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# Labor Age

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Against the Profit System

*American Labor's Battle for "Service in Industry"*



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

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### Contributors to This Issue

- JOHN BROPHY. President, District No. 2, U. M. W. of A.; Chairman, Miners' Nationalization Research Committee.
- STUART CHASE. Economist and accountant, Labor Bureau, Inc.
- CLINTON GOLDEN. Business agent, Philadelphia District, International Association of Machinists.
- CEDRIC LONG. Technical advisor, Cooperative League of America.
- BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER. President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate, 1922 British Trade Union Congress.
- WARREN S. STONE. Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; President, Plumb Plan League.

### THE NEW AMERICAN JOB

**A**MERICAN HISTORY is full of good things. These things show the American worker that "victory" is written for him in advance, at the end of his fight. This country began by knocking into a cocked hat the divine right of kings. That was a step forward over the old order. Then came the fight against slavery. The men who fought for freedom of the negro slaves were branded as fools and outcasts. But they kept up the fight—and won. That was another step forward. Now the big battle against wage slavery is on. The worker finds that the profit system holds him down and breaks him. Under it, his efforts for higher wages are only met by a boosting of prices.

He cannot make a true advance until he and his fellows destroy this profit idea in industry—and put the service idea in its place. That is the meaning of Socialization. **It means that we work, not that a few should profit and grow fat, but that all should benefit.**

Try as they may, those in power cannot stop the advance of this new movement for service in industry. There is no other way to stop the great wastes going on now. There is no other way to meet the demand of the workers. The American job is, following our traditions, **to finish the work of putting kings and slave-holders out of business** by putting a stop, once and for all, to the Capitalist ownership of the mines, railways and other means of production.

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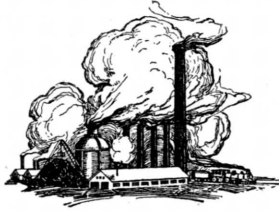
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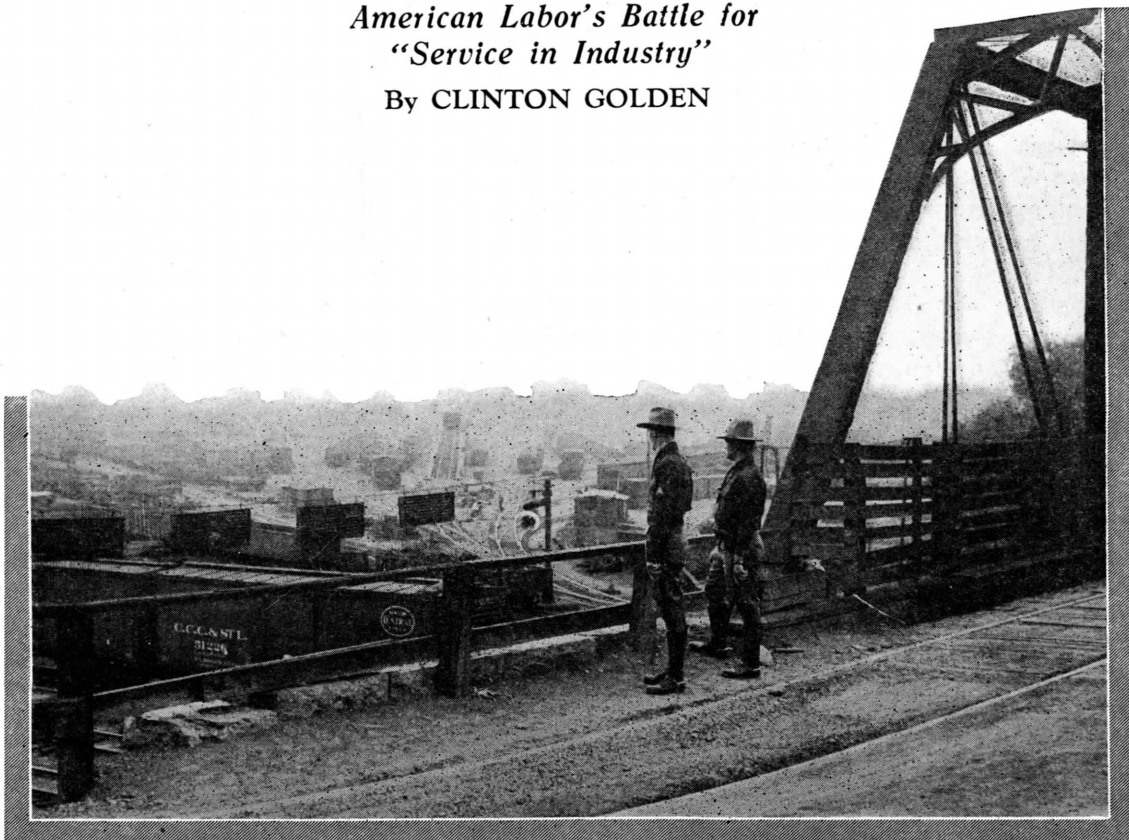
# Labor Age



## Against The Profit System

*American Labor's Battle for  
"Service in Industry"*

By CLINTON GOLDEN



P. and A. Photos

I. P. E. U. 624

**New York Militia—supported by PUBLIC funds—aiding PRIVATE rail interests against Shopmen, at Port Jervis.  
Why not get rid of this PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS by PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF  
THE RAILROADS?**

**S**UPPOSE one of the striking miners of Somerset were to come face to face with the Crown Prince of Oil, and challenge his right to his domains. The miner might well do that. Men from Somerset are picketing the offices of the Consolidation Coal Company in New York, which the Oil Prince and his allies control.

The families of the miners, back in the Pennsylvania hills, are out in the fields, facing a winter in the open. Because—the Company will

not recognize their union or grant them a decent wage. The Oil Prince, on the other hand, has just been made richer by \$52,000,000. It is the result of a stock dividend from the Standard—not declared until after his servant, the U. S. Supreme Court, had freed stock dividends from taxation!

"By what right," asks the man of Somerset, "do you hold the hills in which I work? By what right do you own the oil lands, from which

## LABOR AGE

you and your family have spread to the rule of coal and iron and so many other things?" "By right of thrift and patience," would answer the Crown Prince, "and the thrift and patience of my father."

### Thrift—Or Robbery?

"A queer sort of thrift, which I call robbery. What of the contract of January 18, 1872—by which your father's company was given monopoly of the oil fields? By this contract, the big railroads of the country agreed:

"1. To double freight rates. 2. Not to charge your father's company the increase. 3. To give his company the increase collected from all competitors. 4. To make any other changes of rates necessary to guarantee his success in business. 5. To destroy his competitors by high freight rates. 6. To spy out the details of his competitors' business.

"From then on, did not your father's company, through use of similar tactics—through its railroad allies, corruption of officials, attacks on competitors and working men—build up its great ownership of oil and coal and iron lands—on Theft?"

At this stage, the Oil Prince would mumble that he "was not speaking with a Christian and a gentleman" and would end the argument.

### "The Workers Be Damned!"

But what the man of Somerset says is true—not only of Oil, but of Steel and Coal and Railways. One must go to a book like the 3-volume work of Gustavus Myers on "**Great American Fortunes**" for the full story of the bribery, fraud and collusion by which the rail and coal and oil lands were stolen from the government by private groups. "You cannot turn to a single state paper or public document", states a special Congressional Committee of 1883, "where the subject is mentioned before the year 1883, from the message of the President to the report of the Commissioner of the Land office, but what statements of 'fraud' in connection with the disposition of public lands are found."

Of course, that is only the beginning of the story. Power begets power. These great interests, backed by the Money Kings, became more and more interlocked—until one's head becomes dizzy tracing their windings and interwindings. Directors of banks are directors of coal and directors of steel and directors of railroads. When one of these big monopolies goes on the rocks, through over-robbery, the government comes to its aid. "But how about the interests of the people—of the workers?" you

ask. "**The interests of the workers be damned! says the Government. "We are out to save this industry."** So, we see such acts passed as the Esch-Cummins bill—under which the railroads have been given the guarantee to rob us permanently to the tune of 5.75 per cent on their watered stock.

We get, as a result, the mess in which we now find ourselves. This money, flowing always into the pockets of these interests, does not grow on trees. It comes out of the land and the hides of the workers. "The rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer"—although it is the "poor" who do the work that makes the riches possible. That is the cry which went up from old Rome and other decaying states and civilizations. We've got to do something to save our civilization, as far as it has gone. And if we American workers have any "guts" we will fight for our rights, now being taken from us each day. Miners in tent colonies, shopmen still on strike are mute evidence of a rotten state of affairs—not to mention bayonets, injunctions, Supreme Court decisions and other marks of our slavery.

### Kill the Profit System

The way to save ourselves and American civilization is to kill the profit system, and introduce the idea of service in industry. Profit Making means going from bad to worse. **The dice are all loaded against the workers.** Money makes money under that system, and the workers haven't the money. They have something else more valuable, if they know how to use it—the power to create wealth. Let's get down to the business of making that wealth serve the common good, not to enrich a few and shackle chains on ourselves.

That is what "socialization" means: **Service instead of profits as the motive of industry.** How else can the workers get a better condition of affairs? All that they do today is to boost wages, only to see higher prices result and themselves blamed for it. The great mass of newspapers—also on the profit basis—are against them. Every element in the Profit Making game is against them. They find themselves whirled around in a circle, with the surplus wealth accumulating in the hands of those in power. Look at the figures in regard to the readjustment of Liberty Bonds and see if that is not the case.

### Moves For Nationalization

The American workers, fortunately, are on



the move against this state of affairs. The Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor declared for the Plumb Plan—by which the public, the whole American people, will take over the railways and the workers will have a voice in management. The railwaymen and the miners have learned from experience that the rails and mines must be nationalized. The railway workers have brought forth the Plumb Plan, and the miners the American Plan—both providing for public ownership with participation in management by the workers. They say to the "Public": "We are with you. You take over this thing—you who are robbed as consumers as we are robbed as producers. Let us run it together, with the technicians." **There may be halts in the journey of these plans to success—but there is no stopping them. They are steps to preserve American freedom. Coal owners and rail owners must be overthrown, just as slaveholders were 60 years ago.**

#### Workers Must Control

There is no rose without thorns, and there is no proposal of progress without its dangers. Nationalization will be dangerous if workers' control does not go with it. There must not only be a distinct voice in management, but always the recognition of the right to strike and to bargain collectively. If these rights were denied, it would be better to go on with our present messed-up situation. For otherwise, we would have Bureaucracy. **American workers will not stand for Bureaucracy** and will not be misled by any trumped-up plan of the anti-labor forces. That is sure to appear, when the demand for socialization becomes strong, just as President Harding's fake Fact-Finding Commission on Coal has appeared when the miners had won their demand for Facts. Collective bargaining can go on under public ownership just as it does under consumers' cooperation.

Cooperation, by consumers or producers, is another means for the destruction of the Profit motive in industry. It has had hard sledding thus far in America; but now begins to bloom, as the result of necessity. The miners and shopmen can tell of the great help that cooperative stores have been to them in the recent strikes. In industries other than the basic industries cooperation is a good method to adopt. In the milk and grocery and bakery business, for example, it has had greatest success. In these un-

#### WHAT NATIONALIZATION MEANS TO THE MINERS

(From "Why the Miners' Program," pamphlet of District 2, U. M. W. of A.)

**I**F NATIONALIZATION is put through, with the workers' share in control, with the safeguarding of the public interest, with the security of the miners—then

*Nationalization means an end of car-pushing.*

*It means the end of unnecessary accidents.*

*It means more air pumped into the mines.*

*It means a wage that will give a good American life.*

*It means a better house and home.*

*It means an end of overwork and slack work, of rush seasons and unemployment, of fatigue and then hard times.*

*It means regular work at short hours through the year.*

*It means an end of the life that is poor, nasty, brutish, short.*

*It means the coming of safety, security, health and freedom.*

dertakings, the workers band together as consumers and purchasers, not as producers.

#### Unions Running Factories

Cooperation by groups of workers in the running of factories is a hopeful thing. It is still largely a matter of hope, however, and nothing more. The Russian-American Industrial Corporation is an ambitious attempt in cooperation of that kind. The Machinists are trying it, and the miners of at least one West Virginia town. Why should not the workers, through their unions, run factories—clothing, metal works, building, etc.? They could probably do it much better themselves, than through state interference. The British and German building guilds have set a nice pace in that direction.

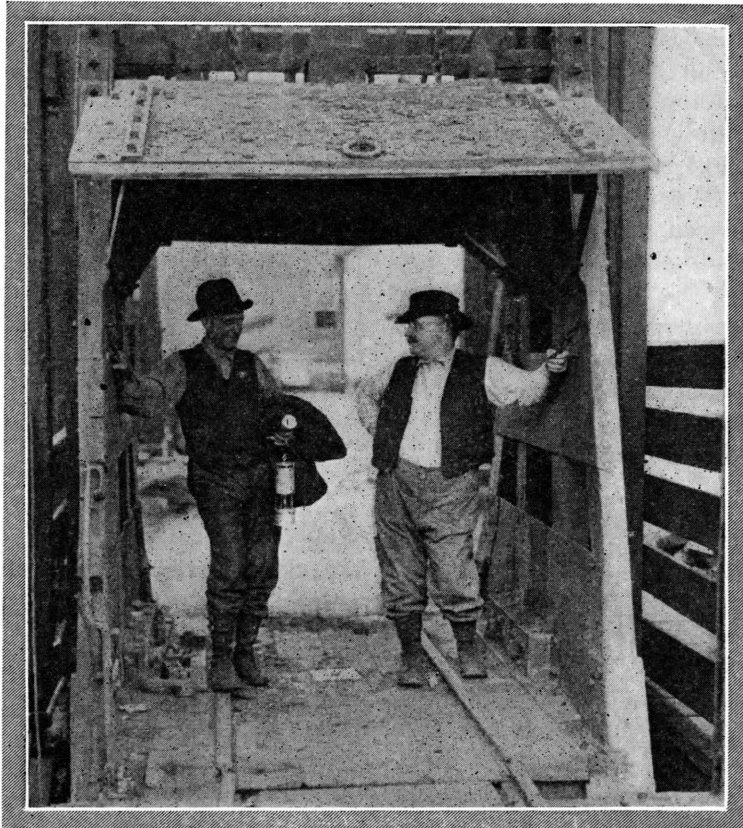
These different ways of destroying the profit system go hand in hand. **No one of them alone is going to cure the ills of this old world.** There is a tendency sometimes in some quarters to settle on one of them—Nationalization, Cooperation, etc.—as the be-all and end-all of the social scheme. The American labor movement cannot stand for that sort of dogmatics. It will only lead to little bickering groups, fighting each other harder than they fight the common enemy.

