infinite permanency are rearing heads of revolt—the C. P. L. A. program is the beacon light pointing the direction to a new life as "the old order changeth." Hoover prosperity, rugged individualism, labor-capital solidarity, the social consciousness of capitalism are faltering feet of clay sunk hopelessly in the bogs of atavistic power lust. The tongue still speaketh softly but the fist of exploitation descends with shattering blows upon the happiness of the workers. They are beginning to understand. Unemployment, wage cuts, insecurity, injunctions, and denial of constitutional liberties are good teachers. Hasten the process by bearing the torch of progressive labor on high, all hands supporting it aloft, until the masses sense the warmth of this light and follow up to life that will be free.

You, member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, must find a place in this procession.

### THE YOUNG SPEAK

What with prohibition polls, short skirt polls, bible polls, companionate marriage polls and what have you, the American people are sufficiently afflicted by this craze for tabulating their preferences without adding to their misery by many more snooping investigators. Nevertheless, there is one poll, in our estimation the only real one of worth, the result of which we must proclaim to the world because it is so highly gratifying.

The Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, interested in the present mental outlook of its former students, circulated a questionnaire among them to determine what these enlightened workers read.

The result is printed in THE NEWS, "published occasionally," in its February number, and shows that there must be some real workers education being carried on in the Southern Summer School. For of all labor publications which the graduates read, LABOR AGE was the favorite.

"LABOR AGE, the most widely read," the item reports, "and listed by every student but one, was enthusiastically commended for its news of the Labor Movement, and as a follow-up of the actual work at the Summer School."

All old heads please copy. Youth may make mistakes but it has a healthy way of rectifying its errors. Youth is enthusiastic, earnest and sincere. The survey just completed among the students is our proudest claim to recognition. Youth is for LABOR AGE and with youth is the future.

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Additional information is trickling into the office about conditions in the steel industry. Through a number of sources that are first-hand the news is coming to light that all is not well in the land of ingots. Eight hours of the most gruelling labor, the workers toiling over white hot metal, net just

barely five dollars in wages. Discontent is rife everywhere with disgust as the dominant sentiment but very little intelligent thinking is in evidence. Union sentiment is at a very low ebb, most of the workers meeting a suggestion for organization with a shrug of their shoulders and a horse-laugh.

In a mill in upper New York where there is supposed to be a 100 per cent union only the highly paid rollers and a few of the others are paid up members. The majority of the workers are has-beens who dropped out of the union and refuse to pay dues. Many old-timers go so far as to threaten to quit their jobs if they are forced to remain in good standing with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

The mills throughout are operating from fifty to seventy-five per cent of capacity. In the Mahoning Valley there is great excitement over the proposed Bethlehem-Youngstown Sheet and Tube merger. The fight is between Eaton of the Republic and Charlie Schwab for control of the spoils. These mergers, in the opinion of C. P. L. A. representatives, especially when they are hard fought, have some value as a lot of facts and dirt are

unearthed which ordinarily fail to get out of the directors' offices.

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In Pittsburgh the local C. P. L. A. branch combined with the Socialists in arranging an unemployment demonstration at which James H. Maurer spoke. While there is a breadline of over 2,000 workless, the local authorities arrested university students for distributing handbills announcing the meeting. Though earlier the local newspapers were loud in their welcome of an unemployment demonstration under non-communist auspices, when the meeting was held they suppressed all statements about it.

The meeting forwarded resolutions to city council and county commissioners urging the letting of contracts for the \$31,000,000 worth of public works for which bonds have already been voted.

At the last local branch meeting of the Pittsburgh C. P. L. A. Miss Jessie Stephens was the principal speaker. Miss Stephens, a former member of Parliament, spoke on the conditions of the food workers in Great Britain, having been an organizer for that union. The meeting was staged especially to help the cooks, waiters and bakers to join forces.

## Nomination of Judge Parker Protested

THE Conference for Progressive Labor Action was among the first to protest against the nomination of Judge John H. Parker for the Supreme Court Bench. In a letter to Senator Borah and in telegrams to Senators Wagner and Copeland of New York, Chairman A. J. Muste pointed to the anti-labor record of this Southern jurist as making him unfit for a place on the highest tribunal of the land. The letters and telegrams follow:

Hon. William E. Borah,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Borah:—

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action heartily endorses the request of the American Federation of Labor that the Senate Judiciary Committee investigate the participation of Judge John H. Parker in a notorious decision upholding the "yellow-dog contract." Furthermore, since the record against Judge Parker in this matter seems clear and undisputed, we protest against his appointment to the Supreme Court and earnestly hope that the Senate Judiciary Committee will take its responsibility to the masses of wage earners in this country

seriously and refuse to endorse this appointment.

