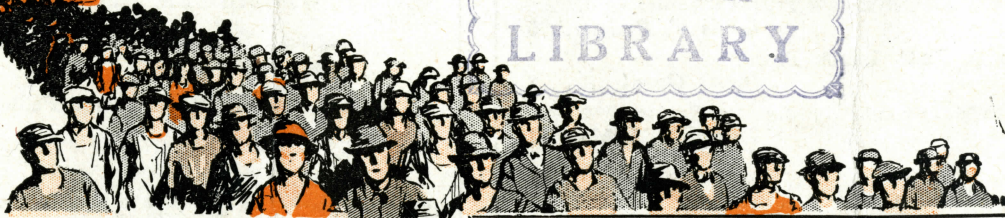


OCTOBER, 1922

Labor Age

PURDUE
UNIVERSITY
OCT 23 1922
LIBRARY

20¢
a Copy



Kill the
"Open
Shop"
Injunction

The
Great
Stupidity



Can
Labor
Capture
the
Government?

*"Our" Statesmen
Put This Up to Us*

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

CONTENTS:

	Page
CAN LABOR CAPTURE THE GOVERNMENT? <i>James H. Maurer</i>	1
WHAT MAIN STREET LABOR THINKS ABOUT IT <i>Louis F. Budenz.</i>	5
WANTED: A REAL LABOR PARTY <i>James Oneal.....</i>	8
LABOR MOVES TOWARD CONTROL IN EUROPE <i>Harry W. Laidler</i>	11
SUMMED UP	14
KILL THE "OPEN SHOP" INJUNCTION <i>Labor Press.....</i>	15
THE GREAT STUPIDITY..... <i>Benjamin Stolberg</i>	18
PUTTING UP A FIGHT..... <i>Prince Hopkins...</i>	22
LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING.....	23
BOOK NOTES	27

Contributors to This Issue

- HARRY W. LAIDLER. Secretary, League for Industrial Democracy.
- JAMES H. MAURER. President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.
- JAMES ONEAL. Associate Editor, New York Call.
- BENJAMIN STOLBERG of University of Chicago, who has made a careful study of the railroad strike.

REMEMBER JOHN BROWN!

JIM MAURER in this issue asks an interesting question, *Can Labor Capture the Government?* He gives us some interesting facts about the present regime. But best of all, he gives us hope for the future. He tells us to remember that the anti-slavery forces swept into power only a few short months after John Brown was shot for "treason" against the slave-holders' government.

At the present moment, when the coal operators' and railroad owners' government is trying to establish a new slavery through troops and the injunction, Labor might do well to remember old John Brown and his faith in the destruction of negro slavery, even at the hour of death.

There are many signs that the tide is turning for labor. The miners were able to beat both employers and government, and make them both ridiculous. The shopmen have destroyed the Railroad Labor Board. The textile workers have given their bosses an unpleasant surprise. The workers too, are fast learning new methods of organization from these struggles. **It is not too much to expect a government at a not far distant day, eating out of Labor's hand.**

That day can scarcely come, however, until Labor realizes the goal it is driving at—the **destruction of private ownership of production**, as John Brown stood for the destruction of private ownership of negro slaves.

Labor Publication Society, Inc.

President:
JAMES H. MAURER

Vice-President:
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Treasurer:
ABRAHAM BAROFF

Secretary:
J. M. BUDISH

Executive Secretary and Manager:
LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Contributing Editors:
MORRIS HILLQUIT
FREDERIC C. HOWE
W. JETT LAUCK
BASIL MANLY
FRANK P. WALSH

Board of Editors:
ROGER N. BALDWIN
STUART CHASE
MAX D. DANISH
H. W. LAIDLER
PRINCE HOPKINS
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
NORMAN THOMAS

TOSCAN BENNETT
ANITA C. BLOCK
FANNIA M. COHN
EVANS CLARK
H. W. L. DANA
HERMAN DEFREM

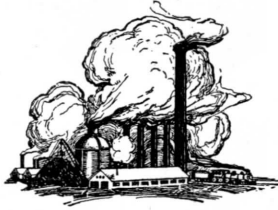
Board of Directors:
ARTHUR GLEASON
PRINCE HOPKINS
WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON
HARRY KELLY
S. J. LIEBERMAN
A. J. MUSTE
ABRAHAM TUVIM
ANDREW WENNEIS
LEO WOLMAN

Advisory Editorial Board:

CHARLES ERVIN
SCOTT NEARING
PAULINE NEWMAN
ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
UPTON SINCLAIR
H. G. TEIGAN

LAURENCE TODD
ALEX. TRACHTENBERG
B. CHARNEY VLADECK
JAMES P. WARBASSE
SAVEL ZIMAND

Labor Age



Can Labor Capture the Government?

"Our" Reigning "Statesmen" Put This Question Directly Up to Us

By JAMES H. MAURER



P. and A. Photos

Made by I. P. E. U., 624

Pennsylvania militia futilely attempting to break mine strike, at President's request. Raising the Question: Whose Government is this anyway?

"STUPIDITY, thy name is Government." This is a good text for a discussion of present-day Washington, Albany, Harrisburg, or any other Government of these United States. There is something about official power that turns a man's grey matter into bone. Our "normalcy" friend, Warren—elected by the largest of majorities—is a past master at stupid moves.

Picture what happened at the White House a few short weeks ago. Came Mr. Harding's advisers to him and said: "Mr. President, there is no coal." "No Coal!" he cried, in childish surprise. "But why?" "Because, Mr. Presi-

dent," they answered, "there is a strike." "Ah! a strike. We will have to settle this strike."

So he called to Washington the coal barons and the workers, and shook hands with them. Then, he presented to them his settlement terms—the exact terms the coal barons themselves had offered. "But," said the workers, "these are the things we could have had long ago from the employers." "Ah!" answered Warren, "but it is now I, your gracious leader, who offers them to you." The workers said: "Goodbye" and went home.

Then he became "terribly firm," as weak men will. "Go home," he said to the operators, "and

LABOR AGE

open your mines. Unfurl the flag on the tipples, and we will help you and your loyal employees." So the flag was unfurled—but the miners folded their arms and refused to work. In the Monongahela Valley, when the flag was raised over the mine, the boys—many of them ex-service men—marched to the mine in military formation, saluted Old Glory—and marched back home again!

The coal remaining in the ground, the President and Governors sent the troops into the coal fields. The miners, smiling at the soldier boys, did nothing. Then Warren, getting very busy, appointed the famous Mr. Hoover of 50-50 fame, to distribute the coal—which was not dug. It reminds one of Hans Anderson's Emperor of China, who was persuaded by cunning "tailors" that he had royal clothes on, when the fact was that he had on none at all.

The President called in the railroad executives and shopmen also. He shook hands with them, and offered them settlement terms. The railroad executives could not see the terms at all. Did the President put the flag in the hands of the shopmen, and send troops onto the railroads to seize them, for the workers to run? Oh no! He couldn't do that. He merely suggested new terms—the executives' terms. The Shopmen rejected these: They had been striking against them for weeks. Result: Warren handed them another pill—the Daugherty injunction.

Whose Government?

No one can doubt, from these events, whose Government sits in Washington. **It is not the workers' Government.** It uses injunctions and guns against the workers, talking largely about "the right of men to work." But it did not talk about this right last winter, when millions were out of employment. It did not use guns and injunctions against the employers, to compel them to put men to work. It takes the side of the employing class, calling strikebreakers "Loyalists." **Loyalists!**—for men who stab their fellows in the back. In the last war such men were called traitors. Warren and his Cabinet can only think in terms of the employers. It is the way they have been thinking all their lives.

As to Congress, the 1922 report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. thus speaks of its works:

"More than 400 bills have been introduced in the 67th Congress which directly or indirectly affect Labor. Ninety per cent of them are inimical to the interests of

Labor and the people. * * * The result has been that 99 per cent of the work done by Labor in Congress has been to defeat pernicious legislation. There is little sentiment in favor of beneficial legislation. This is so apparent that the statement is often made that if the U. S. Capitol could be transported to the England of the fifteenth century half the members would be 'to the manner born'."

"Our" statesmen thus raise an interesting question for us. If "our" Government is in the hands of our enemies, can labor capture it for itself?

Of course, there is one way to get liberty of speech, no matter whose may be the Government: to take it. The only man who gains freedom is he who asserts his rights. If the Daugherty injunction, for example, means that we cannot collect money for the families of the striking shopmen; if it means that we cannot send money to them; if it means that we cannot urge them to stand solidly together, to win the strike, then I have been and am violating this injunction—and will continue to do so. That is the way to make the unjust injunction ineffective.

But Labor has another weapon to use against strikebreaking Governments—the ballot. As Dr. Frank T. Carleton says in his book on the labor movement, "Every hard blow delivered against Unionism by organized capital helps to turn the eyes of workingmen toward the political field." The experiences of the last few years, in particular, ought to jolt Labor into using this weapon. It can expect nothing but the treatment it has been receiving, so long as it neglects to use it intelligently. I say "intelligently," because we have been fooled and misled so often in the past into using it for politicians who betrayed us. The workers, after all, are so busy making their living that they have little time to watch politicians and governments. The interests, on the other hand, make it their business to be on the job 365 days of the year, seeing that the men they elect do as the interests want them to do. Labor, frequently, votes for men and forgets to watch them after election day. These men, frequently, under pressure of the interests, forget Labor and betray it. The trade unionist is almost as liable to fall into that peculiar spirit which political power gives as anyone else.

False Cries—"The Dear People"

Following false cries, the workers have been led into the political shambles time after time. "The full dinner pail"—is one of these—used to

FROM OUT OF THE MINES

What

John Brophy
Says

Of a Labor Party

and
Nationalization

“EXPERIENCE is a good teacher,” writes John Brophy, President, District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, in answer to our question: **“Why are the miners thinking politically?”**

The last national convention of the Miners declared for a new political party, combining the forces of organized labor and the organized farmers. We asked the question of Brother Brophy, because the Pennsylvania miners have been the forerunners of this movement.

“Time after time Labor has gone to the Pennsylvania State Legislature,” he says, “to secure necessary social legislation—and has been disappointed. Of late, we have received even less attention—and that applies, also, to Congress. As Secretary Quinn of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor says: ‘The claims of Labor for legislation to its advantage were treated with scant courtesy. This is due to several causes. One cause is that Labor has been, and still is, very much disunited politically, and our opponents easily succeed in getting the majority in the Senate and the House. Another is that they who seek the legislative honors, frequently do so as mere stepping stones to political distinction and promotion to other political offices. The friendship of the machine politicians is, therefore, very necessary to them.’

“The result is: we are convinced of the need for a Labor Party, to which other progressive elements will be attracted.

“But there is another reason for this view. The Miners, also, have declared for nationalization of the mines. We say to the ‘public’: ‘We want you to own the mines. We want them to be run for service, not profits.’ To secure nationalization we need political action. The two go hand in hand. The two old parties can scarcely be trusted with our program. They have shown no signs of being interested in it. Our own party, under our control, should make nationalization a certainty.”

sweep into power a group of men intent on crushing the common people. When the employers’ servants thus gain power, it is by similar false cries that they keep it, dividing one group of workers from the other. The most popular of these, in the time of strike, is the “interest of the dear public.” That is a favorite term of Mr. Harding, who never tires of telling us that the “public must be protected.” Other public officials, from governors up and down, sing the same song. The only time these champions of “public interest” are heard from is when the issue concerns wages of the wealth producers. They seem to be deaf, dumb and blind to the real evils and crimes from which the “public” suffers. They don’t seem to know that the labor cost of digging and placing a gross ton (2,240 pounds) of anthracite coal on the cars, ready for shipment, is only \$2.99, (accord-

ing to statistics compiled by the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry). This same coal is sold, retail, at an average price of \$14 for a net ton of 2,000 pounds. They don’t seem to know about the coal royalties collected—running, in some cases, as high as \$2.00 a ton—or that the railroads charge 100 per cent more to carry anthracite than to carry bituminous coal, or the several profits extracted by the so-called sales companies. They are as blind as a bat to the \$11 which the public is held up for by a raft of useless parasites—but see only the \$2.99 which goes to the men who do the useful work. And, they try to make the other workers, not in the coal industry—calling them “dear public”—be blind and see as they do. I quote this because it is a timely example. The “full dinner pail” and other political cries are as fatal and false.

LABOR AGE

These are the disadvantages which Labor faces in trying to capture the Government. It has little assurance that it will not be led off into a by-path by the clever politician and held up and robbed. It has seen a number of its own representatives sweep into office, and turn against it when a crisis came. There are only two ways that I know of to avoid this sort of betrayal. The first: The workers can depend best on that man who has **a clear view of the class struggle**. Of course, any man, no matter what his philosophy, may slip and desert us. That happens also, time after time, in industrial organization. But the man who sees clearly that Labor is engaged in a war, the end of which must come in the complete victory of Labor, and the taking over of the means of production, is stirred by an entirely different viewpoint from the one who thinks only of the labor movement as a question of hours and wages. The latter lives only in a Capitalist world. He cannot think of a Worker's world. He can only think of the interests of Capital and Labor being a common one. Certainly, no one can be surprised if he adopts the Capitalist viewpoint and goes over, gradually or rapidly, to the Capitalist camp. The inspiration of an ideal, which stirs the class conscious worker, cannot stir him; it is purely a matter of getting what one can—in a world of getting.

Good Rules to Follow

Another good rule for trade unions to follow in their political campaigns is to insist that their candidates receive **campaign funds only from the unions themselves**. Then this old story will not be repeated so often: Time after time I have seen a labor representative fall when most needed. "Why," he will say, "I have helped you fellows right along on all these measures up to date, haven't I? You say this is the big thing, but they all are big things. I've got to think a little of my people back home who are not union men, and the party that financed my campaign. Don't I carry a card? This is just the trouble with Labor—it wants a fellow to be whole hog or none. That's why it don't get anywhere." If the unions furnish his finances, he won't have to talk about the "other people back home." **He will be subject to union discipline**. He will vote on labor matters 100 per cent as a labor man should; because his self-interest will tell him that it is upon Labor that he must depend to continue in public life.