Each one of them has its job to do, in beating down the defenses of Profit-Making. Let us give a hand to all of them—consumers cooperation in the food and kindred businesses, producers cooperation in the factory industries, and Nationalization in the big basic industries. That means a general advance on all wings for the establishment of **SERVICE AS THE BUSINESS OF WORK AND LIFE.**

# The Miners' American Plan

*Public Ownership the Cure for the Ills of Coal*

By JOHN BROPHY



P. and A. Photos

I. P. E. U. 624

“BACK TO THE MINES”

—BUT

WHAT FOR?

Anthracite Miners

Entering Mine

After Big Strike

—Only to

Battle Again?

**P**RESSURE by the miners forced action by President Harding, and led to the creation of the National Fact-Finding Coal Commission. But the membership of that commission is far from the outline suggested by the miners. **Such a commission should contain miners among its representatives.** If the commission is in earnest, we suggest three main lines of investigation:

1. The present misgovernment of the industry;
2. The need of facts about coal;
3. A drastic plan of reorganization.

The misgovernment is registered by the appalling waste of coal, the dreary and chronic under-employment of man-power, and the unnecessary accidents and death-roll of miners.

The need of facts is illustrated by the journey of a coal-car from mine-head to market, with the pyramiding of prices at each junction.

## United Labor's Task

The demand for reorganization is recognized by intelligent executives who range from the President of the Erie Railroad to the Secretary of Commerce. Whether that reorganization shall take the form of one more great trust, like the U. S. Steel Corporation, or a litter of baby trusts, or a democratic organism, rests wholly on the alertness of the united labor forces of America. If labor speaks with power at Washington, it can demand a thorough-going exposure of the facts, leading to the treatment of coal as a public utility.

We miners have by national resolution demanded, and by committee specified, the public ownership and the democratic management **which alone will bring order to the shattered industry.** Our plan is simple and balanced. It provides the safeguards and checks of a constitutional government. **It is in the main cur-**



**rent of the American tradition.** The sincerity of the National Fact-Finding Coal Commission will be tested by the care with which it considers this plan. If the Commission disregards the one fundamental, detailed and comprehensive remedy now before the American public, it will stimulate the miners to convinced and determined economic and political action. It is not the miners nor the miners' plan which are on trial, but the coal industry, as conducted by competitive private enterprise. The indictment has been formulated by the technicians, and ratified by the public. The trial is now proceeding.

#### The Miners' Plan

What the miners demand is the purchase of the coal industry and of coal by the people of the United States. For the proper organization of the industry, we advocate the Miners' American Plan. This includes:

1. A Secretary of Mines in the Cabinet.
2. A Federal Commission of Mines, part of whose membership shall be appointed directly by large technical and industrial bodies. This is a public body, representing the consumers.
3. The plan assigns policy to this Commission, and sharply separates policy-making from administration.
4. For administration, it purposes the establishment of national, regional and local Administrative Councils. Their membership includes technicians, miners and the public.
5. The Plan calls for a Wage Scale Committee, made up jointly of the directors of the industry and of the miners. Collective bargaining is preserved and enhanced. The right to strike is scrupulously maintained and affirmed. Any plan of nationalization that pussy-foots or soft-pedals collective bargaining is the beginning of slavery for the mining community.

This American Plan demands the full democratic program. It calls for a union that covers the coal fields. It contemplates no such equivocal situation as that which leaves Logan coal to be mined under a feudal system, administered by modern gun-men. The miners will welcome nationalization with a 100 per cent union.

#### How the Miners Do It

**T**HIS article by Brother Brophy is the first announcement of the details of the Miners' Plan.

The miners are explaining their demand for Nationalization in a series of pamphlets. These pamphlets can be obtained from the Nationalization Research Committee, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Indiana. A new pamphlet, telling more of the American Plan, will be out shortly. Do not fail to get it. It tells the story convincingly, in a brief, simple way.

\* \* \*

One thing that all these pamphlets emphasize is the necessity of knowing what the FACTS are. On the basis of these facts, Labor can go forward to socialize the industry.

#### Labor Party Twin Brother of Nationalization

Again, this plan requires the solidarity of labor at the polls. No public measure is safe in the atmosphere of Washington, unless labor congressmen watch its workings. No Federal Commission will win the respect of the people, until its membership is purged of hack politicians and trust magnates in favor of public-spirited citizens. In short, a strong political labor party is the twin-brother of a democratic nationalization.

The challenge of this American Plan of the miners will be met by a series of substitute schemes. The organization of the United Mine Workers of America will be attacked by such insidious proposals as that of district unions or even of local committees, patterned on the Rockefeller plan.

A fundamental reorganization of coal will be countered by the proposal of a gradual trustification of the industry—a quiet and growing understanding among the operators, to limit development and to facilitate marketing. The only victims of such large-scale scheming will be the general public and the miners. Once again the operators will be saved from the wreck.

We are hopeful that the public is now sensitive to these devices of a discredited regime. But even if the public is still inert, the miners will push their plan. The movement for nationalization grows in momentum. Public ownership of the mines, with democratic management, is now inevitable.

# "The Railroads for the People!"

*So the Rail Unions Demand—How? Through the Plumb Plan*

By WARREN S. STONE

**N**O ONE knows better than Warren S. Stone why the railroads should be put into the hands of the people. For many years he has been the leader of the most powerful—and today one of the most progressive—of the railroad unions. As President of the Plumb Plan League, he is carrying on the work begun by Glenn E. Plumb. These words of his re-state the case for turning the financiers out of railroad control and putting the "public" and workers at the throttle.



**T**HE railroad problem, like every other problem, will never be settled until it is settled right. And it will never be settled right until the primary purpose of railroad-ing is to serve the people and the industries of the whole nation **instead of to make profits for a favored few.** This is the essence of what we call "the railroad problem",—a problem that has weighed heavily upon American industry and commerce, that has bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers, and that has precipitated some of the severest labor struggles in the history of the country.

There is nothing peculiar about the principles underlying efficient operation of the railroads. They are the same principles which ought to govern every other great industry. The interests concerned may roughly be divided into three large groups: (1) the workers, including technical direction, (2) the financiers, and (3) the public. Efficient operation of the railroads simply means organizing and directing the necessary labor power and providing the necessary equipment to meet the transportation needs of passengers and shippers with the utmost dispatch and at the lowest possible cost.

#### The Foundation Stone

Let us consider separately the claims of these three groups upon which a solution of the railroad problem depends. As in every industry, labor is the foundation stone of an efficient railroad system. There is this difference: the railroad employes, especially those engaged in the actual operation of trains, must possess an unusually high degree of intelligence, dependability, physical endurance and technical skill. **A man's eyesight must be keen, his nerves steady, his mind able to make instantaneous decisions, his habits of life such that he can be re-**

**lied upon for continuous service, in order to fill the demands of modern railroading.** In other words, the railroad service demands a superior type of workman. No men in any other enterprise or profession, not even excepting the skilled surgeon or the physician, are entrusted with the lives and property of more human beings than are the men engaged in the operation of trains.

For these reasons, the men who take the risks and carry the responsibilities of modern railroading must be given a fair compensation and decent conditions of employment. Else, the railway service cannot attract and hold the high caliber of man-power necessary for safe and efficient transportation.

Railway employes, therefore, must receive an adequate compensation for the high skill, heavy responsibility and fidelity to duty required of them. The conditions of employment must be such that the lives of the men are safe-guarded, their normal home life maintained as far as possible, redress for grievances provided, and security of tenure and continuous work assured them. Finally, an opportunity must be given them to put their best brains into the industry, to exercise their initiative and inventive power, and **to have that voice in the direction of the railroads due those who invest their labor and life** in an industry at least equally with those who invest only their capital.

#### What the Public Wants

The demands of the public may be stated in five words: **low rates and good service.** High rates mean a stagnation of industry, of commerce, and of agriculture. Inefficient and unreliable service is only less costly and usually more provoking.



It is not necessary to elaborate upon these simple fundamentals. If you doubt how much reasonable rates and efficient transportation underlie the prosperity, the comfort, the very existence of the entire nation, then picture for yourself the effects upon any great industry of extortionate rates for hauling its raw materials and distributing its products. Or, imagine if you can the plight of any large city if the railroads failed regularly to bring coal and meat and bread to its door.

The third class concerned in railroading is the financiers, both stock and bond holders. They put up part of the initial capital for building the railroads and now collect from the public in rates sufficient money to pay them the interest and profit on their investment and extend the lines as occasion requires. **The managers and technical experts who actually run the railroads are quite distinct from the men who furnish the money.** They are simply hired men, the same as the switchmen or engineers. Their brains could be hired by the public or by the operating employes or by anyone else who undertook to run the roads.

#### The Conflict

Now, there is a fundamental conflict in interest between the financiers on the one hand and the public and the employes on the other. No amount of smooth talking and press propaganda can conceal the fact from intelligent men. The main interest of the financiers is to secure the maximum possible profit from the operation of the roads, or to perpetuate the profit they already receive. The former are the holders of the common stock; the latter the owners of the preferred stock and the bonds. These profits can come only from two sources: by driving down wages or by exacting higher rates and giving less service to the public. There is no third way.

Certain groups of railroad owners are much more enlightened than others. Some have come to realize that their profits can best be kept up by a reasonable adjustment of both rates and wages. Still others would like to do this, but are handicapped by millions of watered stock, special "bonuses" and long-term contracts with favored insiders. These obligations make it utterly impossible to pay decent wages and maintain reasonable rates and yet get a profit big enough to meet the demands of stock and bond holders.

Let us face this railroad problem honestly and fearlessly. **There is no more reason why the steel roads of the country should be operated for private profit than there is for the dirt roads to be turned over to corporate exploitation.** Both are equally essential to our national life. Granted that the operation of the railroads is a much more complex and technically intricate matter than the up-keep of the highways, yet the principle underlying their use is basically the same.

So long as the railroads of this country are operated for private profit and not primarily for public service, we shall continue to have labor trouble, inefficient service, over-valuation, freight tie-ups, "inside" contract scandals, and the other defects with which we are well familiar.

#### Why Not Regulation?

Why not regulate the roads? Why not limit their profits and guarantee them a fair return? There are two sufficient answers. Ever since 1887 we have tried to "regulate" the railroads in order to prevent the most flagrant abuse of their tremendous power over the development and prosperity of the country. We created such governmental bodies as the Interstate Commerce Commission. We made secret rebates and private pools illegal. We prevented as far as possible unfair discrimination and rate differentials which bankrupted one industry or one section of the country in order to benefit another. And yet thirty-five years of this expensive and extensive regulation has proved unable to solve the railway problem. In many cases we are worse off today than we were before "regulation" began.

The second difficulty which makes government rate regulation and profit guarantees a mockery so long as the railroads remain in private hands, is the utter impossibility of supervising the management of the railroads to make sure that alleged deficits are honestly incurred. In other words, if the government is to guarantee a minimum return to the owners of the railroads, it must have complete supervisory power to prevent artificial deficits by over-big salaries, expensive contracts to favored corporations, grossly wasteful mismanagement and all the other artifices which can be and have been employed when the government has footed the bills.

In brief, the government cannot undertake

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the obligation to guarantee a stated return to the railroad owners without actually controlling the management of the railroads—to prevent the dissipation of their funds at the taxpayers' expense. Such managerial control means the virtual elimination of the private owner. But there would be so many conflicts of authority that efficient transportation would be out of the question.

### Labor and Public Must Get Together

There is only one other course. The two prime factors in railroading—labor and the public—must get together and work out a mutually satisfactory transportation system. In other words, we find that the one unnecessary factor is the same factor which endeavors to secure its profit by beating down the wages and working rules of the employes and exacting the maximum possible rates from the public. Why not eliminate this factor?

But can we dispense with private capital in running the railroads? We have been dispensing with it ever since the war. Whenever the government grants a railway subsidy, guarantees a minimum return, or instructs the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates that will insure a fair return to railroad owners, it is supplying them with the credit without which they could not borrow money or sell stock to meet their financial needs. The government in this way underwrites the credit of the railroads. In fact, it has lent millions of dollars directly to the railroads during the past few years. There can be no question but that the government, with the credit of the country behind it, could secure money to maintain and extend the country's rail lines much cheaper and easier than can private borrowers. It is only a question as to whether this will be done directly with consequent recognition of government control, or whether it shall be done indirectly for the profit of the rail owners while still keeping up the **expensive fiction that private capital runs the roads.**

### A Stale Argument

The one standard objection to government operation and control of the country's transportation lines is the stale argument that government control means political control, which would be ruinous to railway efficiency and progress. But government ownership and control does not involve political interference, any more than ownership and control of the Panama

Canal has resulted in political debauchery. Those unfamiliar with the facts might ask two other questions: (1) Can the government get the necessary technical experts to run the roads? and (2), was not government administration of the roads a failure during the great war?