The decision on the yellow-dog contracts handed down by Judge Parker dates back to April, 1927, although the case first appeared in the latter part of 1921. Judge Parker and two other circuit judges upheld the Red Jacket Coal and Coke Company of West Virginia in its suit for an injunction restraining the United Mine Workers of America from interfering with its operation by sending organizers among its employes. In that decision Judge Parker said:

" . . . To make a speech or circulate arguments is one thing. To approach a company's employe, working under a contract not to join a union while remaining in the company's service, and to induce them, in violation of their contracts, to join a union and go on strike for the purpose of forcing the company to recognize the union or of impairing its power of production, is another and very different thing."

"Yellow-dog contracts" are in practically every case signed under coercion, open or implied. Since in our complex industrial system workers have no means to express their grievances and to seek redress save by organization, the man who signs a "yellow-dog contract"

naturally signs away important civil rights and accepts the involuntary servitude which is thus forced upon him. Judges who uphold on technical grounds the right of corporate wealth to impose such bondage upon workers show themselves utterly lacking in knowledge of modern conditions, are attempting to apply standards of the horse and buggy era to the era of the automobile and airplane, and are devoid of the social vision by which alone democracy can be preserved and the establishment of a dictatorship of finance prevented in this age.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) A. J. MUSTE.

The following telegrams were sent to Senators Wagner and Copeland:

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action, representing the progressive elements in the American labor movement, protests vigorously against the nomination of Judge John H. Parker to the Supreme Court of the United States. By his decision in the injunction case of the Red Jacket Coal and Coke Company of West Virginia against the United Mine Workers of America he has shown himself incapable of understanding the important issues arising in our modern civilization and justly to evaluate them.

(Signed) A. J. MUSTE, Chairman.

# In Other Lands

## GREAT BRITAIN

Politically speaking the biggest news from Britain is that the Labor Government is assured almost its full term in office. Instead of resigning in April or May and having a General Election in June or September MacDonal and his associates will be permitted to remain at the helm for all of this year and for part of next year. The Naval Conference demonstrated the ability of the Labor Party to govern in the traditional British way. Snowden's budget pleased most of the people and displeased only those whom it was intended to anger. The many compromises and backdowns by the administration were, it is now conceded, inevitable. The only alternative being a straight standup fight, a defeat on social legislation and an appeal to the country.

Maxton and many of the I. L. P. Socialists have stated their preference for the fighting instead of the Fabian way. I believe many besides the Socialists wanted a show down on the coal, the dole and unemployment questions. No one but the party managers and leaders remembered one most important factor—whether the Labor Party treasury can stand the strain of a General Election so soon—and had they done so there might have been less talk from the extremists ranks, less demands for nationalization of the coal mines and other public and natural utilities.

In the economic field the government is not as fortunate as it was in Parliament. This is in the main due to the greater and more powerful forces operating behind the industrial lines, and the almost impossible task of controlling or regulating them in this classic land of *laissez faire*.

The most ironical phase of the economic situation is the work of J. H. Thomas, minister for unemployed and Lord of the Privy Seal. It seems the more he improves industry and puts it on its feet the worse he makes it for the out of works.

The Naval Conference has ended with everyone but the Americans getting something out of it. American and British observers, who are more realistic than sentimental, like the London Herald special writer and our own Frank H. Simmonds, say that MacDonal should have scaled down and sunk some ships as Hughes did at the Washington Conference and parity would have been gained without adding to the building

program. They forgot that MacDonal would not be able to get Parliament to agree to any such proposal. As it stands now all great naval nations are permitted to build better and more efficient navies after they have junked their obsolete ships.

## DEFIES BRITAIN



WERNER

MAHATMA GANDHI

Civil disobedience is Indian pacifist leader's challenge to British rule.