There are signs that the workers are prepar-

ing to meet the challenge which the present Government has given them. There is talk of impeaching Daugherty. There is a program launched to curb the Supreme Court. There are plans set on foot to secure representatives in Congress who will support these ideas. The American Federation of Labor has announced that it will carry on a campaign all over the country, along these lines. It will be the usual non-partisan campaign, carried on with the idea of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." It has been given encouragement by the victory of LaFollette and others of the LaFollette type. Socialists, Progressives and Farmer-Labor Parties have already combined their forces, in several States. Even the Communists have put up a ticket for election and, very sensibly, dropped their "blood-and-thunder" program. The Conference for Progressive Political Action will meet in Chicago, next December, to outline its own National campaign. Which of these will bring victory for Labor?

Remember John Brown!

The American worker has had, for generations, a tradition of freedom and liberty—if not always the reality. He can be stirred to see his own interest and that the Constitution and Declaration of Independence are his documents and not meaningless words. They hold out a promise that he can come into possession of the Government—and make it his. **He is the "people." He is the majority**. Let him see that he must **always** think in terms of his class, not merely in times of industrial crises, but on election day and every other day. Let him see that, by thinking in these terms, he can avoid being betrayed by false slogans. When that is accomplished among the masses of workers—and it can be done—then will they come into control of their own Government. If the way to that goal seems far away sometimes, we can remember that changes come quickly and unexpectedly and that there is a surge of revolt, right now, among the disillusioned workers. John Brown was shot for "treason" by a slaveholders' government, at Charles Town, W. Va., only a few months before Lincoln was elected President and the doom of slavery sealed. Who knows, but that the conviction of the first of the West Virginia miners for "treason" by a coal-operators' Government, in the same town—which happened a few days ago—may, likewise, herald the permanent destruction of this latter government by the American workers?

What Main Street Labor Thinks About it

Wherein We Get a Glimpse at the A. F. of L. Policy—And Other Things

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THIS article aims to give a composite picture of the anti-Labor Party point of view, gained as a result of talks with a number of rank-and-file members of Mid-western unions this summer. The use of the first person is, therefore, figurative. It is a view that must be taken into consideration, by those advocating an independent Labor Party or socialization by any other means.

WE MAIN STREETERS just can't help it. We have to think in our own way. We have to speak in our own language. That is why the shaggy-haired and high-browed intellectuals and "theoreticians" of New York City get sore at us. They don't understand us any more than we understand them. We need interpreters to speak to each other. It is a pity there are not more interpreters.

When I, a railroad machinist, in the Beech Grove shops at Indianapolis, go out on strike, I am not thinking in terms of New York "revolutionists". I don't know anything about "surplus value" or "the solidarity of the proletariat". But I do know that my brothers and I have been given a raw deal. I also know that it would be "**the**" thing if the Railroad Brotherhoods and the waymen would go out with us and make it a complete, smashing victory. I know it would be great if they would tie up every yard as they tied up Joliet. You can talk to me about the need for closer industrial organization—but I will scarcely swallow it to the tune of the Red International.

My brother, the West Virginia miner, does not understand the "dictatorship of the proletariat". He cannot discuss all the fine points of how to bring about a revolution. But he can act. **He can rise up en masse against oppression**—in the name of the American Constitution and with the vision of John Brown before him—to frighten the wits out of a chicken-hearted Governor. He can, with folded arms, defy a tyrannical government—and defeat it.

Why Don't Labor Control?

When you come to us with the question: "Can Labor Capture the Government?" you are at least asking us something that we can understand. We believe that Labor should control the Government. The Declaration of Inde-

pendence and the Constitution stand for rule by the people—and Labor (in the cities or on the land) is the people. **We can't make out why we don't rule.** There are more of us than there are bankers, railroad officials, or employers in general. But **we always get left somehow.** We thought we had come into our own with Woodrow Wilson. For a time he did his job well. But he "kept us out of war" by getting into war, gave us Mr. Palmer and his injunction against the miners, and tried to mix us up in this European League of Nations. **If there is anything we won't stand for, it is something labelled "European."** That applies equally to the League of Nations and to Socialist Philosophy, at least expressed in European terms.

So, we got rid of Professor Wilson, and got a real Main Streeter, Mr. Harding, in his place. It is a case of worse and more of it—and we are about ready to get rid of him. We now pin our faith to "Fighting Bob" LaFollette, who has stood by us through thick and thin, and won't have anything to do with Europe either!

The Curse of Europeanism

But why, you ask, don't you form a Labor Party of your own? We have been thinking of that, too. The two old parties have betrayed us often enough. But the trouble is this: **in the past such ideas have come to us loaded down with Europeanisms.** The Socialist Party, which was the first to call this need to our attention, was made up largely of Germans and spoke the German Marxian language. I did not understand German at all—and understood Marx less. It was American liberty and American institutions and American movements that I was interested in. The Socialists have been talking of these things of late—perhaps too late. From out of their ranks have come the Communists, who can think only about Russia. Every time



P. and A. Photos

Made by I. P. E. U., 624

"WE DON'T GIVE A DAMN"

The attitude of these striking miners of the Lackawanna Steel Company towards the troops gives a good picture of how the miners in general ignored the Government—and won.

they want to tell us how to carry on our fight, they must first find out how Lenin did it. Whenever he changes his ideas, they change theirs. Now, I have nothing against Mr. Lenin, and am glad to see the Russian workers getting on. But I am a "free American citizen"—and I have been taught for several generations to keep away from foreign entanglements and foreign ideas. What do George Washington and William Randolph Hearst say about that? You may not like this situation, but nevertheless it is a **FACT**. It is the way that I and my Main Street brothers think—and we are the American Labor Movement.

That is why we follow Samuel Gompers in his non-partisan campaign policy. He understands us and our ways of thinking. He won't entangle us with any foreign labor alliances. He doesn't debate the Second, Second and a Half, and Third Internationals with us. He talks about our present struggle, here in the United States. He talks in pompous terms—reminding us of the inscriptions on our public libraries, much in the same style as President Harding tries to talk. We like that sort of talk—no fine splitting of hairs but sweeping statements; that, or things that come home to us and touch upon our daily lives, our homes, and our children.

An American Policy

The American Federation of Labor policy is strictly American. It is somewhat the same as

the Non-Partisan League idea of the Farmers of the northwest. It is being followed by the newly formed Conference for Progressive Political Action, and by the Railroad Brotherhoods. It is the policy that has been adopted successfully by the Woman Suffrage movement and the Prohibition forces. These movements have found that this is the best way to make headway here—recognizing the two-party system, but refusing to become a tail to either party's kite. The A. F. of L. keeps down to immediate issues—some folks think them so immediate that they are no issues at all. But at any rate, they do talk about **our** situation, **our** hours and wages—and not somebody else's. They say to the two great parties: "We won't be mixed up with either one of you. But we will punish, with the power of our votes, whichever one of you turns against us; and we will support whichever one of you supports us." That policy at least looks facts in the face. For, in some places the Republican candidates are pro-Labor (the Republicans particularly of the West) and in other places the Democrats stand for the workers. What folly to throw our votes to an Independent Labor ticket, when we can gain the same aim—and really get it—by supporting the candidate of the two leading parties who stands with us, and who has the chance to be elected!

President Gompers puts this idea well when, in his address of January 4, 1919, he says:

"The fact is that an independent political labor party becomes either radical, so called, or else reactionary, but it is primarily devoted to one thing, and that is vote getting. **Every sail is trimmed to the getting of votes.** The questions of the conditions of labor, the question of the standards of labor, the question of the struggles and the sacrifices of labor to bring light into the lives and the work of the toilers—all that is subordinated to the one consideration of votes for the party."

Does Politics Help Labor?

In proof of this, he points out that the labor political parties of Europe have hindered rather than helped the trade union movement. For example: "The Socialist Political Party of Germany denied the demand made by the trade unions to work to secure from the Government a law guaranteeing the workers the right to organize as a free association of workers. The Socialist Political Party of Germany, which is the only political party claiming to be the workmen's party, denied the union-labor movement of Germany the right to take political action in order to secure the lawful right for its existence." More recently, the Social-Democratic Government of Germany helped to break the railroad strike. In every European country labor has seen its parties win only to breed reactionaries. Who were Messrs. Clemenceau, Millerand, Viviani, Briand? Political leaders of French labor, swept into power by their impassioned appeals to the workers. What are they now? The blackest of reactionaries. **How is the French Labor Movement? It is torn to pieces by the dissensions of the various political labor factions.** The General Confederation of Labor, never extensive, has been further weakened by the schism of the "left wing".

William English Walling, since the war, has been pretty close to President Gompers. In the New York Evening Post, of September 8, he explains that the sweeping victory of LaFollette shows how far this A. F. of L. policy, in alliance with the railroad unions and the farmers, has borne fruit. He says:

"Not in one or two, but in no less than a dozen states where this combination has been winning in the primaries, the program is the same. The first plank, the repeal of the Cummins-Esch Railroad Law, which means the abolition of the Railway Labor Board, and of the dividend guarantee, appeals both to farmers and to Labor.

"The plank calling for reorganization of the Federal Reserve Board is addressed primarily to the farmers, but democratic control of credit has been advocated by Labor for years.

"The taxation planks, a profits tax, and increased income sur-taxes and inheritance taxes are also addressed primarily to the farmer.

"Finally, the demand for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes serves to balance and round out the program.

"Evidently, this is far from state socialism. It is hardly radicalism, though if it is 'progressivism' then it is a decidedly more militant and radical brand than the progressivism of 1908 or 1912."

Of the A. F. of L. plan itself, he writes:

"Organized labor, acting on a deliberate plan formulated several years ago, and reendorsed at its last convention, is working on the same plan through **both political parties.** Until this method was adopted, organized labor, unable either to capture one of the old parties or to succeed with a new one, was almost necessarily anti-political or at least, non-political. With the new plan working effectively, the labor movement in this country is already giving fully as much attention to politics as to strikes."

This gives a pretty good idea of the way that the mass of American labor looks at this thing. **They are more likely to take a non-political, or syndicalistic, view, than to link up with a separate Labor Party.** The American Federationist warns them to remember that their Labor organization comes first. President Gompers chiefly appeals to them on this ground also. They are constantly told to beware of politicians.

Government Not Worth Capturing

Many workers don't think the Government is worth capturing. If they could organize strong enough industrially, they can frighten the Government, or make it look ridiculous. That's what our brother miners did in the coal strike. They won, in spite of the Government, because they were strongly organized. They did it, and kept clear of politicians. The greatest victory won by American Labor—the Adamson eight-hour law decision—was not won by playing politics. The Supreme Court was afraid of the Railroad unions. Do you remember how the Court fell over itself to hurry its decision before those unions would strike?

There are some signs of change, we will admit. The typographical union and the miners have come out for an Independent Labor Party. But this action is still very secondary to their union organization. Can these new movements approach the worker on his own ground? Can we be sure that this method will get us anywhere? Can it be proved that it is the best way to get the idea of service established in industry? If they can show these things to us they will be given a hearing, and will win out in the long run. Up to the present, they haven't given such proofs. That's what Main Street Labor thinks about it.

Wanted: A Real Labor Party

"Friends" that Have Other Friends Don't Stay Our Friends Long

By JAMES ONEAL

“WHAT can the workers expect but injunctions and bayonets until they have a party of their own? How can they make progress against the profit system by trusting to capitalist parties? How can they nationalize public utilities, eliminate unemployment, and secure control of industry?” This is the argument of an increasing number of groups within the labor movement.

If Labor finds it must have its own banks, cooperative enterprises, education and press, they ask, how much more so should it have its own political weapon—particularly since it has the votes. Here are given the reasons why American Labor must follow its British brothers in forming a federated Labor Party.

FOR the first time since 1893 there is wide discussion in the trade unions regarding their relation to politics and independent political action. There is an indefinite feeling that the unions have not taken full advantage of the suffrage of the members to protect them against the assaults of the employers.

For the first time in their history most of the railroad brotherhoods are active in politics. They have hitherto remained free of any political activity. **They would not even join A. F. of L.** in its policy of endorsing friendly candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

That the brotherhoods have given time to the nonpartisan political policy in politics is at least a break with the old policy of no action at all. To advance from the policy of no action at all to active support of the nonpartisan policy is what has happened in every English-speaking country,—in England, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. It is the first step that is logically taken by the organized workers under the pressure of a grave situation. To expect the brotherhoods to move into the field immediately in alliance with other forces, and form an independent party of the workers, would be to expect too much.

On the other hand, the A. F. of L. has followed the nonpartisan policy since 1906. While some of the national unions affiliated with it favor an independent labor party, the majority of such unions still follow the nonpartisan policy. The brotherhoods have made an advance but these unions have not.

The results are written in the complaints of the president of the A. F. of L. for 16 years, since the policy has been followed. Every two years during Congressional and Presidential elections he has reported a “Bill of Grievances”

against the administration. Each has been a bill of particulars showing that the organized workers have had no influence at Washington to speak of. The same is largely true of the states.

In every country where the workers have any influence or power in their respective parliaments certain outstanding figures have appeared in the parliament as evidence of this power. In England we have had Hardie, in Germany Bebel, in Austria Adler, and so on through the list. Who can point out in Washington in the past 16 years any prominent figure, distinctly representative of the political policy of the A. F. of L.? In the countries where these figures have appeared they have acted through an independent party of the workers.