But, as I have pointed out above, the government can hire the technical brains to run the roads, just as easily as these experts are now hired by private capital. And to those conversant with the facts, including the presidents of our largest transportation lines, government administration of the railroads during the war was the sole salvation of a hopelessly disjointed and inefficient railway system. Director General of Railroads William G. McAdoo testifying before the U. S. Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on February 2nd, 1922, said:

### The Cost of Private Control

"The actual operating monthly costs of the railroads under government control were only \$375,988,813, as against \$473,257,239 under private management; or in other words private control cost the tremendous sum of \$1,167,220,632 more per year. Expressed in terms of work done or in units of traffic handled, the cost per thousand equaled ton miles under government control was only \$8.74, compared with \$11.54 under private management. In other words, the cost of private operation since federal control has been 32 per cent higher than under the railroad administration."

The great service of Glenn E. Plumb was to formulate the broad principles of railroad control which alone can insure cheap and efficient service for the public and a square deal for railroad labor. Mr. Plumb proposed to remove the direction of the railroad as far from political interference as is the Federal Trade Commission or the Supreme Court of the United States. The readers of **Labor Age** are doubtless already familiar with the details of this plan. Its fundamental principle is that efficient railway service can only be secured by the cooperation of the employes, the technical supervisors, and the public as a whole. This is so valid as to be beyond denial.

For nearly a century we have groped blunderingly toward the solution of the railway problem. We have tried everything except the right thing. We have failed because we have refused to run the railroads for the people. Sooner or later we must settle the fundamental conflict between private profit and public service in the railway industry. Until then we will not have a stable, efficient transportation system.



# Cooperation Routs Profit Making

*Stories of Actual American Accomplishments*

By CEDRIC LONG

**O**PPORTUNITY is knocking at the doors of the American workers. It is the opportunity to give a stunning, and perhaps a finishing blow to the profit system. The workers know what that means. They have been hit, going and coming, by profit making in industry. It has clipped their wages on the one hand, and the purchasing power of those wages on the other.

But here are a few tales of what is actually being done by workers in this country to checkmate this profit-making idea. They have a big interest for you and me—who can no doubt benefit by them.

## **A Tale of Saulte Ste. Marie**

Saulte Ste. Marie, Michigan, is a city of some 15,000 people at the eastern end of Lake Superior. A few years ago the bread baking industry of this city was monopolized by two large capitalist bakeries and a handful of little so-called "home bakeries." But some of the people believed that bread making, of all things, should be brought back to its ancient and honorable position where it is socially owned and controlled—not necessarily to be baked in the individual ovens of each home, but in its modern industrialized form to be managed by the consumers themselves.

Several hundred families, therefore, met, talked it over, and finally organized the Soo Cooperative Mercantile Association. **Today, in addition to their bakery, they have five grocery stores and a couple of meat markets,** and in the course of a year do among themselves a business of a third of a million dollars—business that once went to the "substantial interests" of the city.

The cooperative bakery produces 1,500 loaves of bread every night (in addition to vast quantities of cakes, cookies, rolls and pastries). The private bakeries of the city combined bake fewer than this. Every private grocery store in town is compelled to sell "Co-op" bread, or lose customers, and meanwhile the cooperative grocery stores are pushing these fellows to the wall.

## **Bread With a Mouldy Reputation**

All of which means that in a community where a great many of the women still do their own baking, every second family consumes one loaf of cooperative bread every day. It means that

capitalistic bread is getting a mouldy reputation in this city, and a large number of people are learning that "capitalistic efficiency," "sacredness of private property," "necessity for the profit motive in industry" and similar time-honored phrases are pure bunk.

The farmers, workers and professional men (and a few very wise or very scared business men) know today that social ownership and control of the bread-baking and distributive industry not only results in bread whose quality is much superior to that produced under the money-making motive, but this whole venture is proving to be a most stimulating experiment spiritually. And, in addition, it enables the members of this cooperative to divide among themselves each year ten or fifteen thousand dollars of surplus savings accruing from the entire business.

The "Soo" bakery is not nearly so large as several cooperative bakeries in other parts of the country, in cities like Los Angeles, Detroit, Paterson, New York. But it dominates its own little community and therefore, relatively, is much larger. The next step in socialization for these people is the purchase or erection (in partnership with other cooperatives in that region) of a small flour mill. Today the Soo Cooperative Mercantile Association is such a glaring example of successful socialization in at least one industry that it rather dazzles the eyes of some of the local business men.

That dazzling glare will affect many of the bigger interests of the "flour country" when the cooperatives get around to milling their own flour. In fact, there is no particular reason why some twenty or thirty large cooperative bakeries of the country are not right now collectively operating their own flour mill and buying their own wheat directly from the great farmers' organizations of the wheat states.

## **Socializing Milk With "A Vengeance"**

The handling of milk and dairy products in our larger cities is no longer a mere distributing business. It is an industry as well. The raw milk from the country must be pasteurized and bottled, the surplus made into butter and cheese. The National Dairy Show this year had a modest little exhibit of one million dollars worth of dairy ma-

## LABOR AGE

chinery on the floor. Dairying is most decidedly a vital industry in the life of the nation.

We all know a little about this industry as it is run by capitalist corporations. The Borden products are known the country over; and the Borden name is hated and feared by many thousands of the farmers or the organized milk wagon drivers who have to deal with that corporation. And there are others as powerful and as autocratic.

But cooperators in more than a dozen cities of the country have shown that the milk business can be socialized. The workers of Minneapolis are putting on the best demonstration at present. These 5,000 cooperators (one-third of them women), although their organization is less than two years old, now have two large creameries at opposite ends of the city; they supply 30,000 families with milk daily, their monthly turnover amounts to \$150,000, and the net surplus (profits) is \$10,000 a month.

This is socialization of the dairy business with a vengeance. And we use that word "vengeance" advisedly, for cooperative milk began to flow into Minneapolis immediately after the huge milk combine of the city declared a lockout of the employes and vowed it would break the workers' organization! Today the private milk companies are in a groggy condition.

Cleveland has launched its cooperative challenge to the big capitalistic, open-shop dairy interests only within the past four months. These people have started with \$28,000 capital and 1,300 members. The next six months will show us how successful the milk business in that city can be conducted under social ownership and control. Many smaller cities and towns in various parts of the country boast of prosperous cooperative creameries in operation for several years.

### A Little Story in Coal

Do you also know that there are communities in this country where the coal business is already cooperatively conducted in part? The extension of the principle and practice to a thousand other communities, back to the ownership of the mines themselves, depends upon nothing more mysterious or magic than what we find in these places.

The Soo Cooperative Mercantile Association has handled coal two or three times. They are planning to ship into their town one thousand tons some time within the next few months—and are confident that they know where to get it. But Lehigh, Pa., is a better example. The Lehigh Co-operative Society is composed of a

few hundred workers, mostly railroad men. Their cooperative grocery store had been but moderately successful, when the members hit upon the coal idea.

They had no capital to spare, owned no coal truck, no scales, no bins, not even a railroad siding. Yet they boldly determined to go into the coal business and prove that better coal could be handled more efficiently and more cheaply under cooperation than under capitalism.

### Saving Money by Cooperation

The big coal companies refused to sell to them and ridiculed their efforts. But these workers persisted, and finally discovered a little colliery, independently owned, which was being crowded out of the market by the big operators. A bargain was struck between the two parties. The co-operators hustled back to their own town, raised money on some of the personal property of the members so that they could pay for the first carload of coal; got other loans for the purchase of truck and scales; leased the privileges of a railroad siding, built four concrete bins with volunteer labor, and began business in the spring of 1921.

Today the people of Lehigh are saving about \$4 a ton on coal. The capitalist coal dealers of the town are sitting before their dust-covered desks disconsolate, for private profits in coal have withered to the vanishing point. The people of the town are conducting their own coal business in their own interests, and pocketing a fat little surplus each year.

"Why are the workers in neighboring towns not following the example of Lehigh?" That is a puzzling question. But it is a pertinent question. For if one or two other little towns were to join these cooperators in the purchase of coal, they would together take the entire output of that particular mine. And from there it is but a very short step to purchase of the mine itself.

We are looking for some such development in the next few years. If it occurs before the next nation-wide coal strike, there will be at least one mine which runs full time throughout the duration of the strike—and a mine 100 per cent unionized, too, whose control will be entirely in the hands of the workers—the workers who mine the coal and their brothers outside who burn it.

These stories are not fairy tales. **They mean actual inroads into the Kingdom of Profits.** They show that American workers can put the Profit Makers to rout—when they choose to do so.

# "The Triumph of Nationalization"

*Sir Leo Tells What Britain Did and the Good Things that Came of It*

By STUART CHASE

**G**REAT BRITAIN had a taste of Nationalization during the War. Sir Leo Chiozza-Money tells of its great success in his latest book, "The Triumph of Nationalization". Sir Leo is not a worker. He cannot be accused of too much sympathy with the workers.

We have asked Stuart Chase to tell in a few words what Sir Leo says. All workers should know about it, because the press agents of the Interests have lied so much about what really happened. Mr. Chase is the author of "The Challenge of Waste", which tells what a mess our present System really is.

**T**HERE is something refreshing in Sir Anybody sailing into the cherished doctrines of our best people. To the British it is perhaps not so refreshing. To the lords and ladies it must be almost obscene. What is a courtesy Knight made for indeed, if not to behave himself forever after? Has the King nothing better to do than to hand out titles to gentlemen where chief enjoyment is to stand off and take pot shots at all that is soundest and best in our national life?

How Sir Leo ever got his "Sir" is a problem. It is not as though he had turned bad boy all of a sudden. No indeed! He has been slanging the upper "clawsses" for lo! these twenty years. His "**Poverty and Riches**," published in 1907, was a terrific statistical indictment of the maldistribution of wealth in the United Kingdom. He cannonaded all the country houses in the land. He blistered the landlords, the manufacturers, the speculators. He made a hash of the bankers and brokers. He scaled dishes at most of the peerage. And though his rough stuff was written in that beautiful clarity of style which these accursed English seem to be born with, it nevertheless packed the whallop. **One could conceive of Bernard Shaw being knighted before the author of "Poverty and Riches."**

## "The Machines for Service"

Of course Sir Leo is an extraordinarily able citizen, and an extraordinarily good economist. He was furthermore no pacifist, and like H. G. Wells, was convinced that Germany must be defeated. He became one of the pivotal men in the economic administration of the War. He served successively in the War Trade Committee, the Ministry of Munitions, and the Ministry of Shipping, where he was chairman of the Tonnage Priority Committee and of the National

Maritime Board, and a member of the Shipping Control Committee.

He served well because he believed in his job. And as he saw it, the winning of the war was only an incident in the job. What he really was after was nationalization, community control of the necessities of life to the end that poverty might be abolished, and civilization really begun. He says:

"The gift of science was power to overcome poverty. How has the spirit of commerce treated that gift? It has ever regarded the machinery of science as an instrument to create wealth, not for humanity, but for a class of machine owners. Could the degradation of ideas go further? Men of genius have given the world great inventions, capable of yielding a super-abundance of commodities. The wealth-giving powers are laid waste and made the instruments of degradation for the majority."

But the powers-that-be never gave him his Knighthood for such treason as this. The English after all have a pretty good sporting instinct, and I suppose they made him Sir Leo simply because he had been a smashing good administrator during the war—philosophy or no philosophy. Perhaps, who knows, they thought it might quiet him down a little. But there is a perfectly good Knighthood to be written off to bad debts, if this is what they gambled on.

For in the "**Triumph of Nationalization**," Sir Leo is back to all his old tricks—only more so—and armed to boot with cart loads of government figures copped off during his various close-ups of the internal workings of bureau after bureau.

## Nationalization Brings Order

He shows us how England endured anarchy for two years in its shipping. How the import of necessities was never assured, how fabulous profits were made by private owners—how, as the submarine got deadlier, the situation grew alarmingly critical. And all because of "busi-



ness-as-usual." Then he tells how the government at last was forced to step in — over the plaintive howls of the shipowners — and of the magnificent manner in which the situation was handled, culminating in the safe carrying of a million American soldiers to France on British ships. He shows how tonnage was pooled, unnecessary imports barred, shipyard facilities increased, profits restricted, and how, in spite of less dead weight tonnage in 1917 than when the war began, a vast increase in **available and useable** tonnage was brought about. The submarine losses of April 1917 (875,000 tons) were such that if they had continued another nine months the war would have been lost. The situation could not have been saved without that complete state control of shipping which had been denounced by the President of the Board of Trade the year before as a "measure which would only make things worse."

He shows us how food stuffs were organized and controlled, and how the long lines of nervous buyers before the butcher shops melted away when the government took steps to ration the nation's food, and squelsh the profiteers. "The cost of this rationing was exactly \$1.00 for every \$2,320 of business handled. Nationalization reduces the middleman to a negligible factor."

He shows how the railways were taken out of the hands of competing, wrangling private companies, and hammered into one unified system which could be counted upon to deliver the goods when, where, and as needed—a phenomenon the country had never dreamed of before.

#### The Great Saving

He shows how 700,000,000 coal ton miles per annum were saved; how the evils of the drink trade were curtailed (without prohibition); how wool, hides, leather, flax, jute and hemp were secured and distributed in England at prices below there found in foreign markets, even when the submarines were doing their worst.

In short, he shows us how a nation can, under pressure, handle its economic affairs in a thoroughly efficient and common sense manner to the unparalleled protection and benefit of its citizens.

#### Why Not Nationalization in Peace Time?

And the book for all its fine English, and statistical restraint, reveals a deep undercurrent of sorrow and regret, which continually comes to the surface. For Sir Leo had great hope of nationalization which war inaugurated. He

saw in it the solution to the economic problems of peace. Under his eyes—often times over his signature—a great country turned in three short years from the wild anarchy and waste of free competition to a nation-wide economic plan which met the wants of the army abroad and of the people at home on the principle—altogether neglected by bankers and business men—that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points.