## BRITISH EMPIRE

Australia has through Premier Scullin refused to enter a tariff league with MacDonal. So has Canada. Scullin hinted that British capitalists can build mills and factories in the Antipodes but have no tariff protection within the Empire. South Africa joined Australia and Canada in refusing to be a party to any French security pact. This caused MacDonal to change his plans in the Naval Conference and made Stimson withdraw his pact or rather Hoover's pact. This is a phase of international politics that has not been given proper attention. It means the end of the Empire as an aggressive organism. India is in turmoil and in the beginning of a revolution. As the movement for political liberty gains momentum Gandhi and his pacifists will be forced aside by the realists and the fighters and the struggle, unless speedily compromised, will be made desperate as the agitation extends into the remote villages and farm lands. It may mean the wrecking of the Labor Government in London.

## IRELAND

The cabinet crisis with President Cosgrove's resignation and re-election revealed that the Irish Labor Party is not going to be a tail to any republican or half-baked republican kite. It declared its independence and nominated and voted for its own candidate, O'Connell the teacher, and against both DeValera and Cosgrove. Since then the first mass meeting held by the party after it was reorganized was raided by Communists, constitutional and unconstitutional republicans and an effort was made to "capture" it. There was a hypocritical demand for the expulsion of Senator Tom Johnson because he was English. They forgot the fact that the Irish communists are in the main supported from England or Russia. They also forgot the fact that men of English birth or blood are in all parties in Ireland. Labor men the world over will rejoice that the Irish Socialists and Labor Party men resisted successfully this appeal to passion, bigotry and race prejudice. The party would no doubt get more votes if it pandered to the Communist-nationalist mob which tried to suppress free speech and the right to assemble. It is a healthy sign to begin activity with a fight.

## FRANCE AND GERMANY

With her pockets and banks bulging with money France goes on her serene way unworried by changes of ministry or international complications. With the largest army in Europe she feels secure on land. With the largest airfleet she feels secure on sea. She has no unemployment and her trade is booming. Her colonies a source of wealth are now subject to a Communist drive and her Eastern lands are in turmoil. Her governors are shooting and jailing agitators, rebels and communists and behaving no better than royal Holland and imperial Britain, her rivals in colonial expansion. In the Naval Conference Tardieu took what he could and prevented what he didn't like. He is demanding that Britain ratify the Young plan, something that France and Germany has done long ago.

## POLAND

Warsaw was busy for a month or more denying it meant war with the Soviet. This is a new role for Pilsudski to play but he is doing it manfully through his ministers of state. One said France and England are ready to fight Russia to the last drop of Polish blood.. Poland wants

(Continued on page 28)



## "Say It With Books"



### *A French Alice In Wonderland*

**Robots or Men, by H. Dubreuil, Harper & Brothers, New York. \$3.00.**

THIS book of 248 pages purports to be a French machinist's experience with American industry. The preface by H. S. Pearson, Managing Director of the Taylor Society, introduces M. Dubreuil, the author, as Secrétaire de La Confédération Générale du Travail (French Federation of Labor). This high position is analogous to that of President of the American Federation of Labor. My understanding is that Leon Jouhaux holds the office ascribed to Dubreuil and that the latter's position is that of an under-secretary of a department. The translation from the French was done for the Taylor Society and the book indicates that this organization was M. Dubreuil's agent during the fifteen months he was in this country, seemingly booking the machine shops for him to work in.

The experience of a French workman newly arrived in this country could furnish material for a very interesting book, so one starts the reading in anticipation of a good story, but disappointment is soon experienced because long before one-half of the book is read it develops into an enthusiastic eulogy of our industrial system, most especially the Taylor system of shop management.

The author's travels were so limited that he apparently did not get the slightest general insight into the machine shop practice. His descriptions drift into ridiculous exaggerations, such as the use of a four-foot broom in a shop, where if the conditions were as poorly managed as he describes, it is doubtful if a broom of any kind could be found. Later on he describes a shop he worked in where oil was used so freely that he was soaked through with the stuff. This condition could come about if a workman liked oil well enough, but I have never known it to exist.

Equally as picturesque are his positions of industrial democracy. He marvels at officials drinking from the same fountains with workmen. He de-

scribes the official as a manager with his sleeves rolled up. I have met scores of managers on official business but have never seen such "show of democracy" except in some very small shops where the manager was everything from stenographer to salesman. As another example he refers to a mere cashier, whom he calls "chief," and is amazed because this chief inquired about his future movements. We would not consider a time-keeper or cashier of any consequence. There was a time when the white collar workers looked down upon the mechanic but since trade unions have raised mechanics' wages above that of the pencil pusher, all this has changed. In sections of the country, however, where the influence of trade unionism is slight, there is still little recognition of the mechanic by the white collar workers.