The Strange Case of Bro. Garland

An instance in point will illustrate this. Back in the early nineties M. M. Garland was President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. He later became a member of Congress and was reelected many times from a Pittsburg district. Garland died a year or two ago. He was considered one of the “union card” members of Congress. I happen to have been an iron and steel worker and knew of Garland as a former president of his union. Yet, so inconspicuous was Garland as a member of Congress that I was not aware that he was a Congressman until I read a news dispatch announcing his death! Garland, with his union affiliations, was simply a regular Republican in Congress. He was inconspicuous and of no more value to the workers than any of the active reactionary members of his party in Congress. **As the president of the union he was useful. As a Republican member of Congress he was of no value whatever to the organized workers of the country.**

What may be said of Garland may be said of other men who have been elected upon the basis of the nonpartisan policy. There are good reasons why organized labor can never hope to achieve much by this method. Consider the Garland case again. Had he made a forceful and loyal fight in Congress for the workers—and it is precisely this that we want, for there is no use in sending a man to Congress unless we get it—what would have happened? He certainly would have been defeated for re-nomination by his own party. The same thing would have happened had he been a Democrat. Had he won in a primary contest with the issue clearly drawn he would have been defeated in the election. His party managers would see to that.

There are certain big disadvantages that weigh against electing "friends" on the tickets of the Republican and Democratic parties. In the first place, the candidate owes a dual allegiance, if successful. Most of those who sincerely support the nonpartisan policy concede that the **two major parties are dominated by the enemies of labor**. It is this belief that induces these trade unionists to engage in the nonpartisan political policy. They recognize that nominations left to the party brokers are nominations against the workers.

The successful candidate owes an allegiance to **all** the voters in the primary who nominated him. These are not by any means all trade unionists. He also owes allegiance to the party brokers who consent to his nomination and to the business interests who supply the party's campaign funds. The candidate wants to be reelected. To be reelected he knows that he must not offend the party brokers and the business interests who supply the party funds. The party also has a policy that is set forth in congressional, state and national platforms. He is expected to carry out the party platform and the general policy of the party. He is caught in a **spider web of obligations** opposed to the workers interests.

"Friends" With Other Friends

Is it any surprise then, that the nonpartisan policy has not in 16 years produced one conspicuous labor man in Congress? Is it any surprise that a labor leader of a previous generation should serve many years in Congress and the great masses not even hear of him as a labor man until a report of his death appears in the press?

Certainly not. The man so elected and who wants to be returned to office will seek to satisfy not only the trade unionists, but also—the voters with capitalistic interests, the professional party brokers who have enormous power in determining a choice, the capitalists and bankers who provide the campaign funds, and those who are wedded to the party faith expressed in party policy and party platforms. Only one factor tends to make such a man lean on the allegiance of labor while four powerful factors draw him away from such allegiance. The four factors are the strongest and in the end they prevail.

Such a representative usually becomes a dummy in the state legislature or in Congress. As in the Illinois Legislature, the brokers are known to have told such "friends" to "talk all you want to but vote as we tell you." By this device such "friends" spoke for labor measures, got their names in print, and then voted with the party brokers and shared in the notorious "jack-pot" provided by the enemies of the workers.

What the nonpartisan policy really seeks to effect is control for the workers through political machinery which has for generations been perfected to serve not labor but the enemies of labor. While the analogy is not exactly the same, nevertheless it is similar to the workers striving to use the organization of the **manufacturers association or the chambers of commerce for their own welfare**. The workers long ago learned the lesson of how to construct their own organizations in industry to serve them and protect them. They have not yet learned how to construct their own political organizations to serve them.

Berger and London

Two men have been sent to Congress by an independent labor party, Meyer London, of New York, and Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee. Each of these men have stood out as conspicuous figures in Congress and each has been recognized as spokesmen of labor in that body. They could easily obtain this prominence for the very good reason that none of the factors I have mentioned as pulling the nonpartisan away from his labor allegiance had any effect upon them.

London and Berger were nominated and elected by an independent organization, the Socialist party. No voters interested in promoting capitalistic interests supported them in the pri-



maries or in the election. They owed nothing to party brokers. No bank and business men filled the campaign chests of the party. The platform and policy were squarely pro-labor. **Every factor contributing to their election bore the stamp of labor.** Their hope of reelection was solely determined by how faithfully they served labor interests in office. They had no obligations to be paid to the enemies of labor. These are the reasons why they have been the only two men in Congress in our generation who have been recognized distinctly as labor men and labor men alone.

How About "Fighting Bob"?

There are some who may raise the objection that La Follette proves this analysis unsound. Not at all. It is true that "Fighting Bob" has supported many labor measures and that he took a courageous position during the war. But he would be the last to claim that he was a labor man. When he was mentioned for the Presidency at the Labor party convention at Chicago in 1920 he declined. One of his objections was that he did not favor a Labor party. He may be said to be an advanced liberal.

But even La Follette is a conspicuous exception which proves the general truth of my contention. It is only because of a tremendous struggle that he has been able to retain his leadership of his party in Wisconsin. He is repudiated by the leading national chiefs of his party. He is not regarded as a Republican but as an insolent invader or apostate by the party chiefs.

This fact shows that the factors I have mentioned operate even against an advanced liberal as well as the labor man who gains office through capitalistic party channels.

Taking Power From Labor's Enemies

Real and assured progress in wresting public power from the enemies of labor can only be made in an independent political party of labor. **Such a party can be organized in this country on a federated basis** which would include the trade unions, the cooperatives, the working farmers, the Socialist party, the Farmer-Labor party and such independent labor parties as may be organized as in Minnesota. Several millions of organized workers could be included in this federated party.

One thing is certain. There is no instance in the history of the labor movement of any country where the nonpartisan policy has proven successful. In every case where the organized masses have obtained victories it has been through an independent party of their own.

The December Conference

It is hoped that when the next national meeting of the Conference on Progressive Political Action is held in December the first big steps will be taken towards the organization of such a labor party. I believe that such a step will bring hope and enthusiasm into the ranks of the organized masses. It will also help the trade unions in the end. I am positive that once the independent party is a fact that it will liberalize the trade union movement itself and help to increase its membership.

The trade unions of this country by no means have the membership which the population and the number of wage workers indicate that they should have. With labor boldly proclaiming its emancipation from the dominion of the party machines of capital there will come a new idealism, an enthusiasm and progressive spirit that will in a few years bring troops of supporters to the unions and practically double the membership of the unions. A new hope and a new era will be reached in the labor movement of the United States. We will have advanced to the political position occupied by our European brothers. We can exchange fraternal delegates with the British Labor party and the labor parties of other countries in our national congresses and by this mutual contact inspire the movement and make the mobilized and united political power of the workers a big influence in shaping the destiny of the United States.

Labor Moves Toward Control in Europe

Bird's Eye View of Political Gains Against the Profit System

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

TRY as you may, you simply cannot get the European worker to take any stock in the shibboleth, "reward your friends and punish your enemies," as put forth by the dominant groups in the American labor movement. They listen to your account of how labor has acted politically in America and then impatiently break in:

"You wouldn't expect much good to result from a **trade union** controlled and financed by the employing class, would you? Then how can you place any reliance on a **political party** organized by and for big business, even though occasionally that party throws a sop to the workers in the form of a candidate favorable to labor's aims? No big, permanent results on the political field can be secured except through independent political action."

Capitalist Parties Not "In It."

Recently I made a trip through eight European countries. Though searching as hard as did Diogenes on his famous hunt for an honest man, I was unable to discover one trade union executive there who thought that anything worthwhile could be accomplished by supporting the less reactionary of the candidates nominated by capitalist parties.

In Great Britain and Belgium I found the trade unionists officially supporting their respective Labor parties. In Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Italy they were working in close unity with the socialist movement, while in France and Czecho-Slovakia they were dividing their allegiance for the most part between the socialists and the communists. Everywhere through these political groups of the workers, Labor was advancing, with here and there a setback, towards control of the machinery of government.

The belief in independent political action has been forced upon the workers in the course of a hard, bitter struggle for higher standards, and a more democratic industrial order. In that struggle, they grasped at every weapon which promised aid.

"The workers," they argue, "function in society as producers, as consumers, as citizens. If they are to

wield their maximum power as producers, they must organize into trade and industrial unions. If they are to count as consumers, they must form their own consumers' co-operatives. If they are to utilize their power as citizens, they must develop and run their own political parties.

"Political action, like every other form of activity, has its dangers and defects. But for all that it cannot be neglected. It presents at least one important means of getting control of the government. **The government controls the police, the army and navy, the powers of taxation; it enacts and executes laws affecting conditions of labor, of health, and of sanitation; it appoints the judiciary; it prescribes the limits of labor organization, of free speech and free press. In the hands of the enemies of labor, governments may, for long periods of time, be used for the enslavement of the workers; in the hands of labor, they may be utilized in behalf of human freedom.**"

Labor's Internationals

It was with the endeavor to bring the need for united political action before the workers of Europe that delegates, representing labor groups in Great Britain and the continent met in St. Martin's Hall, London, in a great public mass meeting late in September, 1864. They collected the munificent sum of three pounds in cash to help in their organization work, and laid the foundations of the International Association of Working Men, afterwards known as the "First International." During the sixties, seventies and early eighties, working class parties sprung up in all of the countries of western and central Europe. The First International died a lingering death in the early seventies. On the anniversary of the Bastille, July 14, 1889, the Second International was born in response to the demands of these new political groups. The First International was characterized as a "**general staff without an army.**" The Second consisted of influential armies of workers from many lands.

During the next quarter of a century the labor forces on the political field grew steadily stronger, gaining many seats in national parliaments, capturing important cities, forcing through much important labor legislation. **There was not a Eu-**

LABOR AGE

ropean legislature without a militant labor group.

The War and Revolution

The war came. The International organization of labor was torn asunder. Comrades, at the behest of their governments, fought against comrades. Labor in many countries forgot its class allegiances and united with its governments in the prosecution of the war. The forces of labor split into hostile camps in almost every European country. Scores of the ablest political leaders of labor were brought to their death by the war and its aftermath. Tens of thousands of the rank and file went down on the field of battle. To many these developments seemed to threaten the very life of the parties of labor.

But the war did not stop there. It brought the worker face to face with the dark forces that were ever ready to plunge nations into war for selfish purposes. It smashed into a thousand bits the economic structure of many lands, bringing whole peoples face to face with starvation. It weakened the power and prestige of ancient dynasties. **It proved the culture ground for revolution.** In 1917, Russia achieved a political, followed by a social revolution, Hungary followed, going communist. Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia broke their monarchist chains, and formed republican governments. In all three countries labor and social democratic governments were temporarily brought into power. Belgium, England and Italy abolished voting restrictions which had heretofore kept down the representation of labor. For a time it looked as if all Europe was headed toward social revolution.

Then came the period of unemployment, of capitalist and monarchist reaction, of the combined effort of these forces to wrest from labor their gains of the last few years.

Where Labor Now Stands

At present Europe is still in the grip of that reaction. But despite recent losses, labor on the political field is in a far better position than at the beginning of the world war. In 1914, Russia was still a medieval monarchy. Labor had been crushed in its attempted revolution of 1905, and no one was so bold as to predict how long it would take before the Czarism would be successfully opposed. **Today this vast country is in the hands of the Communist party, representative of a militant section of the industrial workers.**

In July, 1914, the Hohenzollern dynasty seemed impregnable, and labor's chances for effective control within the next decade, despite a strong socialist minority, seemed indeed small. Today

Germany possesses one of the most democratic of constitutions. The Hohenzollerns are in exile. **A saddle-maker stands as the nominal leader of the government.** The Social Democrats and the Independent Socialists have at last united into a powerful party of the workers under the name of the United Social Democrats. With the remnants of the Communists and Independents, they make up over two-fifths of the membership of the Reichstag.

The working class parties in Austria and Belgium control between 35 and 40 per cent of the seats in their respective legislatures. **In Sweden the Premier, Branting, is a Social Democrat.** In Italy, the Socialist and Communist representation has advanced from between seventy and eighty in 1914 to about 125 at the present time, or about one-fourth of the members in the Chamber. The Swiss workers are represented in their national house by a similar proportion of workers. If united, according to President Masaryk, of Czecho-Slovakia, the parties of labor in that country could control the country. Only in France, of the more important European countries, has the power of labor on the political field been weakened since the outbreak of the World War.

This weakening of the French socialists and trade unionists has been greatly due to the split over the relation of the movement in France to the Third and "Red" Trade Union Internationals. At present writing it looks as if a split were inevitable in the Italian Socialist party over the question of working with non-socialist ministries. That party in the November, 1919, election had increased its membership in the Chamber of Deputies to 156, but this number was decreased to 125 in 1921, owing largely to the terrorism practiced by the Fascisti during the elections. Labor control in Russia differs from the control arrived at in most of the other European countries because dictatorship of the proletariat there immediately followed control by a semi-feudal monarchy, in a country based largely on a primitive agricultural system.

Labor Control in a Few Years

Labor groups are not in control, however, as yet in any country **except Russia.** In Sweden, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, labor has a minority representation in the cabinet, but only a minority. Labor control, however, in at least a half dozen of the European countries is regarded as only a matter of the next few years. Sidney Webb, Arthur Henderson and other British laborites and socialists told me last year that

HOW RUSSIAN WORKERS TOOK OVER THEIR GOVERNMENT

SOVIET RUSSIA is the only government entirely under workers' control. Eugene V. Debs hails it as "the beginning of the self-government of the people throughout the world" and as "the crowning glory of the 20th century!"

Moissaye Olgin, in his "Soul of the Russian Revolution" tells the thrilling story of how an Absolute Autocracy was turned into a Workers' Republic. Four forces overturned the Czar: Growing big business, dissatisfied labor, the revolting peasants, and the radical intellectuals. What happened among these groups that led to the triumph of the Bolsheviks can be learned from John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World."

"It was the propertied classes who, when they realized the growth in power of the popular revolutionary organizations, undertook to destroy them and halt the Revolution. To this end the propertied classes finally resorted to desperate measures. In order to wreck the Kerensky Ministry and the Soviets, transportation was disorganized and internal troubles provoked; to crush the Factory-Shop Committees, plants were shut down, and fuel and raw materials diverted; to break the Army Committees at the front, capital punishment was restored and military defeat connived at.

"This was all excellent fuel for the Bolshevik fire. The Bolsheviks retorted by preaching the class war, and by asserting the supremacy of the Soviets.