He saw the whole "business-as-usual" mechanism capsize in the face of the German torpedoes and howitzers, to be supplanted by a Government control, which, for all its initial blunders, came at last to work with a precision and effectiveness which must have made the old Manchester School of economists turn in their graves. He watched the developing food control, munitions control, shipping control, power control, cotton, textiles, boots and shoes, health and housing controls—and as he watched (and worked), a fine and wonderful hope grew up within him. **If this was what a national plan could do when war had drained away the best of the workers, when mountains of munitions and other non-utilities had to be produced, what could it not do in times of peace when the entire working force and the entire output could be devoted to the production of the normal wants of man?**

#### Khaki Elections—And Defeat!

Those 1907 figures which showed the grinding poverty and degradation of the workers of England, had gnawed at his heart ever since he calculated them. Now, in 1918, he felt himself standing on the threshold of the end of poverty. Not thinking, not talking, not dreaming, but actually **standing** — — —. The organization was done, the synthesis was made, "reconstruction" was already a watchword, labor was eagerly waiting, the Tories were realizing that vast concessions must be granted—so near, dear God, how near it was!

And then wormwood and gall. Armistice day, and Khaki elections! A nation so delirious with the end of bloodshed, that it had no will nor emotion left with which to turn the war machine into a mighty instrument for the regeneration of man! **The great plan splintered into a thousand fragments.** And Sir Leo sits among the ruins, dry-eyed, and sick at heart. He sits and writes a great monument to the hope which had died—a book that might be entitled "How Mankind Almost Achieved Freedom."

## Forward!

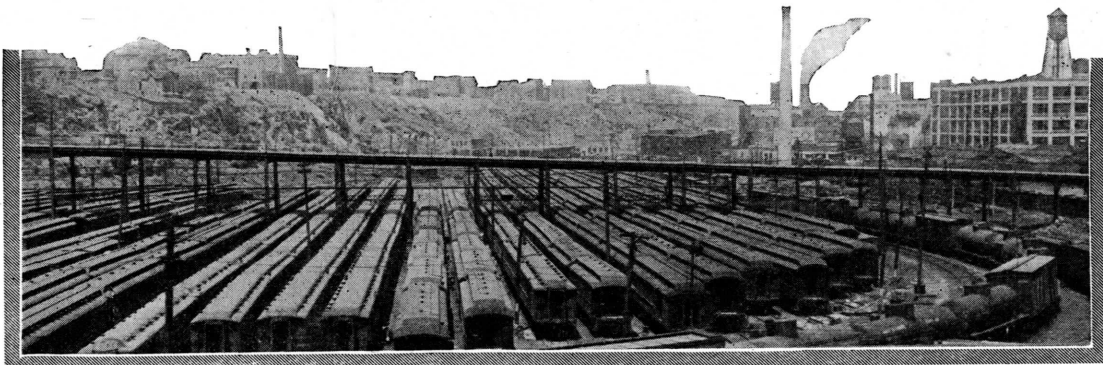
**“W**AGES up a little; prices up much. Wages down much; prices down a little.” This is the endless story under the Profit System. The workers’ wages are always chasing the cost of living. They never catch up with it. It is a case of **“Tails you lose; heads I win”** for the Profit Makers.

How does “American Democracy” jibe with this System? They do not agree at all. The Profit Maker is It—just as Louis XVI was the State. The worker’s job is insecure. He may be thrown out at any time, even though he has put his whole life-energy into building up the industry.

Does the System make for Efficiency? It does not. On the contrary, it produces the greatest Waste. One proof of this is the railroad contract work, under which the railroads paid five times as much for repairing locomotives to private concerns as it would cost them in their own union shops. Why? Because the same Profit Makers who control the railroads control also the private shops—and this was so much “easy money” for them.

Warren Stone and John Brophy tell what the miners and railway men think of this. They demand freedom and democracy in industry. So do other large groups of American labor. How can these demands be met? By these three general methods:

1. Nationalization. Demanded chiefly by the workers in the “basic” industries. This means public ownership, with workers’ participation in control.



P. and A. Photos.

I. P. E. U. 624

### PROFIT MAKING AND WAR vs. SOCIALIZATION AND PEACE

**Tie-up of hundreds of cars, needing repairs, in Jersey City railroad yards—as result of shopmen’s strike. The travelling public is inconvenienced, industries paralyzed, and the workers lose pay—because the Profit Makers wish high profits at the expense of public and workers. MORAL: LET THE PUBLIC AND WORKERS CONTROL THE ROADS AND KICK THE PROFIT MAKERS OUT!**

2. Producers’ Cooperation. This has been planned for the garment industry by the needle trades unions. It means factories to be run by the unions, without the Profit Maker.

3. Consumers’ Cooperation. By which the workers band together as purchasers to do away with profits. Cedric Long tells of some of the successes in this field in America. In Great Britain the Cooperatives do the biggest business of all—taking the place of our Trusts.

Against these movements, the Profit Making System cannot hold its own. When the good results from municipal ownership in American cities is spread among the workers, there will be a still greater demand for “service in all industry”. Who would return to privately owned water works or electric light plants? Who, in San Francisco or Detroit, would prefer privately owned street railways? In the former city the highest wages are paid, the shortest hours worked—and the city receives a good return on a five cent fare.

Then, as John A. Hobson, the English Economist, says: **“A new Industrial Order is struggling into life, displacing piece by piece the old system of private capitalism over large areas of industry.”** There is no stopping this New Order! And, as Hobson adds: **“The New Order emerging (in England) is neither State socialism, syndicalism, voluntary cooperation nor guild socialism, but a blend of these and other schemes, varying with the conditions of the several industries.”** But it is destroying Profit Making everywhere!

The American workers—at least in the mines, on the railways, and in the needle trades—have cast their lot with this New Order against the Old. It means victory for them. The Old Order—under which they got nothing and gave everything—is collapsing. The task now for the workers is to go forward, to build up the New. The American labor movement will add this Big Job to its list of fine achievements.

## A Year of Hope—and Victory

**L**ABOR AGE is now one year old! It has come through its first summer with colors flying. For the human infant it is the second summer that is a matter of concern. Parents look forward with fear to that test of the child's vigor. For infant publications the first summer is the test. The fine interest of the unions, even in this summer-time, shows that LABOR AGE is doing a job that should be done.

What is this job?

In the November, 1921, issue LABOR AGE declared itself "a composite picture of what American labor is thinking and doing"—a digest of the American labor movement. It said that it would emphasize these things in particular:

1. The promotion of a system of production for service instead of for private profit.

ONE  
BLOW  
TO  
THE  
PROFIT  
SYSTEM



22-STORY  
BUILDING—  
NEW HOME  
OF  
LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS'  
COOPERATIVE BANK

2. This to be done in a non-dogmatic manner—taking up all the ways by which the Profit System can be erased and a Service System put in its place.

3. The furtherance of all efforts to develop the solidarity of the workers, to the end that labor may come into its own. It will allow free expression to any division of the movement—in order that each branch of labor may know what is being done elsewhere, and may profit by the successes or failures of the other branches.

In a nutshell, its motto is: "THE ONE ENEMY OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS IS THE PROFIT MAKER. LET US FIGHT HIM AND NOT EACH OTHER."

LABOR AGE'S concern is, therefore, to strengthen every weapon of the workers against the Profit System. Some of these are: cooperative stores, labor banks, workers' education, union with technical men, independent political action, an extensive labor press, organization on industrial lines, union-owned factories, and any other step toward socialization of industry.

The year of LABOR AGE'S existence has been a year of encouragement for these things:

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Bank has pioneered the way so successfully that labor banks are springing up everywhere. The Profit Makers will no longer be able to use labor's money against itself. Through the assistance of technical men many unions in the printing industry—particularly Big Six of the Typographical—have kept their war-time wages. Miners and railway men have effectively used technicians and research men in their big fights—small steps toward the unionization of technicians on labor's side. The swing toward a federated Labor Party has been much stronger than could have been expected. Big unions like the Miners and Printers have declared for such a party. The workers' education movement has grown rapidly. The American Federation of Labor has now endorsed it, and has made an agreement with the Workers' Education Bureau by which the A. F. of L. participates actively in that work. State Federation after Federation has declared for closer industrial organization. So have three big railroad unions, the Printers and Butchers.

To add to all this, Labor has tasted victory, after being battered and beaten by the Open Shop Campaign. The miners and textile workers have defeated their employers. The shopmen, in their gallant fight, have killed the Railroad Labor Board. Labor's whole attack is changing from Defence to Offence. That means destruction for the Profit Making idea.

LABOR AGE hopes more and more to bring about that very thing. The weapon it is using is FACTS.

It is encouraging to see that the Movement has stepped so far forward in this one year. From out of the Reaction it is learning the lessons—which lead to Victory.



# November 7th—a Stirring Day

*We Then "Choose" Our Rulers—Soviet Russia's Birthday*

By THE LABOR PRESS

**T**HAT great American sport—counting noses—is now on in full swing. The game will be decided on Tuesday, November 7th. "**The Gold Dust Twins of Big Business**"—as Callaghan, cartoonist for the Minnesota Daily Star, aptly terms the Republican and Democratic parties—are each busy "saving the country" from the wiles and wickedness of the other.

Though their exhibition is mainly a Punch and Judy show, with the interests pulling the strings, Labor has broken into their camp here and there. The **National Non-Partisan Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L.** has issued a long list of candidates whom it O. K's. Senator Robert La Follette, of Wisconsin, heads the list. Other conspicuous men endorsed are ex-Governor Lynn Frazier, of North Dakota, and Colonel Smith Brookhart, of Iowa,—both of whom stand for advanced steps toward socialization. "Throw Reaction out!" declares the Committee in a "**Call to Duty**" sent out to the organized workers. "Put Progress in!"

Harsh things are said about the present Congress in this Call:

"Consider the congress as it has been. Not a single constructive measure has been made into law. On the contrary, one reactionary proposal after another has been brought forward. There have been sufficient friends of the public interest in congress to prevent enactment into law of the most vicious measures, but not enough of them to take command and enact constructive measures."

It also adds:

"It is a congress that openly plays the game of the powerful interests, the interests that seek to plunder the people and that hate the organizations of the workers in the cities and of the farmers in the country."

Every branch of the labor movement and all the labor press agree with this judgment of the present statesmen at Washington. The **National Conference for Progressive Political Action**—of which William H. Johnston, of the Machinists, is chairman—calls attention to the members of the Judiciary Committee of the House, who blocked the impeachment of Attorney-General Daugherty. The ghost of Daugherty and his ill works are showing up at

every turn, to dog the steps of the Republican Congressmen.

The Conference on Progressive Political Action has also endorsed candidates, perhaps more carefully than the A. F. of L. Committee. Its endorsements are mainly confined to the Farmer-Labor candidates in the West. It is in that section of the country that labor sees the chance to make its biggest political gains. The **Oklahoma**



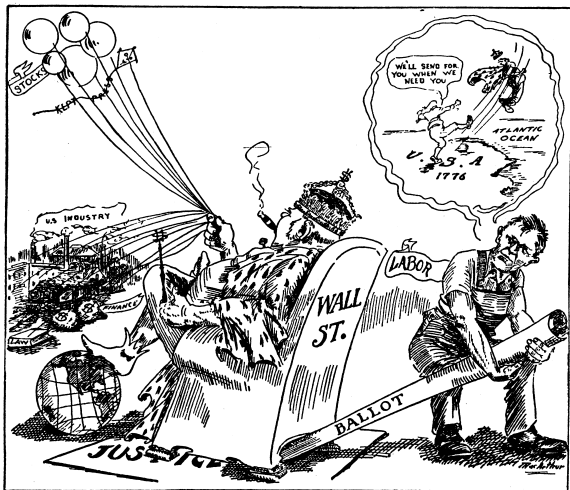
*American Federationist*

*I. P. E. U. 624*

**THE POLITICAL DUMPCART**

**Leader**, for example, predicts the election of J. C. Walton, Farmer-Labor candidate, who has captured the nomination for Governor on the Democratic ticket. It has taken the lead in his fight for election, declaring that he is opposed by "the bankers, the grafters and the plunderers of the people."

Walton was the candidate selected by a Farmer-Labor Conference at Shawnee, Oklahoma, which drew up the "**Shawnee Platform**". This platform, the storm center of the campaign, declares for reforms in grading and marketing of crops and in the methods of taxation and banking. It expresses the revolt of the tenant farmers, so numerous in Oklahoma, as well as of "owners" of the soil which they till.



The Locomotive Engineers' Journal

I. P. E. U. 624

**THE ONLY SURE REMEDY**

The **Leader** warns its readers that they must not forget Congress in their fight for Governor:

"The success of the Farmer-Labor movement in Oklahoma must not be a lop-sided one. The election of Mr. Walton and the other state endorsees, with a legislature, which will support them in their administration, is highly important; but we must not forget how important it is that the people shall be represented rightly in Washington."

In Minnesota the battle between the Farmer-Labor forces and the Reactionaries is also intense. There the big effort is to defeat Senator Frank B. Kellogg and to elect Henrik Shipstead, running on an independent Farmer-Labor ticket. Of this fight, the **Minnesota Daily Star** says:

"Yesterday's **Star** contained the ringing statement in favor of Shipstead by Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The last issue of **Labor**, national organ of the 16 standard railroad organizations, is devoted exclusively to the election of Shipstead. It is a clarion call to labor to stand solidly behind Shipstead as the best method of getting into the United States senate an undoubted champion of the common people, and as the best means of defeating one of the most pronounced reactionaries in the senate."

The **Star** adds:

"There are, according to government statistics, approximately 250,000 wage earners in Minnesota. These

with their dependents represent a larger vote than any party other than the Republican party, ever received in this state. With the assured vote from the farmers and other elements, this labor vote can elect or defeat Shipstead as it chooses. It is inconceivable that it will turn from this liberal and progressive candidate and vote for the corporation attorney who was one of the main supporters of the Esch-Cummins bill and is the father of the alien protection bill which would abolish the right to strike and wipe out organized labor in the United States."