As further evidence of the lack of any aristocracy the author points to the unskilled workers in the middle western automobile factories and the artificial silk workers near New York City who receive higher wages than the skilled mechanics in Providence, R. I., who make the finest precision tools in the world. Then he asks, "Where is Aristocracy?" He seems at a loss for an answer to this question, although he expresses opinions on most other subjects. Being a labor official it is difficult to understand why he cannot enlighten us on this. I can supply the answer, however. The disgracefully low wages in the Brown & Sharp factory in Providence, which is no doubt the shop he refers to, are due to the ability of this firm to crush organization whenever it gets started. The firm can do this because of its industrial and political influence.

M. Dubreuil justifies physical examination of the workers and found abuse of the system in isolated cases. His treatment of this subject shows clearly the effect of the propaganda of management on him for had he travelled unguided he would have learned the real facts about these examinations. He would have learned how they are being used in vari-

ous ways to eliminate all but the most nearly perfectly fit workers, those who can stand the strain longest and to eliminate undesirable agitators. Physical examinations have been used against workers for such purposes that strikes have been threatened and in many instances carried into effect to prevent their introduction.

The author's manner of handling the piece work system shows his limited knowledge of real facts. He would have us believe that the Taylor System came on the scene to establish a fair system for the payment of work. In non-union shops the workers have nothing to say in setting the prices. The management determines this after the fastest man available has set the pace. Usually if some ingenious mechanic invents a way of increasing production the unit price is cut.

Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to the praises of rationalization of industry but not a word devoted to the real effect it has had upon the workers. The facts are that the author became acquainted with the most notoriously non-union shops picked by the Taylor Society which were mechanically the best. These plants have profited immensely by their driving methods. But what about the workers? Their real wages have not increased during the last seven or eight years. M. Dubreuil fails to mention that the organized railroads and the building industries have raised wages of workers very materially in that time and these industries have no high pressure systems.

The author, not satisfied with describing the conditions in the shops wherein he was employed, extends his observations into the homes of the workers. He describes the over-stuffed furniture in the parlor—the piano, victrola, radio, electric appliances and the automobile, but he fails to divulge if all these comforts are owned by the worker alone or in partnership with a number of mortgagers. It is happily true that thousands of workers have comfortable homes but in most cases, if they are unmortgaged, they are bequests, and if paid

for, the owner is too old to enjoy them very long.

"Robots or Men" is a carefully guided and limited Cook's tour of American industry. It is the observations of a union man coming from a low wage country to a high one, who had the way paved for him by a management organization, who did not have to wrestle with months of unemployment, who was not discriminated against for his union membership, who had no periods of illness, either for himself or family, to overcome, who saw the best there was to be seen and left these shores enthusiastic and happy. It no more represents American conditions than do Hoover's optimistic reports on the state of the Nation. When seen in France, the author admitted that his study was an exaggeration, consciously perpetrated to get the French employers to move out of their conservative shells.

Unfortunately American employers will use "Robots or Men" for all it is worth as a genuine portrayal of American labor and industrial conditions. The author, as a good union man knowing how inaccurate his study was, should never have permitted it to be translated into English without a covering explanation. Having done so he has permitted his desire for fame, and mayhap for royalties, to overcome his concern for the workers.

J. F. ANDERSON.

### PSYCHOLOGIZING LABOR

Human Nature and Management. Ordway Tead. McGraw Hill Book Company, 312 pp., \$3.50.

THIS book is a text on the application of psychology to executive leadership. It will be worth while for all labor union executives to read it. First, because there are so few books tying up psychology with actual shop conditions and second because it is well for labor officials to become familiar with what is being advocated as the best practice for personnel managers. Mr. Tead's psychology is well grounded in John Dewey's teachings. Anyone wishing to get a survey of the modern psychological approach will be greatly aided by the first nine chapters of Mr. Tead's book. Some of the titles of this section are: Forming and Changing Habits; What Are The Defense Mechanisms?; and How To Encourage Reasoning.

With these preliminary chapters on psychology disposed of, Mr. Tead turns to his own contribution to the problem of Industrial Relations in the chapter on The Integration of Conflicts of Purposes. It is interesting here that he finds that

"there are perhaps a couple of dozen companies which seem to me to be set in a reasonably permanent way toward a combination of working procedures that are resulting in a true integration of the purposes of managers and manual workers." This two dozen is in sharp contrast to the many hundreds of so-called employee representation plans in existence. His tests for working procedures that are reasonably permanent contributions to true integration of the purposes of managers and manual workers include the following: a well rounded personnel department; provision for social insurance; a well organized plan of incentive payment; a carefully conceived plan of stock-ownership or profit-sharing; some formal chance for expression of opinion by workers in the board of directors; (only 6 of the 24 have met this test) and employee representation or collective bargaining with full negotiative power.

His method of handling the last provision reveals the chief weakness of the book. There is no consideration of the problem as to whether employee representation within one company is or can be as effective as collective bargaining with the whole industry. To illustrate this let us use one of his own incidents. The Dennison Company had to discharge all the workers in a department because competitors were able to produce the goods at a lower rate. Mr. Dennison abstained from lowering the rates in accordance with the policies of the better personnel management which is not to lower rates unless there is a change in process. Collective bargaining limited to Mr. Dennison and his own employees was unable to control the competitors, and the workers who were not in a union were unable to get uniform rates in the industry, so unemployment for these particular workers resulted. The lack of control over competitive industry, which is obvious in any company union, is nowhere discussed by Mr. Tead. Though he does mention the Amalgamated and the B. & O. plan, he does not even discuss how the manager shall deal with problems presented by trade unions.

The lack of treatment of such problems is in marked contrast, for instance, to the standard case book on personnel management published in the Harvard Business Series, in which some of the most important cases are concerned with problems presented to the manager by trade unions. The question may well be asked, however, whether the fault does not lie with the lack of vigor on the part of trade unions, for the Harvard text was issued in 1919, when the challenge of the union movement could not be ignored.

Perhaps blame attaches as much or more to the organized Labor Movement for the fact that in 1929 Mr. Tead can write a whole book on personnel management and give no hint that unions as such will ever raise special problems in dealing with workers.

However, one interested in a vigorous, progressive and growing Labor Movement in this country can find in this book much that is hopeful, if he can read between the lines.

Throughout the book Mr. Tead puts the greatest possible emphasis on the fact that where the company's personnel work is violating basic psychological needs of the workers, the company is bound to lose the workers' loyalty. The question for unionists is, then, "Will we be ready?" The challenge which this book offers to trade unionists is tremendous. First, who is to write the book on psychology for labor executives? Second, will labor leaders stand for as much frank criticism and suggestive leadership from an outsider? (Mr. Tead is, of course, not a business man, but an expert, in no way different from the "intellectual" in the Labor Movement.) Lastly, will labor unions adopt modern methods called for by our psychological understandings even as well as business has done?

RUTH GORDON.

### SUCCESSFUL MUNICIPAL OPERATION

Public Ownership On Trial. By Frederick L. Bird and Francis M. Ryan. New Republic, Inc., New York, N. Y. (paper) 75 cents.

IT is difficult for Americans to imagine themselves competent to run a peanut stand unless the darn thing is handed over to an individual for his profit and the public's woe. In this land of super-efficiency we are confronted with a social inferiority complex whenever we attempt to do collectively what we boast to be most competent of doing individually. Any information that will help break this thinking habit is good.

"Public Ownership On Trial" by Frederick L. Bird and Francis M. Ryan, therefore, is a most welcome contribution towards the cure of our social inferiority. The authors have gone into California to investigate the many municipal electric light and power stations and found the results more than satisfactory. After thoroughly analyzing twenty-five cities where such operations exist the authors conclude that: "It can be safely said, in view of the data that have been presented, that none of the cities owning their electrical distributing systems has any reason to regret the undertaking of such an enterprise. While they have profited

in varying degrees, they are all operating successfully. The purchase and distribution of electrical energy would seem to be, in view of the results, a function which cities are capable of performing."

While the smaller cities, not being able to use a power station at peak loads continuously, find it more effective to buy their power from private companies and run the distributing and servicing end of the business themselves, the large communities successfully operate the entire business, from generating the power to sending it over the wires to the ultimate consumer. Larger cities like Los Angeles, the volume shows, are extending their operations. "Existing plants are firmly established, with no apparent desire on the part of the consumers to change to private ownership. San Francisco is completing negotiations for the purchase of a distribution system for the power generated in its hydro-electric plants."

All this successful advance of municipal ownership, the reader learns, is made in the face of the most obstinate resistance by the privately owned power companies who use every means at their command, by spreading false propaganda, engendering fear and hostility, to prevent communities from acquiring their own electric plants and distribution systems. Another important factor municipal advocates have to overcome are the State laws. While the California laws are more liberal in that respect than most states, monkey wrenches are continually thrown into the machinery by the private interests to prevent or delay public acquisition of power and light services.

"Public Ownership On Trial," with its analytical charts, carefully prepared data and detailed descriptions of each municipal plant under review is an important contribution to the subject of public ownership. It is specific, factual and a concrete answer to those who play on the traditional susceptibilities of the American people.

ISRAEL MUFSON

### MASSES-MULCTING MERGERS

Millions in Mergers. By H. A. Toulmin. Forbes, \$3.50.

MR. TOULMIN wrote admiringly of mergers — vertical, horizontal and circular; of how they are formed and how they succeed in making millionaires. Since then, however, the crash in Wall Street has caused people to doubt the polyanna propaganda of split shares, over-capitalization of good will and patent rights, and the formation of investment trusts which pyramid control into the hands of a few promoters with in-

side knowledge. Still, that was only a temporary halt.

The workers come into the book twice — to purchase shares, and to receive a wage increase from U. S. Steel!

Mergers monotonous,  
More every morning—  
Monopoly-moulding,  
Mammoth, monstrous, malignant,  
Misery-making.  
Many millions in mergers,  
Mulcting the Masses.

Masses of the morrow,  
Masses of the mighty,  
Militant movement!  
Men (morons and morlocks no more)  
Mastering monopoly,  
Making machine and merger alike  
Menials to the Millions!

MARK STARR.

### IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from Page 25)

peace and means to have it regardless of promptings from London and Paris. The German tariff laws hit her hard and she is appealing to the League of Nations for redress but to no avail. Eastern and Central Europe are more or less plagued with tariffs. The Soviet foreign policy is less ostentatious than it used to be. It is stirring up revolution in China and trying to oust the men who sidetracked the revolution or betrayed it. The Soviet's economic policy in regard to the farmers was turned off or checked by Stalin. The farmers who have nothing to lose having sold their stock and horses are willing to be collectivized but the larger ones or Kulaks are resisting. Stalin's change of heart was a bitter recognition of grim necessity. He feared another famine and he did not like to see his leading agrarian Communists killed off by the Kulaks or their agents. He has been justly praised for seeing the need for a check on the agitators and drives of the communist cart and for not being afraid to say so. The socialization has to wait for a while but it will be resumed later on when conditions are more ripe than the present.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

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### "NO STRIKE"

(Continued from page 15)

they are confident that as things stand the attempt would fail. In the case even of the best of these men, their vision of the future does not include industry with strong unionism; their picture is that of the General Electric, the utility corporations, Ford, the steel trust—the new capitalism, rich and powerful and intelligent enough to give the workers many concessions and so keep them immune from unionism. Only a hopeless fool will believe that these men can be argued or coaxed into organizing their employees for the U. T. W. They are supreme realists who will deal with their organized employees when they have to, but who will never deliberately, or in a fit of absent-mindedness, buy a headache for themselves by becoming union organizers or patrons.

Progressives have contended from the beginning that the Southern textile industry can be organized only if there is a well-planned, large-scale campaign; if the movement will go down into its pockets for the campaign; if strikes are waged or threatened over a sufficiently wide front to make employers realize that they must reckon with the union and so make the state hesitate to spend thousands of dollars for soldiers to break up strikes; if the soul of the Southern workers is roused to another battle for freedom, self-respect and justice. It may be that even so the odds would be too great. But it would mean something to all concerned to lose in such an effort, while anything else is child's play, would be comic if it were not such a tragic mockery of the Southern workers and of all those elements in the South who would like to see a genuine democracy developed there.

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# WHAT OUR READERS THINK

## THE MARCH OF FARM MACHINERY

Dear Editor:

After a little survey of conditions in the middle-west I find the unemployment problem just as critical on the farm as it is in most of the industrial centers of the East. Many of the young men are leaving the farm and migrating to the cities seeking a more remunerative position with steady employment. This influx of men and women from the farm to the cities where there is already an unemployment problem causes a great deal of suffering among the workers.

As one illustration of why man power on the farm is becoming more and more needless I will call your attention to one machine, the wheat combine. This machine was intended solely for the harvesting of wheat; cutting, thrashing and scattering the straw in one operation from 25 to 30 acres per day with only three men. Formerly with the small binder three men did well to cut and shuck ten to twelve acres per day. In addition to this it required five and six men with two teams to stack the grain or a crew of 17 men with eight teams to thrash the grain. This method of handling the grain necessitated a great deal of time and expense. Now the job is done in one operation with the combine and only three men.

However, the point I want to illustrate is the fact that the combine is now being put to a new and far different use, that of shucking corn. Fred Armstrong, of Goodland, Kansas, is the farmer who has successfully harvested his corn crop with the combine. "The combine cuts, shells and separates the corn, shreds the stalks, husks the cobs and scatters them over the field, all in one operation. About twenty acres of corn are gathered in one day—cutting six rows at one time—and making thirty bushels to the acre." This whole operation is completed by three men, one to run the tractor, one to look after the combine and one man to haul away the grain. It requires ten men and ten teams to shuck as much as the combine does in one day. Therefore, the farmer is saving about eight days of his time and causing unemployment for seven men. The other three of the ten are required to operate the combine. This makes it necessary for some of the boys of the farm to migrate to the city.

Now the poor industrial wage workers who are contemplating taking Greeley's advice and "go West" or are interested in the back to the farm movement had better investigate before they leap. If they do not investigate before they go

West they might find themselves in my predicament, in the middle west—broke, no job and a slim chance of getting one.

There are thousands of men and women in the same predicament, and many of them hungry and cold. It is time for the workers to organize and agitate for a better system of employment and a higher standard of living. This can be done by a decrease of working hours, the five day week and higher pay. This program will absorb some of the unemployed and will not interfere with the march of the machine.

L. CRAIG, Oklahoma City, Okla.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE 'EQUITISTS'

Dear Editor:

I read the editorial "How Not to Disarm" and Harry Elmer Barnes' article on "Disarmament!" The economic causes for war which he sights are all due to the fact that, through ignorance, humanity (of all classes) takes for granted that prices should be fixed on some other basis than that of the duration of the human work involved. It does that without realizing that the only way to enable all sane adults to have at one and the same time as much freedom as possible, is to have EQUAL FREEDOM; and that the very essence of economic inequality of freedom is one person having to work longer for another than the other works in return; and that where supply and demand—for instance—determine prices, a price is put on what is NOT human work and so some must devote a greater duration from their lives to the benefit of other persons than they can get others to devote from their lives to the benefit of themselves.

If natural resources were without price there would not be the trouble there is now over what nation or private group held title to them—for then the title would be but possessive and to hold would require utilization of the resources so that those wanting products from them could have such—at the adult human work cost.

Certainly, psychology has a great deal to do with the matter, and if the labor press could but learn to get the workers to catch the equal freedom view of things—which involves seeing that one is not truly paid for working an hour for another until worked for an hour in return—it would help much toward producing the peace psychology necessary to the actual abolition of war—including interclass wars. Equal freedom, by its very nature, must be brought

about by peaceful education, hence the spreading of an understanding of how to get it (which is what equitists are trying to do) will to just the extent it reaches the people's minds and wins them, reduce the chances of wars both external and internal—and incidentally increase the readiness of nations to adopt such measures as Senate Joint Resolution 45 for removing all sanction of war from the U. S. Federal Constitution.—Vaughn B. Brokaw, Phoenix, Ariz.

## THE UNION "RACKET"

Dear Editor:

After going through the trials and tribulations of a business agent the change to a work bench is quite enjoyable. I now have a chance to talk things over with my fellow workers, man to man, and get a lot of information.

I am working in a 100 per cent union shop, five per cent union and ninety-five per cent "cardmen." There is no agreement and barely recognition of the union. The conditions under which we work are nothing to brag about.

The majority of the men look upon the union as a "racket" to which they have to contribute to hold their jobs. The extent of their loyalty begins and ends with holding a "card." "Job fear" keeps the union nice and quiet with the workers no better off than in a scab joint.

D. J., Plainfield, N. J.

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## LABOR AGE

Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

25c Per Copy                      \$2.50 A Year

Published Monthly at  
 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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