"Between these two extremes, with the other factions which whole-heartedly or half-heartedly supported them, were the so-called 'moderate' Socialists, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, and several smaller parties. These groups were also attacked by the propertied classes, but their power of resistance was crippled by their theories.

"Roughly, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries believed that Russia was not economically ripe for a social revolution—that only a political revolution was possible. According to their interpretation, the Russian masses were not educated enough to take over the power; any attempt to do so would inevitably bring on a reaction, by means of which some ruthless opportunist might restore the old régime. And so it followed that when the 'moderate' Socialists were forced to assume the power, they were afraid to use it.

"They believed that Russia must pass through the stages of political and economic development known to Western Europe, and emerge at last, with the rest of the world, into full-fledged Socialism. Naturally, therefore, they agreed with the propertied classes that Russia must first be a parliamentary state—though with some improvements on the Western democracies. As a consequence, they insisted upon the collaboration of the propertied classes in the Government.

"From this it was an easy step to supporting them. The 'moderate' Socialists needed the bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie did not need the 'moderate' Socialists. So it resulted in the Socialist Ministers being obliged to give way, little by little, on their entire program, while the propertied classes grew more and more insistent."

The result was that the Bolsheviks—advocating the suppression of any group, worker or capitalist, which disagreed with them—were triumphant. They crushed both the Socialist and still-weak capitalist forces. That the Revolution rose out of conditions somewhat different from those in western countries is shown by Olgin:

"Capital, industry, labor, land, trade problems, financial problems, labor problems, agrarian problems, industrial organizations, labor organizations, strikes, class struggles, peasants' revolts, intellectuals' protestations, general unrest, growth of parties, factions, radical theories, incendiary literature, underground plotting, uniting, undermining, threatening. . . . A chaos of facts, forces, deeds; a chorus of voices, impatient, shrill, commanding. A great world rising from the dust of ancient passivity. All this on one side. On the other, the Russian Absolutist Order.

"As opposed to the multiplicity of modern life, the theory of government held by the rulers was very simple. One God in heaven, one Tzar on earth. All power is vested in the Supreme power, the Absolute Monarch; all power emanates from him and finds in him its justification. The absolute monarch gives laws to his subjects, personally or through servants following his orders; he sets rules, appoints judges, punishes the disobedient; he has at his command an army of officers, ministers, administrators, ranging from the highest advisers of His Majesty to the youngest policeman in the remotest village. All are responsible to him; all the machinery of the government forms one great net whose strings are gathered together in the hands of the monarch."

they had little doubt that labor would hold majority power in England within the next five years. **Since 1914, the British Labor party has increased its seats in Parliament from less than 50 to 74.** It has put the Liberal party back to third place and has become the chief opposition party. It fully expects to double or treble its numbers at the next general election, and to walk in with a healthy majority in the following campaign.

"Before the war," declared Karl Kautsky, one of the leaders of the United Social Democratic party of Germany, "the worker in Germany was inclined to look upon Labor control of Government as a Utopian dream. In theory, he felt that it was inevitable. But in reality it seemed afar off. Immediately after the revolution, the workers and soldiers councils were in actual control. This and other developments whetted the appetite of Labor for more power. Now the German worker looks upon real Labor control in terms of the next few years. It will not come tomorrow—but one can count the years."

How Will Labor Use Its Power?

What will Labor do when it does get control? I put that question to Arthur Henderson, the clear-headed secretary of the British Labor party, at the London headquarters of the party in Eccleston Square.

"That will depend on circumstances," was his reply. "We will proceed generally on the basis of our 1918

program of 'Labor and the New Social Order.' If conditions are ripe, we will probably socialize the mines and the railroads and develop a system of workers' control. In establishments still in private hands we will work for joint control by labor and owner. Ultimately we aim to revolutionize the entire social fabric. We, however, cannot socialize everything at once. Our industry is far more closely integrated than that in an agricultural country like Russia, and we cannot afford to stop industry, even temporarily. We have no intention of starving the country while inaugurating our program."

Every labor party of Europe is aiming at the overthrow of capitalist production and the substitution of production for social service. Most of them would begin with the big vital industries, get them into running order under community ownership and then proceed to other necessities. This they feel cannot be accomplished in one step. It may take a decade. It may take longer. But labor will not rest until this goal is attained.

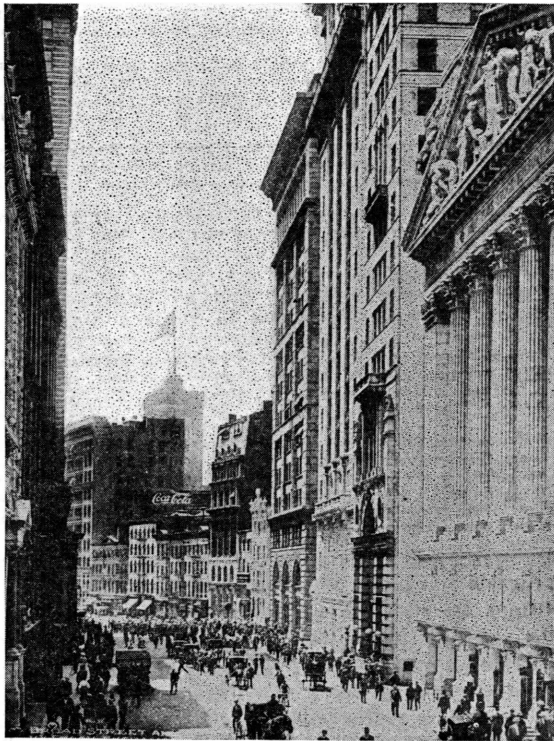
The path of the Labor Government will not be an easy one. Labor will be forced to face internal and international problems of the most difficult nature. In its attempt to democratize industry it will make many mistakes. But in its control lies the one real hope of developing a sane, a just, a brotherly order of industrial society.

SUMMED UP

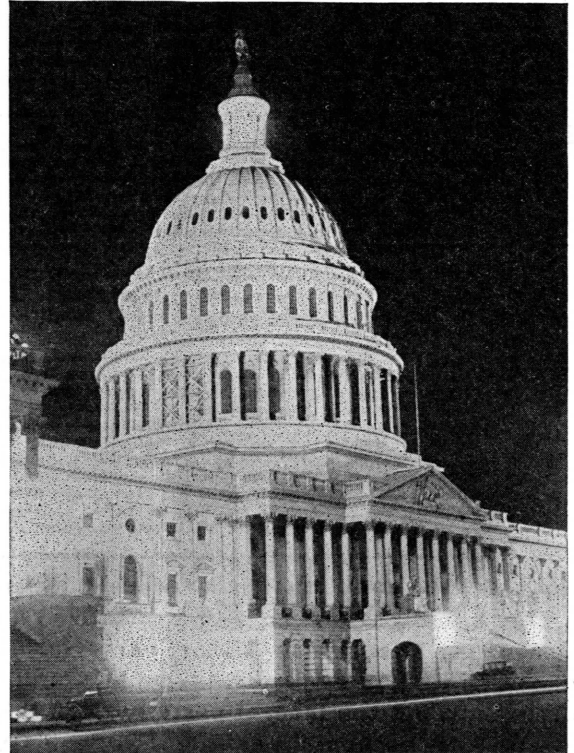
NEXT month the Great American People, male and female, go to the polls to "choose" a portion of their Government. With the stench of Newberryism in their nostrils, they may well doubt how much they have to do with the "choice".

A new House of Representatives is to be elected. The bitter anti-labor policy of the present Administration and the present Congress has aroused Labor to the need of doing something, perhaps more than ever before. But what can it do effectively to destroy the Government as an agency of its enemies? Five alternatives are presented to us:

1. The Non-Partisan Policy, of supporting men on the tickets of the leading parties who will pledge themselves to support labor measures. This has been endorsed by much the largest number of organized workers and has been the policy of the A. F. of L. for a number of years. The railroad unions are now using it also.



P. and A. Photos



P. and A. Photos

I. P. E. U., 624

Broad and Wall Sts., New York. Seat of the Money Kings

Their Favorite Toy—The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

MASTER AND SERVANT

This is largely a defensive policy. It seeks to defeat candidates who will oppose "any form of compulsory labor law" or "injunctions and contempt proceeding as a substitute to trial by jury". There is no idea of using political power to socialize industry or put it in control of the workers.

2. Action through a Labor Party. This idea has been endorsed by the International Typographical Union and the United Mine Workers. It does not mean the support of any party now in the field. It has in view the formation of a Labor Party, perhaps on the British model. This view links up socialization of industry with political action.

3. The Socialist Party. Although still functioning as a separate unit, this party at its Cleveland convention this year went on record in favor of joint action with other labor parties. In New York, as a result, the American Labor Party has been formed. This is a combination of the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties. These groups hope to see the Conference for Progressive Political Action favor a federated party at its December Conference. Oneal's article in this issue states their case.

4. The Workers' Party, which "looks to Soviet Russia for leadership in the struggle against world imperialism". It charges that the Socialist Party "has taken pains to glorify our 'common heritage of democracy' . . . instead of exposing the sham and fraud of capitalist dictatorship masquerading as democracy and representative government". It finds fault with all other labor parties for failing "to respond to the clarion call of the Russian Workers".

5. The syndicalist, or anti-political view. According to this idea, politics will only lead the workers away from power, gained through strong union organization. Even Labor Parties, seeking votes, must compromise. Governments can be brought to terms if the workers make themselves a real industrial power.

With this confusion of ideas, how can Labor capture the Government? Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, puts the situation clearly: "The Labor movement alone has the power to inaugurate an effective third party. But that power is still in a state of disuse." LABOR AGE will not attempt at present to answer the question it has raised. Can some of our readers do so?

Kill the "Open Shop" Injunction

Unanimously Agreed That It Can't Be Allowed to Live

By THE LABOR PRESS

IF YOU have an enemy, whom you wish to hurt, wish on him the job of U. S. Attorney General. He will be sure to become afflicted with **Laborphobia**—a madness the modern gods use to destroy American politicians. Henry Daugherty, of Ohio—successor and "a poor replica" of A. Mitchell Palmer, according to the **St. Louis Labor**—has a very bad case of this disease just now.

It is such a bad case that even the business press has become excited about it. There has been such a thundering as has not been heard against a public official for many a day. Mr. Daugherty was hard put to it to find any responsible paper which stood by him. In the moment of sanity resulting, he assured the world that nobody's right of free speech would be interfered with. Even our old and honorable enemy, the *New York Times*, finds this exceedingly funny. It says:

"When a person is enjoined from 'in any manner, in letters printed or other circulars, telegrams, telephone, word of mouth, oral persuasion or suggestion, or through interviews to be published in the newspapers, or otherwise in any manner whatsoever' doing certain things, it certainly looks as though he were condemned thereafter to a life of silent meditation and prayer. But this was never the intent of the government we are now informed."

The reason for this chorus of condemnation, the **New York Call** finds, is that Daugherty committed the "unpardonable blunder" of being too frank, particularly when he said that he would fight to the last ditch for the open shop.

"One of the blunders which the intellectual police of our present industrial and governing system will not tolerate," the *Call* says, "is so handling the wage working population, so that they are driven to see the class character of public administration. Now, it is precisely this blunder that Attorney General Daugherty committed when he obtained an injunction that would require all railroad strikers to stay in bed if they wanted to keep out of jail. His remarks before the court were also a grievous blunder in the view of the journalistic police. In so many words, he told the court that he and his administration would preserve the open shop for the industrial masters of the nation. This was the unpardonable blunder."

Evidently, the Attorney General took the cue.

He decided to act for the employing classes, but not to talk so much about it. Having camouflaged his next step by declaring that his injunction would not interfere with free speech, he proceeded to go into the court of his "Man Friday" as **Organized Labor**, organ of the California building trades calls Judge Wilkerson, and get out an even more sweeping decree. Behold, brothers, what this order forbids, as sum-



N. Y. World

TOO SWEEPING

I. P. E. U., 624

marized by **Advance**, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers:

"This is the most far-reaching injunction ever issued against striking workers. It is the last word in the art and science of industrial warfare. It forbids picketing, speaking, writing, giving out of news and interviews, paying of strike benefits and other strike expenses and specifically forbids arguments in efforts to win over strike breakers.

"The most dangerous feature in the injunction is, however, the fact that it was sought and secured by the government, while all other injunctions were sought and se-

LABOR AGE

cured by the private employers. Thus the government has openly and officially made the strike breaking task of the private owners its own task. In all other anti-labor injunction cases the government is, nominally at least, a disinterested party; in this case, it is using the tremendous and unlimited powers of government as an interested party in breaking the strike and enforcing the slashing of wages and boosting of profits. And this brutal assault upon the workers' resistance to the forcing down of their standard of living is made at the very same time that employers of unorganized workers are 'voluntarily' raising wages in order to keep their employees at work."

In a subsequent issue **Advance** declares that the sentence of Jacob Cohen, editor of the **Memphis Labor Review**, for "violating" the sacred injunction, means that "the constitution is abrogated". It suggests this as the logical next step:

"In his next Thanksgiving Day proclamation, the President should advise the American people that the consti-



Labor Herald

I. P. E. U., 624

tution of the United States has been abrogated and each citizen—or, rather, subject—be advised for his own protection, to apply to the nearest judge for permission every time he desires to express an opinion.

"The Constitution is now an interesting historical document."

This is also the opinion of the **New Jersey Leader**, organ of the Socialist Party, which asks: "Isn't it about time to recognize the absolute power of the capitalist class and strike out the first amendment to the constitution?" And it adds:

"The acts of the present administration will no doubt serve as an eye opener to those of us who guilelessly believed that the espionage laws were enacted as a war-time measure to punish persons who sought to lend aid and comfort to Germany. There may be some who will now believe what the Socialists and other thinkers told them, namely, that the so-called war measures were enacted to serve the interests of the profiteering class and that, so far as Germany was concerned, they were in no manner necessary.