A few days later, the **Star** gives an interesting side-light on the Farmer-Labor alliance which is developing as a result of Daugherty's injunction and the shopmen's strike. Its comment is the result of the statement of C. C. Houston of the **A. F. of L. News Service**, that "approximately 200,000 railroad shopmen have returned to work under the Willard agreement." The **Star** adds:

"More than 100 systems have signed peace terms with the strikers, or approximately half the railroad systems in the United States. With the snow flurry of more than a week ago, eight systems made terms. The railroad strike at this time is just at the turning point where the defeat of the entire 'company' union, open shop scheme is possible."

It also calls attention to the "startling statement" that Congressman Keller makes,

"that negotiations had already begun and the railroad strike was virtually lost by the employers when Daugherty stepped in at the behest of 'die-hard' railroads and instituted his infamous injunction. Instead of stopping the strike, he deliberately prolonged it in behalf of the railroad companies."

And it says, interestingly enough, that the farmers have done most to contribute to the shopmen's strike fund. An informative view of what this means politically is given by a report in the **Davenport Free Press** of a meeting at which "farmers and shopmen pledged mutual support to each other", and endorsed Colonel Brookhart for U. S. Senator. The immediate object of their attack was the Rock Island Railroad, which has refused to treat with the shopmen while bleeding the farmers. The speech of one or the Farmer leaders is reported as follows:

"He stated that the farmers recognized the need for co-operation between the farm worker and the city worker in both the political and economical fields. He told of how the farmers had at last had their eyes opened to the efforts of Big Business to drive a wedge between the Farmer-Labor groups, by means of propaganda to the effect that each was responsible for the other's low return on their labor."

The **Milwaukee Leader** thinks that the farmer will come to realize shortly that he needs Socialism, saying:

"When other industries are collectively owned and democratically managed, this gouging of the farmer will cease. He will then get a square deal."

It sees a good prospect for the election of Socialist congressmen in Wisconsin—and, of course, the reelection of Senator LaFollette is assured. The Socialists, strong in that state, have no opponent against him.

In Missouri the Socialists are making efforts to form a combination with the State Federation of Labor and the Farmer forces. The State Federation has gone on record in favor of an independent labor party. **St. Louis Labor**, organ of the Socialists and the city central body, declares that it is time for the people to come out of their "state of stupor". It advises them to "vote the Socialist ticket".

That the movement for an independent Farmer-Labor party is growing is shown by the resolutions adopted by numerous labor organizations through the country. For instance, the Illinois State Council of Carpenters endorsed the Farmer-Labor party on October 13th. The fusion of Socialists and Farmer-Labor parties in New York is attracting much attention, par-



New York Call

I. P. E. U. 624

**THE ONE THING THAT WILL KEEP THIS GANG AWAY FROM THE BALLOT BOX**

cheated in many districts. It is safe to say that Socialists and now the American Labor party candidates will have to get many more than a majority in a district to elect their candidates."

In the majority of cases, perhaps, the labor press reveals, the workers have no choice. Candidates with any chance of election are all opposed to labor. This is leading to the demand for a third party. **Perhaps such a move will be taken by the Conference for Progressive Political Action next month.**

While we are choosing our congressmen, Soviet Russia is celebrating its fifth anniversary. The **Worker**, organ of the Worker's Party, calls it "five years of victory". It declares that Russia is "the only nation that has come victorious out of the great World War", and carries an article by Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, declaring that "International Capital is sinking into ruins! The Future belongs to us!" "The most difficult period is already behind us," he asserts. "One or two more good crops and we are saved."



Oklahoma Leader

I. P. E. U. 624

**FALL HOUSE CLEANING**

ticularly in the Hearst papers. The **New York Call** sees victory for their congressional candidates and others, if the votes are counted.

"Frauds have been notorious in New York elections for years", it says, "and it is certain that long before Socialists had fought their way to success through gangs of thugs they had been

**THE COVER PICTURE**

The picture on the cover of this issue shows one of the big steel mills at Pittsburgh—lit up for night work. It was taken by the artist-photographer, Van der Weyde. In this mill, the chief of the Profit Makers compel their men to work 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. That is Profit Making in full flower.



# Personal Glimpses of British Labor

By BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER

*“WHAT is British Labor thinking—of the War on Profit Making, political action, the A. F. of L., Soviet Russia, the Germans?” These questions loom big, now that Labor seems about to become a great political power in Britain.*

*Here are the answers, gleaned by the first Radical for years to go as Fraternal Delegate from the A. F. of L. to the Trade Union Congress. He had an unusual opportunity to learn what is in the minds of the leaders of the Movement across the sea. It is interesting to note that his own hope—to see the A. F. of L. allied with the Amsterdam International—was advanced greatly by his visit abroad.*

THE manner in which they do business in England at a labor congress has made a deep impression on me. The various resolutions are, as a rule, prepared before Congress is convened; no new resolutions or even amendments are accepted. The report of the General Council, which is tantamount to the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is not debated at full length—and when a delegate criticizes any portion of it, one of the General Council is usually assigned to reply. This closes the debate, in most cases.

I will admit, in the beginning, this jarred me a bit. It seemed rather undemocratic and too drastic. But as I watched the proceedings closer, I began to like it very much.

## No Highfalutin' Speeches

Highfalutin' speeches are rare at a British trade union gathering and the English labor leaders are to be marvelled at in this respect. How much they can say in so few words! But when you consider the matter fully, you can see that it could not be otherwise. There were over 700 delegates at this Congress. A year ago, there were fully one hundred more.

The Congress lasted only five days; it began on Monday afternoon and by Saturday every delegate had left Southport. It stands to reason that speechmaking had to be subjected to the test of strictest economy. The English labor leaders also seem to have the ability of saying more in two minutes than an American labor speaker can say in two hours. **They do not go to labor congresses to do speech-making, but to work out and decide upon important policies.**

The membership of the English trade unions is today 5,127,308. Last year over eight hundred delegates represented six and a half million members. This difference of one and a half million members, however, is not lost to the labor movement. The fact is, that unemployment has made it impossible for some of them to keep up their standing in the union for the time being and they were written off the books for non-payment of dues. The second cause is that English Capitalism, like our own American brand, has been waging a strong campaign against the unions since the close of the war. In many industries attempts were made to cut wages and to lengthen work-hours. The unions could not always successfully combat these attempts. This did not fail to have a demoralizing influence on many unions, particularly the weaker ones.

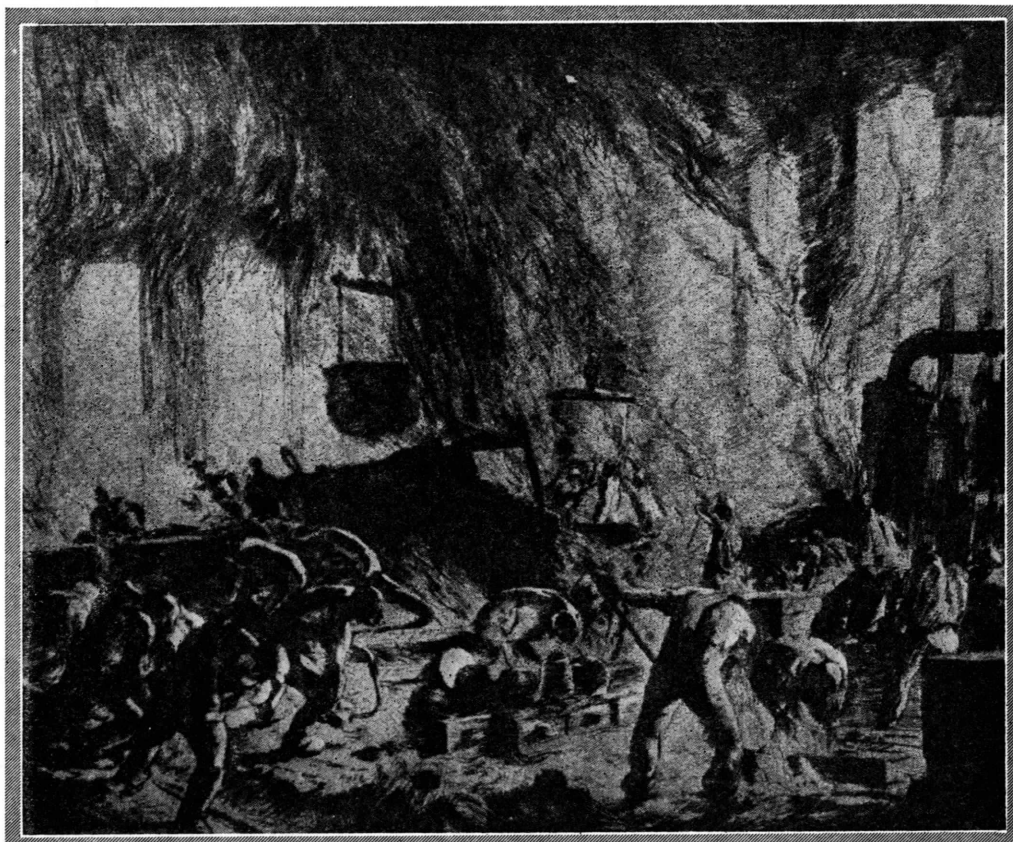
## Fight With All Weapons

You must not, however, interpret this as a step backward on the part of English Labor. The English movement is a virile force, a colossal power. In my opinion, it is strong because it uses **every weapon** in its fight against capital. English Labor conducts its fight on the political, as well as on the economic field. It also supports and fosters the cooperatives, which constitute one of the most important sources of aid to the labor movement. In point of fact, the English labor movement is a part of the English government. It is being reckoned with at every step. It is a pretty fair guess that the British Labor Party could become the ruling party in England, if it felt itself mature enough to accept such a great responsibility.

As to the attitude of British Labor with regard to our American labor movement. There

exists a notion in the minds of some people here that the English workers treat the American labor movement lightly or with contempt and that they regard Gompers as a reactionary. The truth of the matter is, that the English labor movement has the greatest respect for the organization of the American workers. It knows

an "i" and the crossing of a "t" upon the labor movement of the whole world. The English workers understand that in America conditions are totally different from what they are in England. See, for instance, the report of the English fraternal delegates to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. Not a



Etchin by Julius C. Turner in *Illustrirte Zeitung*.

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#### GERMAN IRON FOUNDRY

Where there is Much Hard Work, but No Pay. "The German workers," Brother Schlesinger says, "have become the slaves of the whole world."

the peculiar American conditions and knows how to appreciate the remarkable achievements of our movement. Gompers, it seems to me, is appreciated even more in England than in America. He is being spoken of there as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, labor leader in the world. They have created all sorts of legends about him, and the leaders of the Congress asked me on a number of occasions not to forget to deliver their heartiest greetings to "Sam".

#### English View of A. F. of L.

The English worker, remember it well, is not suffering from the mania of desiring to force his fixed idea, his "21 points" to the dotting of

word of backbiting and criticism, but a report which breathes understanding of the achievements of the American Federation of Labor and the conditions under which they were gained. Even on the point of Russia—where the British Labor Congress strongly disagrees with the A. F. of L.—the delegates declared that the American Federation of Labor refuses to recognize the Bolshevik government because that government denies the worker in Russia the freedom to have his own trade union and because it maintains a propaganda in America to destroy the American Federation of Labor.

One thing they are keenly anxious for us to do on the other side. They in Europe would

## LABOR AGE

like to see the American Federation of Labor affiliated with the Amsterdam International and joining the labor movement of Europe. There are several obstacles in the way. But I believe that with a little more tact than heretofore employed, this union can be accomplished. I do hope that my trip to Europe contributed to an earlier alliance of the labor movements of the Old and the New World. Naturally, I mean an alliance which would not violate, in the slightest degree, the full autonomy of each movement. I conferred about it with the Secretariat of the Amsterdam International, and with the entire Council of the British Labor Party. I made clear to them my point of view, which, is entirely the point of view of the American Federation of Labor in this matter. I feel sure that the policy of the Amsterdam International in this respect will henceforward be considerably changed.

### What They Think of Russia

"What do the British think of Soviet Russia?" you may ask.

They speak now in Europe in working class circles of Communism and Bolshevism with a bitter smile on their lips. Everybody knows that in Russia, the very fountain-head of the new gospel, there isn't a trace left of Communism. In Russia there has arisen a new bible, the N. E. P.,—the initials of new wisdom, the New Economic Policy. Communism is well-nigh defunct. That is one of the reasons, aside from purely economic reasons, why the workers of Europe, and particularly of England, have been urging that the Soviet government be recognized. I spoke to the most prominent leaders of the English labor movement on this subject. Not one of them has a good word to say about Communism or Bolshevism. They speak of the present Russian regime with scorn. **But they are all of the opinion that the best way to get rid of the men who rule and terrorize Russia today, is to recognize that government and open up Russia to the whole world.**

This subject has not been discussed or debated to any extent in the British Trade Union Congress. But here is an example of what the English workers think of the policies of the Soviet Government. A resolution demanding that Japan withdraw its army from Siberia came up on the floor of the convention. Tom Shaw, one of the best-known labor leaders of England and one who had himself visited Russia, arose and asked the following apparently innocent question:

"If it is not right for Japan to keep its soldiers in Siberia, why is it right for the Soviet Government to keep an army of occupation in Georgia?"

You should have heard the applause that came from the 700 delegates in reply to this question, to appreciate what the English workers think of the present-day Russian regime.