"Even during the war we had a right to look with critical eyes upon the espionage law and criticize its provisions, so long as we did not violate those laws. But now that the war is over and the feared and hated 'Hun' has been effectually squelched and the world has been made entirely safe for Democracy, that right is exercised only at the risk of a jail sentence."

Cohen's arrest, it should be said, was due to his having written certain uncomplimentary opinions of railroad scabs. He wrote this before the Daugherty injunction was issued. Nevertheless, he was arrested, sentenced to six months in prison, and fined \$1000.

"The district attorney says that Cohen was prosecuted under a local injunction," says the **A. F. of L. News Service**, "but anyhow he has been sentenced to prison for violating an injunction by the publication of a newspaper editorial expressing an opinion about scabs". It's pretty hard to dodge the injunctions flying around in every direction!

Gold V. Sanders, editor of the **Memphis Press**, local Scripps-McRae paper, re-printed the editorial that caused Cohen's arrest, and was promptly arrested and cited for contempt. Which leads the **News Service of the A. F. of L.** to remark: "Memphis, according to the map, is in the United States. But the constitution, it seems, applies only in spots."

Labor, the Railroad Unions' weekly, quotes Frank Mulholland, counsel for the defense, to show that "the conspiracy charge is preposterous":

"If this is true, do you suppose the engineer and firemen's brotherhoods would have their attorneys here helping the shopmen who conspired to murder them? It stands to reason that there was no conspiracy among the shopmen to injure other union men; that this was the work of others."

To which **Labor** adds:

"As a matter of fact, most of the 'evidence' presented at such length by the government was manufactured by private guards employed by the railroad companies. It would not stand up in any other court in the land."

Justice, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, thinks that "The bold and quick stand of President Gompers in protesting against the injunction and in acting against the spirit of the injunction—regardless of whatever

consequence it might entail to him personally—deserves high praise and credit.” Labor leaders in general have shown their contempt for the injunction—William H. Johnston, President of the Machinists, expressing their view in his Washington speech of September 5th, when he said: “These damn fool tactics are not going to fool anybody.”



The Worker Made by I. P. E. U., 624
Department of Justice Training School

N. S., editorial correspondent for **Justice** asks: “What is labor doing against this menace?” and answers:

“The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met last Saturday in Atlantic City to consider a plan of action. The Federation heads realized that the only way to combat the injunction evil is through political action. It is a long established method. And they have now re-affirmed their belief in it. They still adhere to the so-called non-partisan policy whose futility is demonstrated after every election. A more remote political plan is to launch a campaign in favor of Senator Robert M. LaFollete for President in 1924. Some see in this a departure from the traditional A. F. of L. policy because the federation heads would support him on any ticket on which he might run. This is interpreted as meaning that workers would still be urged to vote for LaFollete even if he should head the Labor Party ticket.”

The **Minnesota Daily Star** agrees, saying:

“Thus has the noose been slipped round the neck of organized labor in the great drive of the employing interests to wipe it out in this country. But labor still has its votes and it can use them this fall in a way that will turn the tide.”

N. S. also adds this interesting comment:

“It is highly improbable that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will issue a call for a general strike. But the fact of its consideration alone is of outstanding significance. The question of the solidarity of labor over against the divisions of craft unionism is now squarely before the American trade union movement. And the futility and hopelessness of craft divisions in the strug-

gle against organized capital will no doubt register itself in the minds of the most conservative.”

In the meantime, impeachment proceedings against Daugherty are in the air. The Republican machine succeeded in postponing their consideration for the present. Samuel Untermyer has expressed his willingness to serve as counsel against the Attorney General—for not having acted against big criminals under the anti-trust laws. Of the man Daugherty, Untermyer says:

“My opinion of the general unfitness of Mr. Daugherty for the exalted position he is occupying is well known. It is based upon my knowledge of the man, of his environment, his lack of proper equipment as a lawyer, his political associations, and more particularly upon the sad chapters of my experience with him in my position as counsel to the Joint Legislative Committee on Housing for the state of New York.” “I believe the Attorney General should be promptly removed from his office because of his manifest unwillingness or inability to enforce the anti-trust laws, in which his action and non-action have reached the proportions of a great public scandal.”

Regardless of the fate of Mr. Daugherty, the Labor Press unanimously agree that his “Open Shop” injunction must be killed. If unchallenged, it will fasten the halter closer on Labor’s neck. By open defiance, industrial action or the ballot box—they say, it must be sent to Limbo.



N. Y. Call Made by I. P. E. U., 624
Harding Is Very Reassuring

The Great Stupidity

The Story of the Labor Board's Strike

By BENJAMIN STOLBERG

THE first American railroad strike of national proportions has come to an end on a number of roads. On others, the battle still rages. What was the actual extent of the strike? What did the unions do in it? What has come of it?

The press featured the overt opinions, doings and asides of all the stars. But given piecemeal as it was, its information did not give a real picture of the situation. Putting it all together, we get a good film of the strike, its causes and results.

With slight exceptions the walk-out was confined officially to the six shop crafts and the stationary engineers, firemen and oilers. These men had, and have, simple economic justice on their side. Their case all along received excellent expression in the business-like and yet impassioned spokesmanship of B. M. Jewell. **The shopmen know it is their legal right, and they feel strongly it is their moral duty, to fight a slow starvation wage.** Publicity from strike headquarters was less confusing than that which came from the railroads.

"When the Devil is Sick"

The carriers at once adopted the customary attitude of "business as usual", coupled with a comic moral indignation at the "outlawry" of the strike. For the last two years they violated, partly or in whole, virtually every decision of the Board. But now they disdained to meet the union leaders: "No (such) conference is in our judgment permissible or tolerable because it would place the carriers . . . in apparent cooperation with those on strike in seeking to find means to subvert the decisions of the Board." Their publicity was most confounding. One day they announced train reductions in order to pass the public inconvenience to the strikers, while the very next day they showed greater freightage for the first two weeks of this July as compared with the same period last year, in an effort to minimize the results of the walk-out. Neither statement was relevant at the time, because the strike could not seriously hamper

transportation before about August 1. At first, also, the roads gave out figures to prove that the men had not quit to the extent they actually had—98 per cent. (Even General Atterbury's company union demobilized 43,777 strong out of less than 47,000!) Then they gave out figures of rapid replacements, practically all on paper, for the shops remained obviously empty. The shop men are skilled workers, strongly unionized outside the transportation industry as well.

Mr. Hooper Calls the Strike

The strike order which so effectively dismantled the railroad shops was signed by the union chiefs. But it was actually called by Mr. Hooper. When he cast the deciding vote for every one of the wage cuts, as he did, he was reasonably certain of a strike. Now, on what knowledge did he base his tremendously responsible decisions? On no scientific study whatsoever, but altogether on the hasty half-truth that the roads could not afford to pay a living wage. **Why over-watered capital cannot support its workers in decency at a profit of 5.75 per cent never troubled him apparently,** for the majority did not even attempt to justify the wage cuts until forced to do so by the smashing minority reports, and then they brought forth erroneous statistics from which they drew naive conclusions. Incredible as it may seem, the Board has no advisory economic bureau. No wonder then that Mr. Hooper handled his end of the strike with such progressive mental and spiritual distress!

On July 1, 401,000 shopmen quit. During the next few days thousands of maintenance men and clerks about the shops and yards, common laborers, moulders, plumbers, freight handlers, truckers and foremen enrolled with the strikers. On different systems, notably the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western, the clerks were called out. Finally on July 17, 10,000 union and about 5,000 non-union stationary engineers, firemen and oilers joined the strikers, thus swelling their ranks to well over half a million men. The Fabian tac-

tics of Messrs. Grable and Helt, of whom the former announced that runaway maintenance strikers may strike with impunity, were by far outweighed by the somewhat unexpected solidarity shown by the other brotherhoods. The chief executives of the four big transportation brotherhoods and also of the switchmen and telegraphers, none of whom are as yet affected by the wage cuts, assured Mr. Jewell of the warmest sympathy and notified the managements that they had ordered their men to refrain from any form of scabbing. **Apparently, the work of Mr. Stone of the Locomotive Engineers had begun at last to bear some fruit.**

When the exodus began, Mr. Hooper lost his temper. "So far as Mr. Jewell is concerned, let his blood be on his own head." And on July 3 the Board adopted a resolution in which it held that "the shop crafts (and all the other strikers) are no longer under (its) jurisdiction or subject to the Transportation Act". Therefore "it will be desirable, if not a practical necessity, to form some sort of association or organization to function in the representation of said employes before the Railroad Labor Board." Therefore: "the men who remain in the service and those who enter it anew . . . are not strikebreakers, . . . and . . . entitled to the protection of every department and branch of the government, state and national".

Mr. McMenimen's Strange Antics

The Board felt encouraged to make this absurd resolution especially by the defection of Mr. Grable of the maintenance men. It was Mr. McMenimen, a labor member on the Board, who was particularly instrumental in checking the spread of the strike. Mr. McMenimen's appointment was vigorously opposed by all the railroad brotherhoods, except the trainmen, to which organization he belongs. He was finally nominated by Group 4 of the railroad workers, a "rump" union of petty supervisory officials, and his appointment was immediately clinched with the present of a new hat by Mr. Harding. After a series of private conferences with Mr. Grable, Messrs McMenimen and Hooper invited him into executive session with the entire Board. From this session **Mr. Grable emerged somewhat dazed** with the following assurance: "Mr. McMenimen moved that the Board go on record assuring Mr. Grable that when a sufficient number of cases are placed before the Board in accordance with the Trans-

portation Act, he will be given a prompt hearing". One wonders why Mr. Grable did not save himself a sweltering July session by simply asking the office girl for a copy of the Transportation Act. Mr. McMenimen's "motion" is nothing but a statement that the Board will do its legal duty.

The "outlaw" resolution of the Board was immediately adopted by the Western Railroad Presidents. "We will work in close cooperation with Governor Hooper and the Railroad Board", announced Mr. Felton, president of the Chicago Great Western, who rose to the chairmanship of the Western Executives through seniority. When one watches Mr. Felton's tactics, one begins to understand why seniority is such a sore spot with the executives. He and his Eastern colleague, Mr. Loree, are "strong men" of the elder school, whose strength lies mainly in a reactionary blindness to enlightened management and public welfare. Mr. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson, formed a company union on his own road, stating that "this policy was suggested by the Labor Board". About forty other carriers followed suit, "with gratifying results". This gratification was more of a hope than a fact, for they were all frantically advertising for shop help.

The Board Loses Ground

But what the Board was gaining in the esteem of railroad presidents, it was losing in public opinion. Senator Cummins, co-author of the Esch-Cummins Bill, said "that the Board was never intended to penalize strikes". As chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee he is now scrutinizing the Transportation Act with the view of amending it into indubitable English for the simplest as well as the most captious reader. Senator Norris, the spokesman of common sense in the upper house, declared this resolution "the first step toward thrusting union men into chattel slavery". The **Chicago Tribune** shook its editorial finger at Mr. Hooper. Mr. Gompers told the Board where to get off with that powerful lucidity which is his genius. And Mr. Jewell wrote an excellent brief on the Transportation Act for Mr. Hooper and his majority colleagues, in which he pointed out that the workers are legally free to refuse subsistence wages, **while the Board had illegally disregarded the Living Wage provision in the very act which had created it.** "The Board has placed itself in the position of being not an arm of the government of the people of the United

LABOR AGE

States, . . . but . . . an arm of organized financial and employing interests which are engaged in a nationwide campaign" against labor, he thundered.

In the beginning of the second week of the strike the authorities attempted to interfere with police powers. The **Railway Age**, unofficial organ of the roads, describes these activities as follows: "In six states it has been necessary to mobilize troops for the protection of property and employees. . . . In many instances it has been necessary to send troops to points where civil authorities have confessed their inability to maintain peace. Injunctions restraining the workers from interfering with operation of the railway shops or with men obtained by the railroads to operate these properties have been issued by the federal courts."

First Aid for the "Open Shop"

On July 11, Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes "invited the cooperation of all public authorities . . . and all good citizens to facilitate" "the open shop" operation of the shops. To this proclamation the union chiefs answered at some length. They told the president "that incomplete information had been furnished (him) concerning the dispute". They pointed out that "92 railroads have violated the Transportation Act or decisions of the Railroad Labor Board in 104 cases"; that the railroads have refused to establish National Boards of Adjustment as recommended by the Esch-Cummins Bill; that "the Board has abolished over-time pay for Sundays and holidays enjoyed for thirty years even on unorganized roads"; and that the American family cannot exist on the wages determined by the last wage cuts.

On July 12, it became known that Mr. Hooper had participated in a series of fruitless conferences with both sides. There were, then, three main issues preventing a settlement:

First, the men insist that the roads abide by the decision of the Board and stop their policy of "farming out". This system of hiring out the shop work under contracts which specifically profit the contractor at an inverse ratio to his labor exploitation, removes the shop men from under that very jurisdiction of the Board, whose sovereignty the roads are now defending.

Second, the Transportation Act provides for National Boards of Adjustment. In the first two years of its existence the Railroad Board deliberated on almost 1200 cases, excluding those dealt with by mail. The Labor Committee of the Railroad Executives recognized that no tribunal could function under such a docket, and its majority report recommended the creation of such National Boards of Adjustment. But Vice-President Atter-

bury of Pennsylvania, Mr. T. DeWitt Cuyler's "Friday", stated in his minority report: "It is clear to us that National Boards of Adjustment mean national agreements. . . . Our duty is clear. Make no contract whatever with labor organizations". His report was finally accepted by a vote of 60 to 41, the ten votes of the New York Central and the six votes of the Pennsylvania deciding the issue.

The third issue is a red herring. The railroads refuse to reinstate the strikers according to seniority. The shop men average from 10 to 25 years of continuous service, and now they are asked to give up the privileges of so much sweat and skilled experience on absurdly specious ethical contentions.

Finally, on July 28, Mr. Harding called the union and the rail chiefs to the White House. He suggested that the seniority issue be settled by giving first preference to union men who did not strike, then to those who struck, then to the new men. To the union chiefs he declared himself for National Boards of Adjustment, and expressed his certainty that the Transportation Act will be amended to make them obligatory. He asked the carriers to withdraw all lawsuits growing out of the strike. And he insisted that both sides abide in future by the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board, which would dispose of the "farming out" issue. He also managed to intimate to both sides that much golfing has given him the training for the Big Stick.

When the President realized that the rail executives would not accept his first peace offer, the Big Stick faded away. He asked the strikers to go back to work and leave the seniority issue to the Labor Board. This was rejected by both sides. The strikers rejected it for the simple reason that acceptance would have meant nothing less than the loss of the strike. And the managers rejected it because the die-hards, who wanted to break the shop craft unions altogether, were gaining ascendancy in their ranks. From the middle of August on, the original strike issues were almost entirely put aside and the burden of the struggle shifted to the seniority issue completely, a shift which in the long run was bound to weaken the strikers.

"Brokers" On the Job.

During the next two weeks the executives of the Big Brotherhoods held a series of conferences in Washington and New York with the rail executives in an effort to mediate between them and the strikers. Messrs. Stone of the Locomotive Engineers, Sheppard of the Railway Conductors, Robertson of the Firemen, Cashen of the Switchmen and Lee of the Trainmen, offered their broker services for three reasons:

First, as the struggle increased in bitterness the rank and file of the railroad workers were developing a growingly restless sympathy with the strikers, especially antagonized by enforced work with strike breakers.

Second, the Brotherhood Chiefs began to fear that the loss of the strike would weaken their case when their turn came before the Labor Board.

Third, the strike was beginning to tell dangerously on the equipment.

But nothing came of these conferences. The rail executives realized that in case of a show-down the train brotherhoods would not go out on a sympathetic strike, surely not the trainmen **under the worse than reactionary leadership of Mr. Lee.** He alone of the Big Chiefs was ordering his men back on the job wherever they were walking out on account of defective equipment or interference by troops. The executives therefore, rejected the most reasonable advances.

Mr. Daugherty Crusades for "the Open Shop"

But the government was soon to prove its ability to interfere destructively, destructively to its own prestige and intelligent usefulness in times of national labor crisis. On September 1st Attorney General Daugherty startled the world by asking the recently appointed Federal Judge Wilkerson for the most sweeping, reactionary and unintelligent injunction against the workers in the history of American jurisprudence.

The men were even forbidden to call the men who took their places "strike breakers". The union funds were tied up against strike usage. In fact, **Mr. Daugherty so worded his document that any expression whatsoever on the strike by the strikers was illegal.** Mr Daugherty expressed the absurd opinion that to strike against the decision of the Labor Board was in itself illegal. And he abandoned all pretence of governmental impartiality by declaring that he would use his office to fight for the "Open Shop," which under present circumstances is an open declaration of war on American Labor.

Judge Wilkerson granted the injunction, basing his arguments mainly on the Debs case of 1895 and the Clayton Act of 1914, an incredible bit of legal sophistry. Free persuasion and assembly and speech, all of which this injunction forbids, cannot possibly be construed as "forcible obstructions of the highways along which interstate commerce travels." The Debs injunction was not directed against peaceful persuasion and picketing, and the Clayton Act expressly safeguards them.

As soon as the temporary injunction was granted Department of Justice agents were

frantically looking for Mr. Jewell to serve him with it. But he was difficult to find for at the time he was secretly perfecting a possible basis of agreement with Mr. Warfield of the Eastern executives. Finally, on September 13th, the ninety chairmen of the strikers ratified this Jewell-Warfield plan as a basis of settlement on the individual systems.

The agreement completely ignored the Railroad Labor Board, providing for a commission of union men and employers for conciliation purposes. Strikebreakers were allowed to remain—though they will probably be got rid of later. Seniority was maintained among the strikers themselves. Thus was the great stupidity—created by the Labor Board—brought to a partial close.

By October 1st about one fourth of the first class carriers have signed the agreement. In time the rest of the great systems will no doubt fall in line. The die-hards may refuse to settle the strike on this or on any other basis. And while the strike has proven that the rail shop unions have come to stay in the country at large, chances are that such systems as the Delaware and Hudson and the Pennsylvania may get away for some time with scab shops or with sweet sounding company unions.

Why This Ending?

The strike was won or lost or compromised, as you please. There is no doubt that the prestige of the Labor Board has suffered an almost complete eclipse. The train brotherhoods are now signing agreements with the different roads without going to the Labor Board, as they had originally intended. **This is a clear gain for the workers.** And so is the fact that the gradual breakdown of the equipment has broken the solidarity of the executives.

On the other hand, these separate agreements left the strikers on the reactionary roads unprotected. And also, the original issues of the strike, especially the problem of the living wage, were lost in the course of the struggle. The strike was lost in as far as it was not a complete victory, because the public was indifferent and the Harding administration was weak towards both sides and hostile to the shopmen. But above all, the strike was lost, because craft unionism can no longer protect the worker, especially in a basic industry. And, what's most important, the rank and file of labor are gradually realizing it. No railroad strike can be won with only nine out of sixteen unions on the job.

Putting Up a Fight

The Capitalist An Evil to Be Resisted

By PRINCE HOPKINS

THIS is a postscript to the article, **Adrenalin and Character**, in the September issue.

"As with fear, so with fight." As the disposition of an animal to retreat before danger shows itself in two tendencies, so his disposition toward aggressiveness manifests itself either in direct assault upon the hated enemy or in some manner of competition waged against him.

The extraordinary effect of the adrenal secretions are nowhere more evident than in combat. The eager boxer hardly feels as pain the blows rained upon him, and which are able to make him very lame a few hours later. Soldiers charging forward in battle have failed to notice when their bodily members were completely shot away, and in other cases have amputated these deliberately with a knife, and testified that they suffered no more than if these parts had been anaesthetized—although after the excitement of battle had subsided, the returning sensations made them scream in agony.

No doubt the heroism of martyrs under torture is due largely to an ecstasy of heroism aroused in them by the dramatic situation.

As it befell animals without fear to be gobbled up, so it befell animals without the combative instinct to be exploited. Even he who said "Resist not Evil," made his life actually a noble drama of combat. It is unfortunate that some of Jesus' disciples quote his phrases—"Blessed are the meek," "blessed are the poor in spirit" together with commands by such men as St. Paul: "servants be obedient unto your masters," to imply that servility is a virtue in the working class.

But it is a peculiarity of the human animal to respect only those who put up some kind of a fight. Not necessarily a fight with material weapons; on the contrary, **the most reversed of the world's heroes are the very men who have most decied violence.** But it was because herein they showed more courage, not less, than the average man. The primitive kind of man can only fight with a club, knife, or gun and so has no defense against those who have at their call skilled professionals in arms. The wiser man practically restricts himself to that more effective weapon—his brain—but still must fight.

One reason so many men enlisted for the adventure of the Great War was that they had never seen the chance to express their combative

and chivalrous instincts in fighting for a great cause here at home. What was near at hand, they felt, was necessarily small and petty. They marched away to export democracy into Germany, blind to the fact that there was not yet enough for home consumption. Now we are wondering why they failed; few yet see that democracy can only be born on the grave of capitalism.

From combativeness let us turn to its sister instinct, competitiveness. That capitalism is an evil growth is no denial of the existence of a competitive instinct which must find some channel of reasonable expression. As well say that we should live on a diet of molasses because the palate craves some sweet.

Indeed, capitalism tends more and more to choke off the very freedom of competition which it so much lauds. The impulse underlying it is rather to gain a monopoly than to compete. If the capitalist loved competition, he would be for international free trade, the abolition of ship subsidies, and in general a fair field and no favor.

He would like to see everywhere, rival forms of government and industry, in order that the fittest might survive. He would welcome a Soviet republic here and an anarchist regime there, as interesting experiments in politics. He would glory in the thrift of the cooperatives, the clear plan of the Syndicalists, and the constructive spirit of the guildists.

Intellectually, he would be a pillar of open forums. "Discussion clarifies the issues," he would say, and "the truth will triumph in open contest." He would march in the amnesty parades, especially on independence day. He would demand that the newspapers told both sides of every situation, and finally withdraw his advertising from the Times, to insert it in the Call.

The capitalist fails to do these things. It falls to Labor to do them. Let us develop a group pride, and an emulation in things good, the competitive virtues which make for progress. Let us, through sheer efficiency of our organizations, and in the face of all his lying, of his conspiracies against us, and of his provocation to force, drive the capitalist from the industrial field.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors.)

HAS THE TIDE TURNED?

HAS THE TIDE TURNED FOR AMERICAN LABOR? Reaction has had such full sway, that any check to its sweeping assault on Labor is welcomed as victory. However, Roger Babson—who informs investors and employers of what is happening in the world—advises them that effective war on the labor unions is at an end. The solid front which the rank and file of all the striking organizations have shown—the shopmen, the miners, the textile workers, the printers—certainly deserve such a reward.

The Cleveland soft coal agreement has been followed by an anthracite agreement. The 155,000 miners in the hard coal fields have returned to work on terms which the *United Mine Workers' Journal* hails as "a memorable victory, one that will stand out in the industrial history of the country in letters of gold." This was not the opinion of a considerable minority among the hard coal miners. Under the leadership of Enoch Williams, secretary-treasurer of District No. 1, they fought bitterly for "better terms." The miners forced the employers to give up their demand for arbitration, and to continue in effect the wages paid before the strike. They also compelled the operators to join with them in asking Congress for a separate commission to study this industry.

Despite Mr. Daugherty's "open shop" injunction, the shopmen have brought their strike to a close on one-fourth of the country's class-one railroads by an agreement with fifty railroad executives. They have thereby split wide open the American Railway Executives' Association—which held out for a hard-boiled policy; they have also killed the U. S. Railroad Labor Board, against which the strike was directed. The wonderful fight of the textile workers has prevented wage cuts (and even won some increases in Massachusetts and the Pawtucket Valley.

The Government, in the midst of this excitement, has pursued its usual stupid policy. The Attorney-General, following President Harding's lead in the mine strike and the Secretary of War's stand for the "open shop" in the Canal Zone, has openly declared that the Government will fight with all the means in its power for the "open shop" everywhere. Despite this fact, friends of the Administration have been victorious in the Eastern primaries and in many of the Western—Labor's candidates having little show. "Fighting Bob" La Follette swept Wisconsin, it is true—**BUT THE TIDE HAS NOT YET TURNED FOR LABOR IN THE POLITICAL FIELD AS IT APPEARS TO HAVE DONE IN THE INDUSTRIAL FIGHT.**

THE WOMEN WIN THE STRIKES

BACK of the great fight put up by the miners is the heroic loyalty of the miners' wives. That is the secret of the solid stand of the rank and file, week after week, in the face of evictions, the threat of starvation and the Government's attacks. **It is always the women who win the strikes.** It is they who can keep up or break down the men's morale—when money becomes short, evictions stare them in the face, or the children become ill and underfed. The miners' women know how to fight. They have shown it in Utah, Colorado, West Virginia, Pennsylvania—wherever a mine war raged. In Kansas, it will be remembered, they marched to the mines in defense of Howatt's followers and drove away the strikebreakers.

In the late Great Mine War they went cheerfully into the tent colonies. They gave birth to children in the open fields. They cooked without sufficient water, because the companies in several places cut off their supply. They

were driven out of their homes at night with no place to go. They were subject to the insults of the State Constabulary and mine guards—and in some instances were assaulted and raped by these thugs.

Their sufferings made possible the united front, of which the *United Mine Workers' Journal* says: "Never before was there such a splendid demonstration of solidarity of ranks and such a unanimity of purpose in any industrial struggle." The result has been the Cleveland and Wilkes-Barre agreements—by which the operators' program of wage cutting has been killed. One by one, also, the union soft coal districts not present at the Cleveland conference have been compelled to sign. Even the Pittsburgh Coal Company—**Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's property**—has accepted the Cleveland terms, including the check-off. This company didn't like to do this, kicked and rebelled; but the miners, backed by their wives, would not budge an inch. No coal was dug—so Mr. Mellon reconsidered, and surrendered.

LABOR AGE

But miners' families are still suffering in the two former non-union counties of Somerset and Fayette. They have not been included in the Cleveland agreement—they whose unexpected loyalty to their union brothers made victory certain. In these counties 45,000 miners are still on strike. These men stood the brunt of the struggle. The sheriff's records show 1,500 evictions in Fayette county alone. Local Union 5220 of the Miners, organized during the strike, has sent out an appeal for bread to feed their hungry children. They say that their local has "suffered 384 evictions, of which 200 have been since the Cleveland agreement." They also say that "the agreement was signed against their wish and special plea that the coke fields should not be left out," and that the Hillman Company has been allowed to sign up for former union mines near Pittsburgh without being required to sign up in Fayette county. This is also the case with the Consolidated Coal Company—the Rockefellers' property. As they have done their bit, "suffering evictions, exposure in tent colonies, typhoid fever and other hardships," they demand of the international organization that it send them relief.

It seems quite a distance from these outcast mine regions in Pennsylvania to the New York City Hall. But the other day a dramatic scene took place in the big city's Municipal Building which vitally affected these abandoned miners. Representatives of John Brophy, President of District No. 2—who has stood with the non-union miners before and after the agreements—told the story of what was happening—of the sufferings of the women and children—to Mayor Hylan and the Board of Estimate. Why to them? Because the **Berwind-White Coal Company is one of the largest companies fighting the miners.** The Berwind-White Company sells fuel to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. The miners asked that the Mayor try to get Mr. Berwind, the company's president, to meet with them. But "Lord" Berwind refused.

What can be done? We who are at work can help these victims of the Industrial Fight. **We owe it to them because they fought for us.** As President John Lewis says in the American Federationist, "This event (the miners' victory) will doubtless mark the turning point in the drive of allied industrial and financial interests to accomplish the so-called deflation or liquidation of labor. **Other trade unions will derive renewed courage from this achievement of the mine workers.**" Show your gratitude to the women of the miners by sending them aid—to the office of District No. 2, Miners Building, Clearfield, Pa.