I also had a long talk concerning this matter with the well-known leader of the Independent Labor Party, Philip Snowden, a prominent English Socialist. He went even a good deal further than Tom Shaw:

### Why Recognition

"The English labor movement has been, from the very beginning, strongly against intervention in Russia and is against intervention now. There is a limit, however, even to the principle of opposing intervention. All countries are closely knit together today. Our civilization has made them depend upon one another in their industry and in their every day life. A breakdown of one country must of necessity have an adverse and unfortunate effect upon all other countries. In Russia a group of persons have seized power and will not permit anyone else to have the slightest voice in the affairs of the country. Their bloody experiment, to introduce Communism in undeveloped Russia, fell through with a crash that all but destroyed the entire land. Have we the right to keep silence about this, and allow the total eclipse of that country?"

"There are two ways", Snowden continued, "of opening Russia to the world. One was the way of the militarists and imperialists—to invade Russia and wrest it by force from the hands of the Bolsheviks. That is, of course, not our way—not the way of the labor movement. **We propose that Russia be received again into the family of civilized nations.** I am convinced that through this method the Bolsheviki will lose their power in a short while. Their regime will be made impossible.

"The reason why they have made it impossible for any one to get into Russia today is because they did not want to expose themselves to scorn. Let treaties be concluded with Russia and other countries, under which they will be compelled to admit freely impartial observers from other lands. This constant interchange of views and information will soon bring the present situation there to an end."

### Germany's Hope—the Trade Unions

"And what of the other European countries—and of Germany in particular?" you may add.

"Europe is sick, very sick", is the answer. One who cannot see further than his own nose might perhaps be deluded into thinking that the situation has changed for the better since two years ago. But this is far from the truth, even though we of the human species are apt to become adapted to the worst conditions.

The fact of the matter is that the Germans, for instance, have become accustomed to their woes. Of course, there is in Germany a class



## WHAT THE BRITISH HAVE DONE

**“BRITISH LABOR** knows what it is driving at”, says Benjamin Schlesinger, in giving us this article. “It is out for the abolition of the Profit System, which has been the breeding ground for Britain’s wide-spread unemployment. But it does not intend to tear down only; it understands well that it must first know how to build up.”

*How far has it gone along the road to this goal?*

*First: In numbers it has the second largest trade union body in the world. In 1890, 20 per cent of the adult manual workers of Great Britain were members of trade unions, and in 1920 more than 60 per cent. This was the year of its high mark, when 6,505,482 members were represented at the Trade Union Congress. There has been a temporary decrease in numbers during the last two years—due to the bitter attacks of the Reaction, and severe unemployment. In many big industries, however, organization is 100 per cent.*

*Second: Its Labor Party has 74 members in Parliament. At the coming General Election this month, the Party is expected to make big gains. The Party has actually gained in membership, despite the bad conditions and the attacks of the business press on its policy of aiding-out-of-works in the Poplar District of London. (This will probably lead to set-backs to the Party in municipal elections, but will hardly affect its gains in Parliament.)*

*Third: Its Cooperatives do the biggest business in Great Britain. The membership of the retail societies total almost 5,000,000. Their trade runs over \$1,250,000,000 a year. This is in addition to the wholesale societies, whose business runs up into the millions. The cooperative movement owns its own banks, storage houses, lands in Canada, India and other countries.*

*It is also interesting to know, that while relying strongly on a Labor Party, British Labor has gone on record in favor of Direct Action for political purposes, if this is ever necessary. This action was taken at the 1919 conference of the Labor Party at Southport in regard to the Government’s interference in Russia.*

*In general, British Labor bases its action on sweeping demands; but is cautious and “constructive” in carrying out its program.*

of people, as everywhere else, that lives on the fat of the land. But the great masses suffer from actual hunger and starvation. You hear of wage increases given to German workers. With the constant falling of the mark, however, all these increases have no meaning whatever. There is comparatively little unemployment in Germany today, such as exists, for instance, in England. But that it is exactly where the misfortune lies! **The German workers have become the slaves of the whole world.** They work for England, France and other lands. **This is, no doubt, one of the causes of world-wide unemployment.**

The silvery lining to this dark situation in Germany is the German trade union movement. **The labor union in Germany is the only local institution which has emerged unharmed and in its entirety from the general collapse.** The labor unions in Germany were not upset by the present economic and political conditions, because the German worker is too class-conscious and knows too well what he wants. Of course, the trade unions cannot accomplish much for the workers in Germany under the present con-

ditions. The well-schooled German workers know nevertheless that had they lost their unions, matters would have fared much worse with them. That is why neither the economic ills nor the Communist plague have hurt the German trade union movement in the least.

All the British leaders with whom I spoke expressed a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for the Germans. They are happy that the German labor movement has stood on its feet so well. They see great hope in that fact. They also are much concerned that all the continental countries be put back to some normal condition—and are particularly determined that every British effort shall be for peace everywhere. That was one thing that impressed itself on me. That attitude was shown in the resolutions of the Congress that Germany, as well as Russia, be taken into the family of nations. It also is now shown in their stand on the Turkish War. British Labor wants Peace above all—and out of that Peace they mean to **make Progress**—toward Nationalization and Workers’ Control of Industry and Government.

# Health vs. Pleasures

*Which Makes for Happiness?*

By PRINCE HOPKINS

**T**HE Apostle Paul's admonition: "Prove all things" is by none more faithfully carried out than by the babe in its cradle, who will be seen carrying every object to its mouth, sucking it, and trying its gums and tiny teeth upon it.

And that is a forecost of the omnivorous appetite which, if developed, characterizes the human animal. Notwithstanding its importance, the nature of desires has been little understood.

Within the womb, the child is desireless, because the requirements of his nature are completely met. He is in that happy state, back to which, ever afterward, his unconscious mind reverts with longing. This longing is projected in racial myths, as legends of Paradise.

With the gates of Eden shut against him, the child painfully has to learn how to win what he wants, from the hard world. According to his earliest, hence supremely important, experience, the best way to get something one wants, is to **set up a howl until someone else does the necessary work.** This attitude, encouraged by indulgent mothers, is never lost. In every circle or local, under ten per cent of the members, notoriously, are doers and the remainder only whiners. "We want leaders!" is the cry; not "Come on Bill, let's lend a hand here!"

## Changing Human Nature

Which is interesting, as showing that even the principles of baby-training can't be neglected by class-conscious workers. And also, as showing where they get some of that stuff about "You can't change human nature!" Surely you can change it; only you must begin with the cradle.

The amount of howl a baby sets up is as much an indication of his training as of the depth of his suffering. As a matter of fact, desires aren't in themselves unpleasant. When dinner time comes round and we sit down to a good meal, it's not painful to have an appetite. Only when the dinner pail is empty, do we wish we felt seasick. Day dreams in which we picture the wealth and delights we should like to enjoy are pleasant; but it is unpleasant to be awakened from them to the reality of our own poverty by the honk of a neighbor's 40 H.P. limousine.

For the true requirements of health and happiness would be few, were we philosophers, and were we never troubled by envy in our own breasts nor in those of our wives and children.

Evolution, which has made us what we are, is unsentimental. It hasn't given us senses as an indulgent parent gives his child pennies, so that we may get pleasure from them. The senses are mere instruments to show us what, under natural conditions, will preserve us and our type. Pleasures also are indexes to what under natural conditions are wholesome. Happiness is the mental condition indicating a generally wholesome manner of life.

Our lives, unfortunately, are not lived under the conditions of nature. They are lived in a **profiteering economic system**, in which a money reward accrues to whoever can fool us into thinking our happiness depends on buying some new pleasure. For this reason largely, pleasure and health today are not identical.

## Health and Happiness

Health, rather than pleasure, is the source of happiness. Health and its accompanying happiness are a river flowing from the mountains of hygienic living. The pleasure-seeking man is one who tries by artificial means to make the water flow faster. He sweeps a little more downstream for a moment, but then has slack water till the natural flood catches up with him.

Too many workers are personally indifferent to rules of health, and submit too tamely to unhygienic conditions in their homes and factories. Then at night, they try to buy for their jaded bodies a few of the pleasures they see so flamboyantly advertised.

## Mimicing the Rich

In this, of course, they are only mimicing the ways of the rich. The papers often make a great to do of the fact that shop girls on strike are loathe to part with their fur overcoats, and that when flush, they invest in silk stockings. Just why we should expect girls who earn what they have by hard work, to go in rags, while we approve of their parasitic upper-class sisters parading in jewels and lace, is something I am still struggling to discover.

*(A further word on this in our next issue.)*

# Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

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

## ONWARD, AMALGAMATION!

Out of the rail strike have come these rapid developments: The Convention of Maintenance of Way Employees has deposed President Grable, who opposed the strike, and has declared for amalgamation of all rail unions. In this step they have already been preceded by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks and the International Association of Machinists. It is another important incident in the forward march of the amalgamation idea. Eleven State Federations of Labor—Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, Nevada, Michigan, Utah, Colorado, Indiana, Oregon, Ohio and South Dakota—have called for closer industrial organization during the past few months. The International Typographical Union again declared for one union in the printing industry at its Atlantic City Convention. The Butcher Workmen have made a like-demand for the meat industry. Other plans have been set on foot. The proposed union of the Locomotive Engineers and the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, is one example. The solidarity which the miners were able to show through their industrial union, on the one hand, and the loneliness of the shopmen in their fight for all railroad labor, on the other, have given great impetus to the industrial union idea. **IT IS ONE OF THE BIG THINGS WHICH LABOR IS TURNING TO AS A RESULT OF ITS BITTER FIGHT WITH THE REACTION.**

This movement is coming out of the necessities of the situation. It is not based on any preconceived idea. The big assault of the employers and bankers has shown the labor forces that these enemies are organized industrially. Labor's logical answer is—organization on industrial lines for itself, as the needle trades have already learned.

## WE MUST DO IT!

### Help the Fayette and Somerset Miners

**B**ECAUSE the United Mine Workers have won, it must not be supposed that all the miners came out unscathed. A few days ago a man was arrested by the New York police at 11 Broadway—before the building occupied by the Berwind-White Coal Company. The man was dressed in a miner's costume (he was a miner himself), and was carrying a placard telling of the coal company's refusal to treat with their men. He was arrested for disorderly conduct, said conduct being in the shape of a crowd which had collected around him. Thus was dramatic notice brought to the situation mentioned in the October LABOR AGE—the continued lockout of the former non-union miners, at least 75,000 strong, in Fayette and Somerset counties, Pennsylvania. **When the big strike occurred, these men went out with the union miners. When the national agreements were signed, however, they were not covered.** The result is, that they face a winter in tents, without sufficient food or clothing—unless they wish to surrender to their employers, which they have stoutly refused to do.

The Billings Searchlight tells just what their struggle, and the disorganized conditions in certain other fields, mean to the national organization. It says:

"Let us now look the situation squarely in the face and see where we stand.

"Our organization is practically wiped out in Alabama. According to the statement made by President Lewis, less than 900 dues-paying members are left in that state.

"In West Virginia, the bulk of our members remained at work during the strike. And most of those who did go on strike in West Virginia are still striking, from all we hear.

"The same may also be said of conditions in Kentucky and Tennessee.

"When we come to Pennsylvania, the conditions are even worse. About 100,000 unorganized miners in the Somerset, Westmoreland

and Connellsville districts joined in the strike. Without funds or organization, these men fought a heroic battle. The settlement left them out in the cold and they are still striking.

"With the resumption of work in the organized fields, what are the chances of these men to win their battle? Moreover, what will be their feeling toward the United Mine Workers of America in the event that they should be defeated? And then what will be their attitude toward our organization in case of another strike?"

"The first consideration must be given to these men. Every cent that can be raked and scrapped together should be poured into Pennsylvania. For if these brothers in arms should be deserted and defeated, the unorganized field will present a far more menacing aspect than before the strike.

"It is well enough to brag about bringing home the bacon, but the cold hard fact is that if the strike of the shop men had not prevented the shipping of coal from the unorganized field, it is very much to be doubted if there would have been even a sliver of bacon left for the United Mine Workers.

"We cannot expect that providence will send another railroad strike six months from now. And, as stated before, the unorganized fields are larger and far more menacing than ever before. Especially is this true if the strikers in central Pennsylvania should be crushed.

"To help these men, therefore, is not a question of charity, but of plain duty. We owe them a debt of honor and it must be paid. Moreover, self-preservation demands that the organization born during the strike shall not be left to die."

The Penn Central News, organ of District No. 2, remarks that, strangely enough, "the International does not seem to be making any move to come to their assistance."

The things that these men and their families put up with are almost unbelievable. They were thrown into jail on trumped-up charges. They were brutally handled in jail and out. One miner at least was shot in the back and killed by a mine guard. Every form of terrorism has been used against them. And yet they have stood firm. As Powers Hapgood writes in Labor:

"The struggle of these striking miners must be won."

The only way in which it can be won is through aid from the outside—money, food, clothing. Send money or clothing to Richard Gilbert, Secretary-Treasurer, District No. 2, U. M. W. of A., Clearfield, Pa. **It must be done!**

FACT-FINDING—AN ELUSIVE GAME

**B**UT our genial friend, Warren Gamaliel, has put another problem up to the Miners. He has appointed a Federal Fact-Finding Commission on Coal. So much, so good. But whom, think you, has he appointed on this commission? A miner, or several miners? Warren apparently has forgotten that there are such folks as miners in the mining industry.

Instead, his commission is composed of a millionaire mining engineer, a professional charity worker, the chief of the United States Geological Survey, a former vice-president of the United States ('nuf sed!), a moss-back Southern publisher, and Judge Samuel Alschuler of Chicago, the only man of them all likely to have a glimmer of labor's view.

One who did not know would think, from this make-up, that it was the operators who had demanded a fact-finding agency. The truth is, of course, that this was one of the chief points in the miners' demands. Their Nationalization Research Committee has carried on a fine campaign of education toward that end. They issued a strong pamphlet on "Compulsory Information in Coal—A Fact-Finding Agency." As this pamphlet says:

"The coal industry is sick. But it refuses to let the doctor make an examination. It is afraid of the facts. Facts have a way of developing an ethical and social meaning. The miners want the facts to be known. The operators do not. So the facts are not known."

The operators went so far, in their fight on the facts, as to get out an injunction (happy weapon) against the Federal Trade Commission, preventing it from publishing the "inside" of the coal industry. **What "facts" the President's Commission will find and what recommendations they will make are doubtful indeed.**

MORE BANKS FOR LABOR

**L**ABOR BANKS are increasing rapidly. The unions seem determined to leave their money no longer in the hands of their enemies. As a result of the unusual success of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative National Bank at Cleveland and of the Bank of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Chicago, the rail unions and the Amalgamated itself have begun to lay plans for extending these banks over the country.

Two labor banks opened their doors on the same day last month—October 2nd. One of these was at Birmingham, Alabama; the other at Cleveland, Ohio. The former by the Railway Brotherhoods, the Birmingham Central Labor Council and a number of trusted friends of labor. **It is the first bank of its kind in the South.**

The Cleveland bank was none other than the new office of the B. of L. E. Co-operative National Bank—the headliner of them all. It moved into its new 17-story building, in the heart of the business section of Cleveland. The success of this bank is recited by the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal**:

"On November 1, 1920, the pioneer cooperative labor bank opened its doors in Cleveland, with a paid in capital of \$653,000, subscribed wholly by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Today its resources exceed seventeen and a half million dollars, growing recently at the rate of over a million per month.

"The growth of the B. of L. E. Co-operative National Bank reads like a story from wonderland. It started without precedents in this country to guide it. It was founded on faith in the cooperative ideal, on confidence in the ability of 90,000 engineers and organized labor in general to build up a great financial institution. The achievements of the bank are at once confirmation of that faith and a tribute to the vision and courage of the Brotherhood executives who made its realization possible. According to one of the leading bank au-

thorities of New York, the remarkable growth of the Brotherhood Co-operative National Bank sets a record never equaled by any other national bank in the history of the country."

Along comes the Buffalo Central Labor Council, also, with plans for its own bank. Then the International Bricklayers' and Masons' Union announces a bank for itself somewhere in the twin cities. It is a very catching idea! **Labor knows from bitter experience how often its own money has been used against it in strikes and lockouts.**

THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN BUSINESS DEAL

**L**O! word comes out of Russia that other labor business ventures are successfully on foot. President Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is in that country at the present time. He has in hand the business of the Russian-American Corporation. That is the "hands across the seas" industrial corporation of the workers of America—the A. C. W. of A.—and the workers of Russia—the Soviet Republic. Hillman has just cabled that negotiations are proceeding nicely. As he went to Russia for the purpose of getting things actually under way, this doubtless means that the operation of the first factories will soon be announced. A shipment of small machinery went over a few months ago. Other shipments will go forward shortly. In other words, **this new Great Adventure—of production under labor control—has now begun.**

AND THIS FROM MINNEAPOLIS

**T**HEN, from Minneapolis, comes this further story of triumph for **Labor in Business**: Out of the milk strike in that city two years ago came the Franklin Cooperative Creamery, to which LABOR AGE has repeatedly called attention. For the first 9 months of 1922 it reported net profits for its consumers amounting to \$83,412.00.

Now, the **Union Building and Loan Association**, a labor cooperative organization, has completed a \$200,000 milk and ice cream plant for the Cooperative Creamery. The latter moved into this plant on October 1st. The Union Building Association is also erecting a \$100,000 barn and garage for the Creamery, and six modern dwellings, ranging in cost from \$4,000 to \$8,000, occupied by members of labor unions. The **Minnesota Daily Star** reports the following story of the building association's beginning:

"The first work of organization of these concerns was started about a year ago with the appointment of a committee from the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly. The first step in the plan was the organization of the Union Board of Trades. This organization brought into existence the loan association and the construction company, all of which operate on a cooperative basis.

"While the organization of the construction company was started last September the first real activity of the company started January of this year. The Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association awarded the Union Construction Company the contract to build their north side plant at a cost of \$200,000 in January and work was started at once."

Unions wishing to get detailed information of the Building Association's methods can write to its **Manager, George L. Adams, at Minneapolis.**

VICTIMS OF THE MINE WAR.

**I**N LAST month's LABOR AGE a picture appeared, showing the funeral of striking miners who had been killed by drunken mine guards. The three miners—all married men with children—were living in tents at New Geneva, Pa. They had been evicted from their homes by the Atlantic Coal Company of that place. Without warning or provocation, several of the company's mine guards, in a drunken stupor, went to



REVLOC'S "VICTORY"  
(A Chapter of the Big Mine Strike)

**H**ERE is the story of the formerly non-union miners of Revloc, Pennsylvania, as told by the Penn Central News, organ of District No. 2, U. M. W. of A. We reprint it because it puts the question up to us, "What are we going to do about it? Will we let the loyal men of Fayette and Somerset Counties remain in the same boat as the men of Revloc?" The families of over 75,000 men need help at this moment. It is up to us to see that they get it.

The story also shows that District No. 2 does not intend to desert men who strike with their brothers. It runs thus:

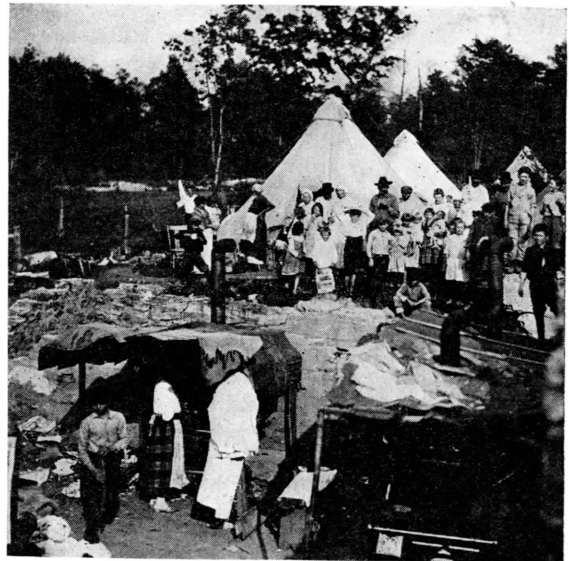
"On August 17th, the District Scale Committee in a meeting at Altoona, Pennsylvania, adopted the following motion: THAT NO AGREEMENT CAN BE SIGNED WITH ANY OPERATOR UNLESS HE ALSO SIGNS UP FOR ALL MINES UNDER HIS OWNERSHIP OR MANAGEMENT WHO ARE NOW ON STRIKE IN DISTRICT NO. 2. This was a message of hope and strength to the men of Revloc. It fitted their case exactly. The union would not permit the mines at Nant-y-Glo, owned by the Revloc interests, to resume work until the union was recognized at Revloc. There could be no question as to the results. The men of Revloc would be recognized. Was this not the district policy? Was it not being applied in similar cases? Other companies, facing the same situation, had been forced to sign for non-union mines. The interests owning the Nant-y-Glo and Revloc mines could not well afford to have both idle rather than grant recognition to one. The striking miners gathered in little groups around their tent colonies; talked these things over again and again. This policy of the District Scale Committee was a promise which they felt could not fail. When work was resumed in the union operations, the mine owned by the same company at Nant-y-Glo was kept tied up. The miners of this mine repeatedly voted to stay on strike until Revloc was recog-



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NO, THIS IS NOT FRANCE!

These are evicted families of miners at Acosta, Pa.—Rockefeller's Consolidation Coal Company's town. They are living in old ruins near their former homes.



I. P. E. U. 624

nized. This loyal support by their brothers in Nant-y-Glo gave them renewed courage which could not be shaken. Evictions might continue; arrests, intimidations be repeated, strikebreakers imported to take away their jobs, but what would all this suffering and privations amount to when recognition of the union and an end to industrial autocracy seem assured?

"All was well within sight and hearing of Revloc; but at Cleveland a different scene was being enacted. The policy of the International had been slowly crumbling until, in the last days of the strike, it was merely a pile of dust. Frantic in his efforts to place the National rubber stamp upon a District and individual settlement, President Lewis was appealing to operators to attend the conference. The settlement must have a national color even though it be devoid of substance. His efforts to get representation of a tonnage that would give this conference a National color, had forced him to stoop to a begging position. A Mr. Ball, representing the Weaver interests, offered to enter the Interstate Conference and sign for all of their holdings excepting the Revloc mine. The Weaver interests are comparatively small producers and could add but little weight to the Interstate Conference. But it seemed to be the policy that the rubber stamp must be applied. The Weaver interests were admitted to the conference on their own conditions—and Revloc was deserted. Not by the starving, struggling miners of Nant-y-Glo, or District No. 2, but by the framers of policy of the International organization.

"A larger question looms to the front. Is this the explanation of the International's difference in its attitude toward the newly organized fields of Pennsylvania? In order to provide a protective record, a motion was passed at the Cleveland Conference, promising the International's moral and financial support to the newly organized fields. If Revloc is an example of its moral support, the less we get of it, the better for all concerned. As to financial support, these newly organized fields have received but little more from the International than a promise on the records. Is it possible that there are more obligations between Mr. Lewis and favored operators? The Revloc case certainly justifies the question. Why is the International assessment being delayed? Six weeks of valuable time have passed. It is now too late. Any assessment levied now will only go to fatten the International Treasury."

Prior to the appearance of this editorial, we wrote President John L. Lewis of the Miners about the Fayette and Somerset situation. An answer just received from Ellis Searles, editor, United Mine Workers Journal, says:

"Many thousands of these hitherto non-union miners in those fields are now members of the United Mine Workers of America. When the Union appealed to the unorganized miners in the strike on the first of last April these men responded, joined the Union and laid down their tools. When the strike settlement was made at Cleveland the coal operators of those fields refused to enter into the agreement with the Union. Therefore, these men are still on strike. They are making a great fight for the privilege of belonging to the Union. The United Mine Workers of America is now and has been giving them all of the support possible within its resources. Many of the mines in those fields are owned by either the United States Steel Corporation or companies affiliated with or controlled by that corporation, which fact accounts for the refusal of the operators to deal with the Union. Scores of these mines are still idle or are working with insignificant forces of men."

District 2—in whose jurisdiction these counties largely lie—is plainly dissatisfied with the attitude of the International to the former non-union men. On this we will print more information in our next issue. In the meantime, the District has sent out a call for help, for these men. For us not to respond to this call would mean treason to them and the labor cause!

## LABOR AGE

the tent colony and shot down the three men. Powers Hapgood reports a like happening in Somerset County.

Every war has its victims—and these are some of the victims of the Industrial Fight. They are not all by any means. At Cliftonville, W. Va., seven union miners were killed, in a battle with the company-controlled sheriff's aids. The sheriff himself was killed in the mêlée. Of course, it is not the company's men who are indicted for murder in this case. On the other hand, 216 union miners are now being tried at Wellsburg.

On November 8th, the trial begins of the 77 miners charged with the murder of mine guards at Herrin, Ill. **This brings the total of indicted miners on trial to 631.** Among these are the 253 miners charged with murder and treason, as a result of the famous march on Logan County in August, 1921. C. F. Keeney, president, and Fred Mooney, secretary, of District 17, of the United Mine Workers, are included in this number.

The United Mine Workers, in addition to the murder cases which they are defending, are facing suit for \$1,000,000 damages, filed against the union by the Willis-Branch Coal Company. This is for alleged destruction of the company's non-union coal mines in Raleigh County, W. Va.

Though we have scanned the papers of the country thoroughly, we do not hear of 600 mine guards—or 6 for that matter—on trial for the murder of miners.

### THE LABOR PRESS LIVENS UP

**C**ONGRATULATIONS to the Labor Press! In a number of instances it has begun to live up and look like the "real stuff." In the August issue of LABOR AGE a number of contributors—Heber Blankenhorn, expert on the labor and business press, B. Charney Vladeck, of the Daily Forward, and Thomas Van Lear of the Minnesota Daily Star—pointed out that, to succeed, the Labor Press must adopt the methods of American journalism.

The Locomotive Engineers' Journal, under the editorship of Albert Coyle, has done that. It rivals in its makeup magazines put out for business purposes. It is a great relief to see that it does not contain the heavy reports of executive boards, etc., which weigh down many trade union organs and which are never read. Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, keeping up with the tradition of all the official organs in the needle trades, such as Justice for example, has taken on an improved form also—both in matter and style. Its use of typographical effects—such as the three line initial—and its breeziness of style, are steps forward.

We are no doubt entering an era where the Labor Press will make the non-labor press look to its technical laurels. That will mean that labor's message will get across. Facts, attractively presented, reach people. Facts, no matter how compelling, if unattractively presented, get nowhere.

## Happenings Abroad

### WHEN WINTER COMES

**EUROPEAN LABOR IS IN A TWILIGHT OF BITTER SUFFERING.** Winter is almost upon the workers, with no relief in sight. The great question there is: Can any sort of economic system be held together? It is the same story, month after month, with things apparently growing worse. In England unemployment increases. The miners are so hard put to it that they demand a return to war wages. Their officials admit that the American coal strike gave them their first gleam of hope, as they were able to do some work for the American market. That statement, perhaps more than anything else, shows the desperate straits that they are in. In Germany it is doubtful that the dark months ahead will go by without bloodshed. Already riots in Berlin give notice of the growing discontent. What is happening in other countries beggars description. Horthy's government in Hungary, for example, reinforces hunger with a continuation of the white terror.

There are, happily, some signs of hope in this frightful mess. British labor sees a chance for victory in the downfall of Lloyd George. It is doubtful that the Labor Party will gain a majority of the seats in the House of Commons; but the split in the Coalition (the union of the Conservative and Liberal Parties) means that it will play a big part in the next Parliament. Men in touch with the situation estimate that the Labor members will number at least 150. In France the big strike at Havre revealed a unity among the workers of all unions that surprised their bosses. Even the government has not been able to break the spirit of the men. Another encouraging thing is the reappearance of the factory councils in Germany—despite the government's open opposition to them. **SOVIET RUSSIA CELEBRATES ITS FIFTH ANNIVERSARY AS A WORKER'S GOVERNMENT THIS MONTH.** It is the most permanent thing European labor has to show. The methods which it has used against dissenters from its policy of dictatorship, however,—particularly in seeking to blacken the reputations of old revolutionists, as a pretext for murdering them—has left a cloud on its otherwise hopeful career.

### "NOT A MAN, NOT A GUN, NOT A SHIP"

**T**HAT was the reply of British Labor to Lloyd George's threat of a Turkish war. From all over the country came Labor's demand that there be no other war. This was not surprising. In midsummer there had been a number of demonstrations against war, staged by the International Federation of Trade Unions. In England the response has been particularly great. The unemployed workers showed an especial interest. The Labor Party, encouraged by the determination of the unions that peace should continue, demanded that the Premier resign.

At the same time Lloyd George found himself deserted by the Tories (the Conservative Party). He also found the Liberal Party journals against him. The well-known Manchester Guardian led in this revolt. The result: The British Ship of State lost its pilot.

The Labor Party now sees a big chance ahead of it. Even its opponents expect it at least to double its present membership in Parliament. It was the "bugaboo" raised by Austen Chamberlain in the attempt to hold the Tories to the Coalition. The new Ministry of Bonar Law plainly fears it—shown by the effort to conciliate all Pro-Tory factions. **The British workers are more united on the political field than in any other country.** The British Communist Party, for example, recently declared that it will join in supporting the candidates of the Labor Party at the polls. On the industrial field the workers are in a less happy position. The desperate situation of the miners is a case in point.

## THE MINERS' TRAGEDY

ON the very day that Lloyd George fell, a deputation of leaders from the Miners' Union visited him at 10 Downing Street. He informed them that he was Premier no longer. The daily newspapers carried this story, but they did not give its tragic background.

The British miners have their backs against the wall. Unemployment has stalked through their fields and left them penniless and starving. Herbert Smith, President of the Union, is quoted as saying that "the American coal strike was a God-send to the British miners". It was the first real bit of work that the English miners had had for months. It is estimated that more than 900,000 tons of British coal were shipped to the United States and Canada during August. During September, it is said, there were 500,000 more tons shipped. The demand for this coal will probably not let up until well into the winter months. It is a pretty bad situation, when union miners of one country rejoice that they can mine coal to be sent to another country, where a strike is on!

Despite the help, there is "terrible suffering in the miners' ranks", according to the *London Daily Herald*. This has provoked the men to ask for a return to war time wages. "Grim tragedy lies behind the miners' request," says the Herald, "they are working hard, whenever they are so permitted! Yet, work as they will, they are unable to live." The coal owners, however, gave an emphatic "No!" as their answer to the miners' request. The result was the deputation to the Premier. In a statement to the public, Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Union, shows that the miners' wages are 40 per cent less than in pre-war days. He declares that it is "impossible to resist the famine conditions much longer."

## THE FRENCH MINERS CRY FOR UNITY

IT IS not only in Britain that the miners find themselves facing starvation. Reports to the International Miners' Congress show the same conditions almost everywhere. In Belgium wages have been steadily dropping month by month. In protest against a further 8 per cent reduction in May, 1922, the workers of the Borinage district went on strike. In a few days they returned to work, defeated. In Austria, the grant of free lodging and free land to the miners shows how far the pauperization of the workers has gone.

The report of the French delegates to the International Congress is almost a cry of despair. It says:

"Our miners have suffered more than the others because our governing circles and our employers have favored the sale of foreign coal as against French coal. The purpose of this action is to force the French miners entirely under their power, by means of continued unemployment and increased misery."

It adds this demand for united international action:

"We will have to decide whether, in presence of the international crisis, created and maintained by the employer class, we are to limit our fight to passive protests and vain gestures, which, even when followed by the national section; or decide to attempt an international solution on an international scale, for which purpose the Miners' International was created."

The International Congress was unable to answer the demand of the French miners affirmatively. It merely voted £10,000 to the aid of the American miners. It could not find a way to stop the importation of British coal to America. It is still largely an International in name, rather than in action.

## FRENCH AND IRISH STRIKES

IRELAND added to its troubles by provoking a strike of Post Office employees early in September. The new Free State Government, minus Collins and Griffith, signalized its appearance by reducing the wages of postal clerks. The tie-up in Dublin was complete. At first, there was much interference with the strikers' pickets; but later they won their contentions and were allowed to persuade strikebreakers from working. The Government counted on the Belfast workers to break the strike. Although this dispute received little notice on the American side of the Atlantic, it presented a serious problem to the new government. It continued all through September.

The Government of France has also been called upon of late to break a strike. In the middle of July the metal workers were notified that their wages were reduced 10 per cent. The workers at Havre struck. Though the work was all under private control, the Government listened to the demands of the mill owners and took over control of the City of Havre, when the strike was two weeks old. In answer to this provocation, the local labor council extended the strike. Union after union — longshoremen, sailors, dock workers and gas work laborers—walked out. The Transport Workers' Union decided to boycott all ships entering France. The government answered by sending troops into Havre, and bloody clashes followed between these troops and the sailors. The General Confederation of Labor thereupon called a 24-hours' general sympathetic strike.

In the meantime, the troops were being used more viciously in an effort to stamp out the unions. Meetings in the city being denied, the metal workers continued to meet in the forest of Mongeon. None of the mills is at work. All unions—Christian, the old Confederation, the new Confederation—are standing together. *None of the employers have been able to make any headway toward opening their works.*

## ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL?

HAVRE strikes, unfortunately, are not the order of the day. Dis-union tears at the vitals of the labor movement. In the political field, there are three "Internationals"—the Second (Socialist), Second-and-a-Half (Compromise) and Third (Communist). In the industrial field there is the International Federation of Trade Unions, known also as the Amsterdam International, and the Red International. The former of these is supposed to be in sympathy with the Second Political International, and the latter with the Third Political International. Both deny a specific alliance with the political groups.

Now, a new International is in the making. This is the result of the International Syndicalist Conference of Berlin in December, 1920. The bureau which that conference created has just sent out a call for a **World Congress of Revolutionary and Industrial Syndicalists**, to be held in Berlin on the 25th of December—Christmas Day of this year. The call expresses regret that the Red Internationalists have tried to disrupt the syndicalist unions, and professes a desire for unity. The Red International charges the Syndicalists with being the cause of the break. Whoever is to blame, the attacks and retorts are not making for the united front needed at this time against the common foe.

## OUR DATE OF ISSUE

**T**HE July LABOR AGE was skipped in order to get the magazine out before the first of the month of issue. This was necessary, because our first number—November, 1921—did not come out until the 15th of that month. It was designated as of November in order that we might secure our mailing privileges, which requires a certain number of issues each year.

By skipping the July number, the August issue came out on July 15th. In order to effect certain improvements in the magazine, we were compelled to delay the September and October issues until after the first of each month.

In order to have a permanent date, and to conform to the practice of other magazines, this November number is off the press on the first of the month. The December LABOR AGE will be out November 25th. Thereafter, the 25th of the month preceding date of issue will be the date of release.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Manager.

## BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

## WHAT TO READ

## 7. National and Municipal Ownership.

(Readings on Consumers' Co-operation appeared in the June number. Readings on other means of Socialization will be published in subsequent issues.)

Sir Adam Beck, "The Hydro-Electric Power System of Ontario," (Public Ownership League, Chicago).

Sir Leo Chiozza-Money, "The Triumph of Nationalization." (Castle & Co., London, 1921.)

G. D. H. Cole, "Guild Socialism Restated," (Leonard Parsons, London, 1920).

Arthur Gleason, "What the Workers Want," (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, N. Y., 1920).

Frank Hodges, "Nationalization of the Mines," (Thomas Seltzer, Inc., N. Y., 1920).

J. A. Hobson, "Incentives in the New Industrial Order," (Leonard Parsons, London, 1922).

Plumb Plan League, "A. B. C. of the Plumb Plan," (Washington, D. C.).

Public Ownership League, "Public Ownership," (A monthly, published at Chicago).

Heinrich Strobel, "Socialization in Theory and Practice," (P. S. King, London, 1922).

Carl D. Thompson, "Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants in United States and Canada," (Public Ownership League, Chicago).

United Mine Workers of America, "The Miners' Program," (District 2, U. M. W. of A., Clearfield, Pa.).

United Mine Workers of America, "Compulsory Fact-Finding in Coal," (Nationalization Research Committee, Indianapolis).

Delos F. Wilcox, "The American Electric Railway Problem," (Published by author, Elmhurst, N. Y., 1921).

Coal Industry Commission, Great Britain, "Report and Memoranda of Evidence," 3 vols. (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1919). Reviews Nationalization all over the world.

(In response to several inquiries: Robert Bruere's book, "The Coming of Coal," is published by the Y. M. C. A. Press, N. Y., and its cost is \$1.00.)

**W**E HAVE received a booklet which we can only compare to a precious gem,—so clear and beautiful. **Desirable Mansions** by Edward Carpenter (Dreadnought Publishers, London) should serve as an amulet against the greed which makes some workers wish to climb out of their class into the class of the wealthy, for it shows how hollow the artificial existence of that class is, and how the reality of life passes them by.

A casket of jewels, too, is the collection of poems, **Bars and Shadows**, by Ralph Chaplin (The Leonard Press). Scott Nearing, in an eloquent introduction to the book, indicts the ineffective fanaticism which flings into prison a man of this quality of soul, whose offense is that he taught men to organize for a better world society. In his poems, we hear a brother to Byron, Shelly and Keats

singing his song of triumph over his physical imprisonment and of encouragement to all who fight for the new order.

How great, then, is the stupidity of one Wm. L. Hug-gins, who, in his **Labor and Democracy** (Macmillan) declares that "Socialism in all its phases . . . has no literature worthy of the name" . . . and rants of "the evident insincerity of the leaders". Upon a mass of such bigoted and misleading statements, he finds a defense of the Kansas Industrial Act. The book is sufficient evidence in itself of the ignorance that lies back of the creation of that act—the author of the book being none other than the author of the law.

## RUSSIA

**B**ETWEEN the paper covers of a little booklet, **Soviet Russia As I Saw It**, Sylvia Pankhurst gives her delightful impressions of a recent tour through the extreme north of Europe. The author apparently seldom came into contact with other than pleasant phases of the Bolshevik regime, and of these she gives a human and interesting—if somewhat idyllic—account.

Alexander Berkman has commenced the publication of a Russian Revolution series of pamphlets. In No. 1, **The Russian Tragedy** (to be had of Max N. Mairrel, or of the Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, N. Y.), he predicts that "the industrial and agrarian exploitation of Russia, under the new economic policy, must inevitably lead to the growth of a powerful labor movement—it may be assumed—that the coming labor movement of Russia will develop along syndicalist lines."

\* \* \*

**The Pivot of Civilization** (Brentano's 1922) is shown by Margaret Sanger, in her book bearing this title, to be the control of the birth-rate. In past times, a high birth rate was commended because it was an offset to the human devastations of high infant mortality, wars and pestilences. Civilization has so far reduced these losses, that to retain the old-time approval of large families becomes an anachronism. Clergymen, lawyers, and the intellectual and well-to-do classes practice birth control, themselves, but oppose dissemination of birth control information among the masses. Hence tragedy of proletarian mothers forced, in spite of poverty and ill-health, to bear too many babies, who are not wanted and will be improperly cared for. Hence the overcrowding of the labor market, the aggravation of unemployment, and the ease of recruiting strike-breakers.



**MORE UNIONS ADDED!**

Is Yours Among Them?

Some of the unions recently subscribing to LABOR AGE (since the last list) for officers or members are the following:

- N. Y. Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.
- United Textile Council, Philadelphia.
- Local 64, United Leather Workers.
- Local Unions 1 and 17, I. L. G. W. U.
- Local Union 2066, United Brotherhood of Carpenters.
- Philadelphia Loom-Fixers' Union.
- Local Union 2, International Typographical Union.
- Local 63, A. C. W. of A.
- Local Union 706, United Textile Workers (Hosiery Knitters).
- Joint Board, Shirt Makers' Union, A. C. W. of A.

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.

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**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

Of LABOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1922. State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Manager of the LABOR AGE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Publication Society, 41 Union Square, New York City; editors, Prince Hopkins, Harry W. Laidler, Roger N. Baldwin, Stuart Chase, Max D. Danish, Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas, 41 Union Square, New York City; business and editorial manager, Louis F. Budenz; no managing editor.

2. That the owners are: The Labor Publication Society, a non-stock corporation; approximate membership, 145, 41 Union Square, New York City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, J. M. Budish, 41 Union Square, New York City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condition under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1922.

(Seal)

WALTER C. CAMPBELL,

Notary Public, Westchester County.

(My commission expires March 30, 1924.)

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# GOOD WORDS

From all over the country have come letters of congratulations on the OCTOBER ISSUE. Here are some samples:

## A NEWSPAPER MAN:

"I think the October issue is a 'whiz' and although I see so much of the damn stuff I try not to read it I am forced by the sheer excellence of the 'make-up' of the LABOR AGE to take it home and look it over for closer inspection. Someone has been doing some intensive thinking in getting out this issue."

## THE PRESIDENT OF A BIG A. F. OF L. BODY:

"Just a short note to say that I have just read the October number of LABOR AGE and am delighted with it. While the past numbers were good, I think the last issue beats them all. The policy of the paper is good."

## A WOMAN LABOR LEADER:

"I have just received the October number of the LABOR AGE and it is splendid, one of the best numbers yet, and they are all good."

## THE DECEMBER NUMBER WILL FEATURE:

### *The Unionization of Brain-Workers*

(Including the remarkable story of the Actors' Union and its Union-owned Theatre—by the famous Actor, Francis Wilson)

*Life stories of the striking Somerset miners—by themselves.*

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