Do you know also of the fine spirit of the shopmen's wives? They have been organized, since the beginning of the strike, in auxiliaries. In Philadelphia, for example, Clinton Golden of the Machinists, and Pauline Newman of the Woman's Trade Union League, have gotten together a militant organization. From out West, through the columns of the **Wyoming Labor Journal**, comes this interesting story of how the shopmen's wives have worked:

The mothers, wives and sisters of the striking shop crafts are showing the splendid spirit they possess wherever they have been organized into auxiliaries for the purpose of cooperating with the Federated Shop Crafts in the conduct of the strike.

In Cheyenne where the women have been organized for several weeks, they have contributed in no small degree to the success the men are meeting with in keeping their forces united.

In Sheridan where the auxiliary was formed only a few days previous to Labor Day, the women are given the great credit for the Labor Day celebration at that point. Here they have organized to secure employment as well as relief for needy membership of the strikers.

At Laramie, Rawlins, Green River and Kemmerer auxiliaries have been organized within the past two weeks and are already at work actively preparing their program to help in all of the necessary activities incident to the strike.

It is significant that where the women have been organized they have exhibited a spirit and determination to win the strike that sets a high standard for the actual strikers. The women do not propose that their men shall be compelled to return to work under unfair conditions.

These groups will correspond with each other so that they will be able to keep in intimate touch with the situation in each locality, and coordinate their efforts on matters of common interest. In the coming election there is every reason to believe that these women will provide an active agency in the campaign for the election of fair minded officials who stand four-square for the interests of the common people.

Three cheers for the women of the striking men!
They have helped to turn the trick.

GOOD-BYE, RAILROAD LABOR BOARD!

OUT of the shopmen's strike has come one distinct victory at least: **The Railroad Labor Board has been dumped.** It was in protest against the decision of this Board that the strike was called. The new agreement entered into at Chicago by the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. and the group of railway executives led by Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio, ignores the Board altogether. For the first time since the roads went back into private hands, direct negotiations between the men and the roads have been restored. Even the conservative trainmen's organization has also entered into separate contracts!

There will be rejoicing among the men. If they have anything to say, it is pretty certain that the Board will stay shelved. They have learned too well that the "public" group represent only the employers, and will always line up on the employers' side. Listen to what the **Railway Clerk** has to say:

"Railroad employees never had any faith in the ability of the Labor Board to regulate wages and working conditions impartially and with justice to the workers, the carriers, and the public. The fundamental unsoundness of the law which created the Labor Board makes this impossible of accomplishment.

"The public group of the Labor Board is appointed by the President of the United States. With rarely an exception to the rule, such men as have received and will receive appointments by the President to represent the public are men whose training, environment and interests naturally dispose them to favor employers and make them unfit to represent employees. They may be honest men, conscientious men—men who might not knowingly wrong either side but nevertheless, men who are biased on the side of the employing and owning class. Furthermore, labor hasn't the right even of directly choosing its own representatives, and the way is wide open for the President to appoint a labor member who might be wholly unsatisfactory to a majority of the organization that makes nominations. It is only by chance that labor, under this plan, would have equal representation with management and the public. Labor today finds itself with unequal representation on the Board.

"Wages and working conditions cannot be regulated with justice to the workers as long as the law recognizes the fictitious valuation placed on their properties by the carriers. While there are plenty of precedents to establish labor's prior right to a living wage over the investors' right to earn dividends, the Labor Board does not recognize this right and says that 'It is idle to contend that labor can be completely freed from the economic laws which likewise affect the earnings of capital.'

"Instead of proving to be an agency for the prevention of strikes, the Labor Board has turned out to be a promotor of strikes."

"What sort of a change will be made?" "Managements' plan is to crush organization," says the **Railway Clerk**, "and rule with the iron hand of a despot." But "Labor has two plans:" **The Plumb Plan**, "which must form the basis of any permanent solution," and the establishment of a **Board of Mediation and Conciliation**, as provided in the Newlands Act. All the railroad unions seem to be agreed on this latter step. The Plumb Plan, of course,



P. and A. Photos.

I. P. E. U. 624.

FUNERAL OF PENNSYLVANIA STRIKING MINERS, MURDERED BY DRUNKEN "MINE GUARDS"

means the throwing overboard of private ownership—with worker and technician control. It means the conduct of the industry for **service instead of profits.**

MINERS ALSO KILL ARBITRATION

ON their Board of Arbitration idea the miners are as one with the shopmen. It was against the arbitration idea that they made their hardest fight in the Cleveland conference. They killed it there. Up it came again in the hard coal conference. The miners let the first meeting at Philadelphia break up rather than bow to the employers on this point. **They will have nothing to do with it.** At Wilkes-Barre they finally compelled the operators to throw it overboard.

The United Mine Workers' Journal, in recent issues, explains why this was done. The miners have learned from bitter experience that they should settle their own working conditions. All workers, they contend, should take the same stand.

"Arbitration as a means of settlement of a labor controversy," the Journal says, "robs the workers of the right to bargain for the sale of their own services. It takes from them all of the means which they now possess for their own protection against oppressive conditions on the part of their employers. * * * It has been the bitter experience of the workers in this country that they get the worst of it when they agree to the arbitration of their wages or working conditions by outside agencies."

The rank decision of the Coal Commission against the soft coal miners in 1920 and the recent Railroad Labor Board action have been lessons for the miners. The same thing has happened with the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act, "a clear-cut form of arbitration which does not prevent strikes or lockouts."

Here is the miners' view summed up: "Laboring men want to do their own bargaining, instead of being required to turn over to some outside agency with no knowledge of the subject matter the question of how much they shall receive for their services and under which conditions they shall work."

There is no one who knows better what the workers want and need than themselves. The doing away with that straw man "the public" is the big thing done by Labor in 1922. The next step is to think in its own terms—**not only in wage-and-hour bargaining, but in the con-**

trol of industry as a whole. Both miners and railway men have begun to do that too.

"CUTTING OUT THE CUT IN WAGES"

THIS is the way in which the **Literary Digest** announces the end of the New England textile strike.

"Our long fight is won", declares the **New Textile Worker**, organ of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, "The wage reduction of 20 per cent has been restored in every strike center by all the manufacturers involved". Several mills, taking the hint, have even granted 15 per cent to 20 per cent increases over pre-strike wages.

The textile bosses have been taken completely by surprise. They had expected an easy victory. They had counted on the conflicting unions which have cursed the industry for years, to divide and weaken the workers. They had thought that the partial success of the Open Shop Campaign in other industries meant a walk-away in their own badly organized mills.

But they did not remember that immigration has fallen off greatly. This means that they cannot get new workers to take the places of the strikers—themselves immigrants—at a moment's notice. They also did not know that the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Textile Workers and other existing unions would not tramp on each others toes. There was better unity among the strikers than perhaps at any time in the history of the industry. The result: The bossers' plans were completely upset. After 22 weeks of strike, it was they and not the workers who surrendered.

The show-down was forced by the Amalgamated Textile Workers, who first pulled out the men in the Pawtuxet Valley. This was followed by strikes of the United Textile Workers in the Blackstone Valley, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In Lawrence, where the strike broke out last, a One Big Union group also appeared. Despite the dissension which arose between this group and the United, the solidarity of the workers brought the mills to terms. In fact, Lawrence was the first to settle—perhaps due to the bosses' desire to make the Lawrence terms the basis for other settlements.

LABOR AGE

The **New Textile Worker** contends that "above all, the winning of this great strike is due to industrial unionism. Even in Manchester, N. H., at the plant of the Amoskeag Company, where the strike was in charge of an organization that is not primarily industrial unionist in form or spirit, the strike was an industrial union strike—every worker in the mills was out. On any other basis it would not have lasted six weeks, but would have ended quickly in defeat." It thinks that the strike shows that "craft unionism must go—bag and baggage" from the textile industry.

HOW DID THE STRIKERS HOLD OUT?

BUT how did the strikers manage to live during those 22 weeks of idleness? Their wages are pitifully small to start with. They cannot save much money, or hoard up much food. The answer is: **The Cooperatives did it.** Not all of it—for labor unions also gave generously. But enough was done by the Cooperatives—both in money and food—to decide the issue. The unity of the workers would not have won without this aid.

Here is what was done: The Cooperative Bakeries of the Massachusetts cities—New Bedford, Lynn, Worcester, Brockton—and Providence, R. I., by joint action, sent thousands of loaves of bread each day into the Pawtuxet Valley. The Purity Cooperative Association of Paterson, N. J., furnished these bakeries with the flour to make the bread and with thousands of cans of fruit and vegetables. It reminds us of the effective help that the Cooperatives have given in other labor struggles—particularly the Illinois Cooperatives' aid to Howat's miners.

But that's not all. **Truth**, the Duluth labor paper, testifies to the value of cooperation to the shopmen. It says:

Those who think that the main value of cooperatives is educational will have to readjust their thinking machinery somewhat after getting in touch with the Consumers' Cooperative in Duluth. This store is giving definite material benefits right now, as hundreds of striking railroad men in Duluth will testify. Not only is credit given but the strikers are given a reduction below the price that other customers are obliged to pay. Thus the Cooperative takes a very important part in the class struggle today.

Without the Cooperative the solidarity of the shopmen might still be one-hundred per cent. One can never tell what kind of heroic stuff there is in the fellow next to you at the counter. But with the Cooperative it is certain that solidarity of the shopmen is more easily attained.

In a similar way cooperatives in neighboring vicinities have been able to benefit the workers during the strike. In Minneapolis the Franklin Co-operative Creamery, in spite of a falling off of the milk supply, has been instrumental in keeping the price of milk from advancing.

In Two Harbors the workers have a cooperative store that is part and parcel of their class struggles. It has been a force to keep the strikers united.

"MITTENISM" AT WORK

THOMAS E. MITTEN of Philadelphia—like Henry Ford of Detroit—has some good ideas. But, like Ford, he gets dreadfully muddled up. He sees the curse of banker control of street railways. But he would like to substitute "dictatorship of management." He will head off workers' control of industry by absolute control of men by management, under his so-called cooperative union plan.

Mitten's invasion of Buffalo—reported in the last **LABOR AGE**—has taken on still another phase. The state cossacks and his strikebreakers from the Philadelphia "cooperative union" failing to get results, **he has now resorted to the injunction.** Against whom do you think? Against the jitneys, which have done a rush business during the strike. But the court has gone beyond that, and is now fining any automobile driver who picks up a

BRITISH LABOR AND A LABOR PARTY

(From Arthur Gleason's fine book, "What the Workers Want")

"Nationalization of public utilities, joint control, the limitation of private profits, a high standard of living for the producers, production for the use of the consumers, the elimination of unemployment, and democratic finance are the solutions. These fundamental changes are in their nature political. It is not a machinery of conciliation that is chiefly demanded. It is a fundamental economic change to be accomplished by legislation. The day of reckoning up the costs of the War has been postponed. When the cost is faced, and strikes recur, there is only one method that will save England in constitutional government. And that is a Parliament obedient to the will of the people, enacting laws to express that will. It is too late in history to elect Coalition, Tory, Reactionary ministries."

(In other words, they stand four-square for an independent Labor Party.)

pedestrian. The street railway company has furnished the mayor with the names of 3,000 violators of the injunction. Those newspaper men and others who think that Mr. Mitten has brought in the millennium should consult the Buffalo citizens who have been "injunctioned," one at least, of whom has gone to jail. The Philadelphia magnate has perverted an idea of the New Unionisms, that labor should take a definite interest in industry as such, and has tried to put over his ideas autocratically. The Buffalo experience shows that any scheme must be put through by the workers themselves through their own unions—and Mitten, in refusing to see this, has marked himself as an enemy of progress.

OUR "FRIEND," THE STEEL TRUST

FURTHER facts have come out about that "voluntary" raise in wages granted by Judge Gary's benevolent institution—the Steel Trust. Mr. Warfield of the railroad executives, says that the increase was given to keep the steel workers from deserting the mills and going to the railways. Many of the labor papers, however, suspect that the miners' success, particularly in the non-union fields near the steel works, had much to do with it.

Whatever its reason, the **Industrial Digest**—which furnishes information to employers of labor—says that "the 20 per cent wage advance in the steel industries has strengthened the hand of labor all over the country and, according to all authorities, wage deflation, for the time being at least, has definitely stopped." So, Judge Gary, and his banking bosses appear in the amusing role of unwilling friends of labor.

The Steel Trust is also busy "investigating" another labor problem—its labor problem, the 12-hour day. It is doing this through the American Iron and Steel Institute. It is trying to find out whether a shorter day "can" be introduced among the steel workers. In the meantime, the question is answered for them by a committee of the Federated American Engineering Societies. This Committee says that there is **no economic or technical necessity for the 12-hour day**, even in a so-called "continuous industry". On the contrary, **much better results for all parties are obtained from a shorter period**—the 8-hour day. Production is actually increased, and there are less absences from work. Their report will soon be published by E. P. Dutton & Company as a book—which should be put in every labor library. It is another case where the facts, brought out by technicians not under pressure from the banks, strongly support labor's contentions. What would happen if labor could relieve technicians from banker control by allying them to itself?

Happenings Abroad

EUROPE IS STILL STANDING ON ITS HEAD. Unemployment faces the workers everywhere. England—money rich but goods poor—has millions of working men and women on the streets. "The night of winter is rapidly approaching," says the London Daily Herald, "with no sign of improvement in the situation." The British Trade Union Congress demanded that the government take steps at once to provide national employment for the out-of-works. At the same time, German labor—driven to desperation by the changing value of the mark—sent a cry for help to British labor, who could do very little about it. The Irish government added to the troubles of that country by cutting the wages of post office employees, which led to a big postal strike. The International Miners' Conference, meeting at Frankfort in the midst of the American mine strike, could not find a way to stop the shipment to America of British union-mined coal, but the British miners suggested a conference with the United Mine Workers, to discuss a future effective alliance. With these conditions existing and with Central Europe threatened with collapse this winter, war in Southeastern Europe is scarcely the worst thing the workers face. Sad to say, the governments—taken up with their national jealousies—are making no real effort to do anything. The workers continue to demand the downfall of Capitalism—but their demands seem largely confined to words.

AGAINST "THE RUTHLESS FOE"

WAR against Capitalism has been declared by three large meetings of British labor within the past few months. First, the British Labor Party; next, the Cooperative Congress, and finally the Trade Union Congress have been opened with "key-notes" of challenge to the present system. R. B. Walker, president of the Congress, in convening its 54th session at Southport on September 4, declared "that the present system has had its trial and has failed to justify itself. It stands revealed in its national and international activities as the **avowed and ruthless enemy of the vast masses of the people of this country.**" It is interesting to know that Walker is the president of the newly organized Agricultural Workers' Union.

The biggest step taken at the Congress was the decision (by 4,057,000 votes to 916,000) to take over the ownership and control of the **London Daily Herald**, the labor daily. In order to do this, the Congress increased its yearly "affiliation fees" from one penny to three pence per member. The Reaction has taught British Labor that it must have its own daily press.

Robert Smillie, of the miners, caustically reminded the delegates that this sessions' program was not a revolutionary one, and that the trade unions appeared to think it unwise to ask for nationalization of the land, the mines, and the other means of production. "But I want to warn the capitalists," the veteran mine leader said, "that although these big questions are not on the agenda, our minds are not changed on these questions. **The nationalization of the coal mines has not been forgotten**, and never will be dropped until it is a realized fact, and the same applies to nationalization of the land."

Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger, of the American Federation of Labor, aroused the enthusiasm of the delegates in mentioning the possibility of the A. F. of L.'s joining the International Federation of Trade Unions

(the so-called Amsterdam International) in the near future.

The Manacled Man

That the Congress' demand for immediate action on unemployment was not exaggerating the situation is shown by reports coming in from all parts of Britain. Many thousands of out-of-works have drawn all the benefits that they are allowed under the National Unemployment Insurance Act. This means that they will have no funds of any kind, except what they can beg, steal or get from the local authorities for seven weeks. From one town—Barrow-in-Furness—with a population of 74,000, 2,000 workless people face this desperate situation. In the big manufacturing town of Sheffield 40,000 are on the streets; in Manchester 41,000 are out of work. Ex-service men appear everywhere on the streets, with bands and large signs demanding work. An ex-sergeant major, who served four years in France, expressed the protest dramatically by appearing at 10 Downing Street—the Prime Minister's residence—with manacled hands. He handed in a petition on behalf of the ex-soldiers asking "the right to live by honest toil."

GERMANS SEND OUT S. O. S.

GERMANY, of course, is in a wretched condition also. There is some employment there—but no real pay. The wild changes in the value of the mark make it almost useless to work. A series of strikes to force better conditions has resulted. In some places employers have even joined with the workers in agreeing to close things up until some stable condition could be established. Of late, the mark has gone up in value; but prices have gone up much higher. A pair of shoes, for example, very recently priced at 600 marks, cannot be obtained for less than 3,000. Foodstuffs have gone above wearing apparel. According to the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—the chief organ of Stinnes, the leading German capitalist—the cost of living rose from August 16th to 19th, 40 per cent. Since then it has risen more. German workers can only see misery of the worst kind ahead of them.

"Help us lest we perish!" was the recent cry of German labor to the British Trade Union Congress and the International Federation of Trade Unions. "Salvation is still possible," the message said, "but only on condition of your immediate intervention." The delay of the Allies in arriving at an agreement on the reparation question has been largely responsible for the chaos. At the Southport meeting, the British trade unions demanded that the Reparations Commission get busy, that the army of occupation be withdrawn and that Germany be admitted to the League of Nations. Braun, the Prussian prime minister, declared publicly that unless the situation changed soon, "the boiler would burst".

Saving the German Railroads

The big interests of Germany, like vultures over a dead body, have taken advantage of this collapse, to press for the "denationalization" of the German railroads. In other words, they want the roads—in bad condition as a result of the general bad conditions—to be turned over to private control. The workers are dead set against this. The German Railwaymens Union employed experts to study the situation. They now

LABOR AGE

report—according to the Review of the International Federation of Trade Unions—that the railroads are not in good shape because of the profiteering of the “Rings” or groups of metal manufacturers which sell them supplies. **Instead of turning the railroads over to private ownership, the union demands that these “rings” be socialized by the transfer to public ownership of those works which produce the most important materials.** A bill has been drafted for that purpose, giving to the Minister of Transport the right to condemn and take over by purchase any works of this character. The German workers know that their salvation lies in the extension of socialization.

BLOOD FLOWS IN ITALY

IN ITALY the workers have more than economic depression to deal with. For two years they have waged a bloody war with the Fascisti. In mid-summer they entered upon a general strike of protest against the acts of these bitter enemies.

Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari, Triest, Genoa and Livorno were tied up immediately. Turin, Florence, Bologna and

Ancona—hesitating at first—later threw themselves into the struggle.

The strike provoked the Fascisti to acts of greater violence. The entire “white army” was mobilized against the labor forces. On the same day that the workers returned to work—August 3rd—the Fascisti attacked Ancona, the large port on the Adriatic, Parma, Genoa and Milan, and Livorno. Ten thousand men marched against Ancona, 20,000 against Parma, 15,000 against Milan, a like number against Genoa and 5,000 against Livorno. Everywhere the anti-labor forces were victorious. As the *International Press Correspondence* of the Communist movement says:

“Atop the Milan Municipal Building, atop the ruins of the destroyed Avanti and the cooperative buildings of the longshoremen of Genoa and Ancona, atop the Municipal Buildings of Parma and Livorno, the Fascisti are singing their triumphal hymns. For hundreds of kilometers around, the country has been reduced to ruins by the murderous white guards.”

This is only a temporary situation, it appears, however—a truce rather than a final labor defeat. The workers apparently are quietly preparing for another assault on their enemies.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

WHAT TO READ

6. Labor in Politics

(A number of new books on this subject will be out this fall, one of which we can recommend—Lucy Branham's book, which will be out shortly.)

American Federation of Labor, “Labor and Politics.” Report of proceedings. Vol. 42. (Washington, 1922.)

American Labor Year Book, “Labor and Politics.” N. Y. Rand School of Social Science. (Vol. 1; October, 1916.)

Mary Beard, “Labor and Politics.” Short history of the American labor movement. (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.)

Daniel Bloomfield, “Labor Parties.” (In his selected articles on modern industrial movements, 1919.)

James Bryce, “Labor Parties.” Modern democracies. (Macmillan Co., 1921; 2 Vols.)

Canada Department of Labor, “Labour in Politics.” (The annual report on labor organization in Canada; Vol. 10; 1920.)

F. T. Carlton, “Organized Labor in American History.” (D. Appleton & Co., 1920.)

M. R. Carroll, “Labor and Politics.” (Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1922.)

J. R. Commons, “History of Labor in the United States.” (Macmillan Co., 1918; 2 Vols.)

Farmer-Labor Party, “Report of Convention Proceedings.” (1920.)

H. E. Gaston, “Non-Partisan League.” (N. Y., Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.)

William Hard, “Farmer-Labor.” In *New Republic*. (Vol. 24, pages 168-70; 191-93; 218-19; Oct. 13-27, 1920.)

Morris Hillquit, “History of Socialism in the United States.” (5th edition, Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1910.)

Morris Hillquit, Samuel Gompers and M. J. Hayes, “Double Edge of Labor's Sword.” (Chicago, Socialist Party, 1914.)

Robert Hunter, “Labor in Politics.” (Chicago, Socialist Party, 1915.)

C. E. Russell, “History of the Non-Partisan League.” (Harper Bros., 1920.)

Socialist Party of the United States, “Political Guide for the Workers.” (Chicago, 1920.)

* * *

ROBERT M. BRUERE'S *The Coming of Coal* is a history of coal from the time of the first formation of the coal deposits to the present time. The treatment of the subject is, in a number of ways, quite

unusual. It gives an accurate idea of the coal industry—and conditions existing as a result of its development—without boring the reader with rows upon rows of confusing statistics. It is brief and to the point—and yet succeeds in exciting the imagination of the reader to the Romance of Coal. The total result is, to show us what possibilities of emancipating mankind from a selfish scramble for the necessities of life were locked up in this dark substance, if only the race had been spiritually ready in the past to insist that they be properly utilized. As a first step, toward that end today, it urges that the facts in the coal situation be made public.

* * *

WE HAVE, for a long time, been looking for a book which we could put into the hands of people who had begun to show some interest in science, and especially in the evolutionary idea,—a book which would give them the authentic facts upon which modern conceptions are based, and at the same time set the things forth in a form which would not frighten our friends away at the very outset by its technical nature. Just as we were at the point of despairing, there came into our hands Prof. Arthur J. Thompson's *The Outline of Science*. (Putnam's, 4 volumes, 800 illustrations, 40 in full color.) We wish this great work could be put out at a price more within the reach of labor people. There seems little likelihood of a reduction in the near future, however, for the simple reason that it contains so obviously the full value of the money. The only adverse criticism we have to make of the first two volumes, which are out, is the inadequate treatment of recent psychological advances—the Russian, the Freudian, and the “Behavioristic” schools. The whole work is fascinating, and especially is the collection of illustrations, in respect to their number, their beauty, and their aptness, quite extraordinary.

This copy speaks for itself. Wouldn't you like to get this sort of information month by month? Subscribe for a year.

NOTE THIS LIST!

Is Your Union In It?

Among the unions recently subscribing to **LABOR AGE** for officers or members are the following:

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
- International Fur Workers' Union.
- United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union.
- Philadelphia Central Labor Union
- Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union.
- Joint Board Furriers' Union.
- Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union.
- Joint Board Waist and Dressmakers.
- Chicago Joint Board, I. L. G. W. U.
- Joint Board, Millinery and Straw Hat Workers' Union.
- Brotherhood of Painters, District No. 9
- Brotherhood of Painters, Local 892.
- Brotherhood of Painters, Local 261.
- Teachers' Union.
- Local No. 4 (Cutters), A. C. W. of A.
- Locals Nos. 3, 10, 19, 20, 48 and 89, I. L. G. W. U.
- Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union.

We are steadily adding to this list, and want your Union to join. We need its help in this job of finding the ways and means by which Labor is fighting the Reaction.

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Send 25 cents for Sample Copy

BE INTELLIGENT ON THE FOREMOST QUESTION OF THE DAY

Read the **BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW**, and learn what doctors, scientists, economists and social workers have to say on this question.

Published monthly, \$2.00 a year. Single copy, 25c

SPECIAL OFFER

Send check for \$3.50 and receive:

Birth Control Review for one year \$2.00

Woman and the New Race,

by Margaret Sanger, \$2.00

Address Room 1904, 104 Fifth Ave., New York City

The ACADEMY PRESS

PRINTERS of QUALITY

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS
NEWSPAPERS, STATIONERY
PERIODICALS, FOLDERS, ETC.

112 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: 6671-9176-6440 STUYVESANT

Written, Published and For Sale by John Veiby.

THE UTOPIAN WAY, 216 pp. cloth bound..	Price. \$1.50
DIRECT ACTION, a one-act play.....	.25
BEYOND MARRIAGE, a pamphlet.....	.25

Address: John Veiby, Box 294, South Bend, Ind.

SOME BOOKS

For Workers to Read:

DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY

By Leon Trotzky. Cloth \$1.00, paper 50 cents.

BARS and SHADOWS

Ralph Chaplin's Prison Poems. \$1.00.

NEW POLICIES of SOVIET RUSSIA

By Lenin, Rutgers, Bukharin. \$1.00.

A B C of COMMUNISM

By N. Bukharin. 50 cents.

THE RAILROADERS' NEXT STEP—AMALGAMATION

By Wm. Z. Foster. 25 cents.

Write for new price list

Literature Department

WORKERS' PARTY

799 BROADWAY, ROOM 405

NEW YORK CITY

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 2 W. 13th St., New York City. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year.

LABOR MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

You want first-hand information of labor movements in Europe, at minimum expense, where the conventions are held in 1922.

You also want information as to how to travel cheaply in Europe. Consult:

WAYFARERS' TRAVEL AGENCY,
45 West 34th Street New York

All travel business taken care of

What They Say

About **LABOR AGE**

PHIL. ZIEGLER, Editor "Railway Clerk":

"Congratulations on the splendid journal you are putting out. It is an important addition to the labor press."

THOMAS VAN LEAR, former Labor Mayor of Minneapolis:

"I think anybody that gets a copy of LABOR AGE will find that the copy itself is the biggest boost that a magazine can possibly have. It is an extremely and unusually well edited magazine, full of good material on all angles of the labor movement, admirably got up, printed on very nice paper and typographically really a work of art."

W. M., North Fork, California:

"I think it is the best labor publication I have ever read, and I have been interested in the labor movement for 30 years."

W. T. R., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

"Your attempt to supply facts to labor is to me one of the most significant efforts in present day reform."

THE NOVEMBER ISSUE IS OUR ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

Its Features:

**SOCIALIZATION—THE BIG THING
How Can Labor Destroy the Profit System?**

and

Benjamin Schlesinger's Exclusive Story

"PERSONAL GLIMPSES OF BRITISH LABOR"

(The first Radical for many years to go as A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the Trade Union Congress, gives new view of British Movement.)

A Rare Combination Offer:

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

(a magazine of International Labor, published in London, England.)

The Press, Labor and Capitalist, agrees to the excellence of this publication.

Price of THE LABOUR MONTHLY alone, \$2.00; subscription to LABOR AGE, \$2.00.

COMBINATION SUBSCRIPTION PRICE — BOTH: \$3.50

**LABOR PUBLICATION SOCIETY
41 UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY**