

55
美國勞工部勞工統計局編著

美國勞工運動簡史

美國新聞處譯

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英文大美晚報館承印

序

這本簡短的歷史是美國幾位第一流勞工歷史家的作品的精華。任何一個民主國家的勞工歷史，經過一番詳密的分析之下，就會顯明任何一時期的經濟與政治環境，對於工會的政策和機構的組織，將有很大的影響。像這樣一本短短的歷史，當然不能描寫工會組織思想的每一種變遷，工會的組織，在美國社會中，往往受到這種經濟和政治勢力的影響。在中國經濟日趨工業化的今天，研究美國工會的發展，對於中國勞資雙方，都是一樣有價值的，他們將共同執行中國勞工關係的政策。在目前的世界局勢中，勞工歷史的新面目正在製造之中。美國勞工每一份子，在這個戰後時代中，都明瞭他們必須負起新的更重的責任，以便保存及促進民主主義的理想，和真正自由的職工聯合主義。在工廠，辦公處，田間和鑛中的美國工人，都明瞭祇有依靠各國自由交換報導和資料和每一國內的勞工運動，才能完成真正的國際合作。

駐滬美國勞工參贊喬根遜識

美國勞工運動簡史

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早期地方手工工會

工會在美國已有長久的歷史。在一七七六年獨立宣言與一七八九年美利堅聯邦國家成立以前，手工業和家庭工業中的熟練技術工人就聯合起來創造了一個福利會社，這個會社的主要目的是在工人一旦遭逢嚴重疾病，負債死亡的時期，對於工會會員及其家屬予以經濟的援助。及至美洲殖民地從英國手中獲得了獨立以後，就有了對於美國產生的貨物及勞務的增加的需要。

等到美國市場擴展以後，買賣就成了「商人資本家」的特別任務，這些資本家們爲了求以最低價格購買物資而加的壓力，最初是被職工和其雇主們所反對的。但競爭的力量，逐漸地使雇主們爲了作低廉及大量生產的利益，和職工們對於維持他們技能及工資的關切，互相分離。爲了應付工資的削減，木匠，皮匠，印刷工人等手藝工人，早在一七九一年時就在費城，紐約和波士頓組織了個別的工會。

早期各種行業的工會，是限於一個地區的。由於它們絕少包羅某一行業中的全部工人，所以這些工會都很弱小。一般的情形是，它們都祇存在了一個很短的時候。除了早期工會特有的福利活動以外，它們的目標包括，更高的工資，最低的工資率，較短的工作時間，實施學徒規律以及建立雇用惟工會工人的制度，最後一個制度又稱「閉廠」(closed shop)。

工會爲求達成其目標的許多特殊技術，都是在那個階段之中發展的。舉例說，在十九世紀開始的時候，集體談判的制度就已經爲勞工和其雇主們所了解，而且已經應用於爭端了。第一次歷史性的工人與雇主代表討論勞工要求的會議是一七九九

年製鞋工人與其雇主們之間的會議，而費城與紐約的印刷工人緊隨其後也舉行了一次同樣的會議。

於是，由於需要，工會中「業務情報員」(business Agent)的前身人員也產生了，他們是到工廠中察看各工廠是否遵照工會工資制度的，早期的「巡行委員會」(tramping committee)和沒有報酬的代表，後來就蛻化爲特別的，有報酬的「旅行代表」(walking delegates)了。(譯者註：此應爲代表工會巡查各工廠對於工人設施的代表。)

罷工和工人們辭去其在某一團體中的職位而作的行動，是和工會組織及集體談判同時發展的，據說，紐約的烘爐麵食工人，曾在早自一七四一年的時候，以停止工作的方法來達成他們的要求。至於第一次真實的罷工，則是由費城印刷工人於一七八六年號召的，該工會曾經給予罷工工人以若干福利。一七九九年，費城皮鞋工人爲了製靴工人舉行了一次同情罷工。一八〇五年，紐約的製鞋工人創設了一種永久的罷工福利金，後來到一八〇九年，這些工人參加了那也許是第一次的「總罷工」，當時他們因爲反對某一雇主，而引起其他雇主聲援此一雇主的時候，就擴展了罷工的行動。

雇主的反抗

及至工會漸強，工資問題的重要性也增加了，於是雇主們也就形成了組織來抵制工資要求。當環境看來有利的時候，雇主們常常企圖以雇用非工會會員的工人，以及向法院申訴，說工會是非法的手段，來破壞工會的效能。這一種對於工會的法律鬥爭，是於一八〇六年至一八一四年之間在費城，紐約，及匹茨堡的法院中所進行的。工會被控以「有阻撓貿易的陰謀」。因爲根據一條古老的英國公共法律，工人們聯合起來要求提高工資是可以被認爲一種反抗公眾的陰謀的。法院嘗試應用這條原則，曾引起了一次延及本世紀中大部份時間的爭辯。漸漸地，法院的注意力，從單純的工人聯合是否爲一種陰謀，轉移到了他們爲達成其目標而採取的方法。因此，有一個很長的時期，罷工，反抗以及工人爲達到他們的目的而作的其他企圖，都成了法院中法律行動的題目之一。

早期的陰謀案件，加上歐洲於拿破崙戰爭後發生的商業衰退，很嚴重的影響着工會，有些工會甚至消失了，但自一八二〇年的低潮以後，工會從各大城市中的製帽業，裁縫，紡織，製釘及製箱業裏興起來了。工廠勞工的組織也第一次出現。

工會與政治

在一八二七與一八三二年之間的五年裏，勞工組織趨向於組織獨立的政治活動。至於造成這種發展的因素，歷史家瑪利·皮爾德在她的『美國勞工運動簡史』中，解釋得很好。她說：「第一，原先規定於第一次的州憲法中的選舉投票權的財產條件是被取銷了，而選票差不多交到了每個勞工的手裏。第二，法院中對於工會的控訴，也驅使工人超出貿易與手藝行業的界限而採取協調的行動。第三，由於蒸汽動力和工廠制度而引起的工業革命，正在迅速地建樹着大的城市。它使工業勞工的人數迅速增加，並使工人間有較密切的關係。第四，關於工作時間的理論已經進步了，即工作時間應該由立法加以規定，確定為普遍的每日十小時，而非經痛苦的罷工方法所爭取。」

工人企求以政治行動來改善其地位的運動，擴展到了有領袖地位的工業社會中。一八二七年在費城，許多手工藝的工會組成了一個機械職工協會 (Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations)。以全城為範圍的這個工會，很快地就提名而且選舉了候選人，以「代表勞工階級的利益」而出席費城市議會及賓夕文尼亞州議會。勞工們組織成的各地方性的工會，也從許多城市中興起。由五十個以上的勞工報紙所支持的政治方案，包括有下列的要求：每日工作十小時，限制童工，取消有罪的勞工競爭，自由而平等的公衆教育，取消因債務而判決入獄，禁止爲爭取償債款而奪取工資及工具，機械工人有爲取得工資的償付而保留財產之權。取消家庭及工廠中的剝削勞工制度。

由於勞工政治組織按照典型的美國政黨形態興起——各區各郡的委員會及大會——勞工運動中嚴格的經濟活動及各種手藝行業的組織銷沉了。雖然，就短期而言，勞工們選舉他們的候選人担任政府工作是成功的，但一般地說，他們並沒有達成他們的目的。雖然如此，他們到底促使大衆注意工人們所遭受的經濟不平等，並且也幫助形成了許多未來立法的路線。最後，州議會終於禁止了因債務而關入牢獄，承認了每天工作十小時，並且奠定了美國公立學校免費制度的基礎。

城市中央工會及全國工會的形成

在一八三〇年後的最初幾年，工人對於改革運動及政治行動興趣消退了。但爲了抵制一八三五年和一八三七年迅速上漲

的物價，他們又以更新的力量來組織各種行業的工會。到一八三六年，舉例說，已有五十個以上的地方工會在費城和紐約市非常活躍。工人們也在紐華克，波士頓，辛辛那提，匹茨堡及路易斯維爾等其他城市中組成了技藝工會。這迅速的發展，促成了以城市為範圍的工會的組織。這些「城市中央」組織或者為他們當地所稱的「職業工會」，其注意力是在共同有關問題的討論和提倡工會製造的物品。

超越某一個區域的範圍而組織工會，曾在一八三四年作過試驗，當時來自七個城市的「城市中央」工會在紐約集會討論組織全國職業工會。後來到一八三五年和一八三六年，製鞋工人，排字工人製梳工人，木匠，手搖機織工人都會努力想設立一個全國性的各種個別行業的工會。但這種聯盟性的試驗被證明為不能支持一八三七年的經濟打擊。跟着這經濟上的打擊，就是一八四〇年以後的不景氣與失業，而不景氣和失業，實際上消滅了各種形式的工會。

「理想主義」的時代

當經濟崩潰打擊着各地方工會和全國性工會的時候，許多地方的工人就轉移其力量在組織生產者與消費者的合作社。其他人則也被各種方式的合作組織所吸引，至於這些合作組織，則都是由於法國社會主義者查理·福雷 (Charles Fourier) 及英國改革者羅伯特·歐文 (Robert Owen) 的信徒及及時的知識階級所散佈的理想主義而激成的。人們呼籲以社會公有土地及生產力量的方法，為在麻塞諸薩州所作的著名的布洛克農田以及在印地安那州紐哈姆來所實行的試驗，來作為解決貧窮，失業，以及其他困擾勞工的社會及經濟難題的方法。這些計劃雖然在勞工團體中被廣泛的討論着，但它們絕少獲得勞工們自己的直接支持。但這些計劃確曾使工人們以其從事工會活動的力量，移轉到對於政治及經濟理論的爭論。

在這階段中，「宅地運動」(homestead Movement) 也發生了。這個運動，如果按照最簡單的說法，是一種不取代價，而將未開發的公有土地分給願意居住及墾殖的人們的計劃。這個運動，按照勞工歷史家希利格·普爾曼 (Selig Perlman) 的說法，乃是一種需要，使得一政府利用自由土地，替勞工們打開了一條逃避工資制度的道路而改為自己雇用自己。這是在一八五〇與一八六〇後十年中，美國政治上的特色。

未有決定的十年

在一八四〇年到一八五〇年中的後幾年中，工業復興了，勞工有着大量需要，物價上升，職工會再度顯示它們的力量，工人們也再度熱中於訂定有關學徒，最低工資，對於償付工錢的控制，工會入會費，常年會費，罷工福利基金，工會雇用程序，關廠制以及對於排除非同業工會於職工會以外的種種決定。及至工業擴展，新的地方工會隨而成立了，而到一八五四年，大部份的行業都表現已有相當組織。但在商業循環的變動道路上，許多的這些工會都崩潰了，祇在一八五七年度復活，但後來又破裂了。

在一八五〇年以後的十年中，許多全國性的工會成立了。印刷工人於一八五〇年召開了一次全國大會。到一八五九年，石工，製帽工人，模型製造工人，機械工人和火車頭上的工人也都建立成功了他們的全國性組織。在這十年中，並且還有相當頻繁與規模很大的罷工，在這次罷工中，差不多每一個行業和美國的大城市都會牽涉在內。而勞工與雇主間的集體談判制度，也差不多在若干重要的行業中變得很普通了。

全國性工會的出現

美國北部與南部諸州的武裝衝突（一八六一——一八六五年），即美國內戰，要求有大量的軍火與工廠物資。在這階段中物價上升了，利潤是巨大的，許多新的商業都在這時發軔。從麻塞諸薩州，紐約及其他東部諸州製成的物品，經由鐵道送到了西部。其他的工廠則在那些崛起於大湖區和密失比河谷的新城市中樹立了起來。

工會想來組織這些新行業中的熟練工人。在一八六三年，在北部的二十個州裏，有着八十個地方工會，但到一八六四年，就差不多了有三百個地方工會了。隨着地方工會的建立，城市中央工會也立即建立起來了。一八六四年，曾經有一度短促的建立全國勞工聯盟的努力，當時有幾個這些城市中央工會建立了一個北美國際工業大會。全國性及國際性工會是比較緩慢但頗堅定地發展着的。（註：當某一工會有附屬機構設在外國時，就自稱為「國際」工會，這些附屬機構大部份是在加拿大的

。今天，「全國工會」及「國際工會」是通指一個擁有某一行業及工業的地方工會爲附屬機構的較大組織。）一八六一年及一八六五年時共約有十三個工會。在這些年代中組成的工會後來都變成了較爲強大而永久的組織，有些工會（如泥水匠，雪茄煙製造工人及磚石匠等），已經一直繼續到現在。

內戰以後的十五年，是美國勞工運動史上很重要的組織階段。這階段中包括經濟衰退和復興的兩個週期，其中曾發現興起了十四個新的全國工會，而到一八七二年時，全部工會會員人數增加到了三十萬人，但一八七八年又降至五萬人，同時並會有三種不同的工藝組織將試圖併爲一個全國性的勞工聯盟。在某一時期中，並曾發生過每日工作八小時的運動以及長期，痛苦與常常殘暴的工業鬥爭中的第一次跡象，這種樣的鬥爭乃是美國工會爲了取得認可與生存而作鬥爭的特性。

全國工會

一八六六年巴爾的摩全國工會的樹立，乃是適應日益增加的團結勞工團體以成全國工會的要求。這全國工會基本上是一個各城市中央工會的聯盟，其中包括全國工會，各地方工會以及若干社會改良組織，雖然創設全國工會的人的目的之一，是在經由促進集體談判而謀工業的和平，但全國工會很快地就轉變了「純粹」的職業工會主義，它最初集中注意力於八小時工作運動，後來則注意恢復生產者合作社中的勞工利益。全國工會的策動人是模型工會的賽爾維斯 (W. H. Sylvis)，他相信合作組織乃是使工會不受「資本主義」團體控制的方法。賽爾維斯自己的工會所用的合作生產的方法，會爲若干數其他行業的人所採取，其中包括麵包師，造船工人，機械工人，裁縫及印刷工人。由於這些合作事業是需要資金和信用的，全國工會因此就迅速地支持若干農業團體的「綠背運動」(Greenback Movement)，這項運動是主張大量發行紙幣並以低利供給貸款的。

到一八七二年，全國工會於那一度從職業工會轉移到合作及政治行動的短暫與迅速的演進以後，重又消失了。由全國工會所支持的改良勞工黨甚至其存在的期間未能超過一次選舉，及至一八七〇年至一八八〇年間的最末幾年，祇有絕少幾個合作社還存留着。雖然如此，全國勞工聯盟對於州及聯盟立法的影响已經有了一些結果。一八六八年，國會規定了聯邦政府職

員每日工作八小時制，雖然同時在工業方面，這項鬥爭仍在繼續中。此外，全國勞工聯盟要求設立的政府中的勞工局，也於一八八四年由法律規定成立。

工業鬥爭

一八七三年和一八七八年，幾個領導地位的技藝工會試圖嚴格的職業工會的方案來恢復對於勞工聯盟的興趣，但未成功。同時則由於新的經濟不景氣，職業工會的會員人數大見減少，很多工業工人牽涉在一批猛烈的罷工和停工中而他們在經濟上則過於脆弱而難於支持。製雪茄工人，紡織工人，銑工，煤礦工人和其他的工人，艱苦地和減低工資相鬥爭。一八七七年重心在匹茨堡的鐵路工人罷工，蔓延到了全國，於是引起了猛烈的騷動，招致戒嚴法令，各州及聯邦軍隊的干涉和殺戮。有一個名叫「摩萊·麥吉爾」(Molly Maguire) 劣跡昭彰的秘密組織，後來在賓夕文尼亞煤礦區中控制了「愛蘭人古制」宿舍。這種由於這一階段中的不幸和貧窮而產生的一摩萊·麥吉爾一組織；曾由恐怖的手段來對付雇主及罷工的破壞者。最後，州政府解散了這個團體，並逮捕了若干有關幾次暗殺案件的該組織的領袖。

儘管工人未曾獲得他們急切的目標，這個騷動的階級使得人們對於勞工運動的全國重要性及其所企圖改善的社會病態增加了認識。據雷爾門教授 (Seig Reisman) 觀察，這幾年的經驗，使得勞工運動「全國化」，並在勞工運動之中，發展了鞏固的意志與共同的目標。而非熟練工人——鐵路上的，礦場上的和紡織廠中的——也歷史上第一次在勞工鬥爭中起了重大的作用，而有組織的勞工運動，從此就不再被認為僅僅是熟練工人的事了。

新的地方工會與熟練工人工會的出現與新城市中央工會的組織，是和經濟情形的改善同時發生的。但很少舊的工會會經度過經濟恐慌。在經濟恐慌後依然存在着的全國性工會約有十八個，另外很快地又有九個工會組織了起來。到一八八五年，工會的全體會員人數達到了一八七二年水準的三十萬人，雖然自一八八三年起發生的經濟衰敗，引起了許多次對於減低工資的罷工以及利用罷工而作廣泛的抵制。

在這十年的工會與產生鬥爭中，勞工運動本身成了對其前途組織的決定性試鍊場所。問題在於一個全國性的勞工同盟是

該以直接隸屬的不論行業部門各地方工會，城市中央工會為其基礎呢，還是應該主要以現存的全國職業工會為基礎。前一個方法，曾經屢經試驗而未獲成功，主持這一方法的是勞工俠義會 (Knight of Labor)，而後者則是美國勞工聯盟 (American Federation of Labor)

勞工俠義會

勞工俠義會 (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor) 是於一八六九年由史蒂芬斯所創造的，最初是一個很小的費城女服裝工會，後來因為其他的技藝工會加入了才漸漸地擴大。若干年來，它一直以一個秘密團體而從事活動，而這秘密團體是有着一套很精密的規章的。由於當時工會遭遇到着非常的困難，有如一個工會領袖所寫的：「工會組織遭逢着巨大的痛苦，被置於黑名單上的人們，其範圍之廣泛是空前的。」但大部份的秘密，到一八八一年時就被放棄了。

這個俠義會在一八七九年祇有一萬個會員，後來會員人數迅速增加，至八八六年時它自稱全國有七十萬人。在組織上，這個俠義會有着一個全國性的大會，對於各區的大會有中央控制力量。而各區大會則是由五個或五個以上的地方大會所組成。地方大會有兩種，一種是以行業為單位的，一種是各行業混合的。前一種祇有一種行業的從業員，而後一種則有各種不同職業的人參加在內。一八七八年的大會，選舉了史蒂芬斯為領袖工人 (Grand Master Workman)，後來不久他就辭職了，而由波德萊 (Terrance V. Powderly) 繼任。

這俠義會有一個廣泛的目標：以合作性的社會代替競爭性的社會，因為合作性社會是可以使工人們獲得充份的機會以享受他們造成的財富。達成如此情況，主要需藉減低銀行的一金錢力量「而非經由和個別雇主的鬥爭。比較具體的是，這個俠義會要求每日工作八小時，女工應獲平等報酬，禁止用囚犯作工及童工，公用事業公有以及建立合作組織。他們倚靠的是教育及政治方法而非集體談判。罷工僅被作為一項最後的手段。

但在一八八〇年到一八九〇之間，當「實際職工會主義者」的力量增長其勢力以後，俠義會曾經從事幾次罷工並會與雇主成立工資的協定。他們在一八八五年和有力的古爾德鐵道系統進行的最成功，雖然也最猛烈的鬥爭，使他們獲得了特殊的

榮譽。

後來，一次內部的鬥爭造成了俠義會的衰敗。那些主張以集體談判方法的領袖和主張採取政治方法及基本社會改革的人衝突了起來。此外，俠義會所努力團結的熟練工人和非熟練工人的利益也不是容易協調的。比較強大的技藝工會拒絕作爲它分支機構，而到一八八六年時，便和俠義會公開地敵對起來了。

美國勞工聯盟

當這時候，一個新的組織興起來了。它致力於「純粹而單一的工會主義」，它的目標是較高的工資和改良的工作環境。凡經歷一八七三年經濟恐慌而仍然存留下來的各技藝工會都差不多一致陷入它們各種行業的問題中。他們以各地方單位附屬於全國工會並募積基金以協助進行罷工中的工會會員和經濟不景氣時的工會會員。

一八八一年，六個重要的技藝工會——印刷工人，鋼鐵工人，模型工人，雪茄烟工人，木匠及玻璃業工人——以及其他各種行業的工人在匹茨堡開會，建立了一個「有組織行業和勞工工會的聯盟」。它的領袖是龔甫斯和史特萊賽，他們都是雪茄烟製造者工會的。在開始的時候，它大約有四萬五千個會員，但在五年之間，它一直是弱小的，而且不及勞工俠義會受人重視。但到一八八六年，當勞工俠義會於其年會中拒絕同意大技藝工會的權力時，後者中的若干工會就聚集在俄亥俄州的哥倫布斯開會，並且成立了美國勞工聯盟（以下簡稱勞聯）。至於「行業和勞工工會聯盟」也在哥倫布斯開會，結果也併入了這個新的組織。龔甫斯後來當選爲新聯盟的主席，並且，除去一八九四——九五年以外，他曾一直担任該項職務，到他一九二四年逝世時爲止。

「勞聯」的力量，主要寄托於木匠工會，雪茄烟工人工會，印刷工人工會，鋼鐵工人工會以及鋼鐵模型工人工會。「勞聯」成立之初的一八八六年，它的會員人數約當十三萬八千人，但在其後的十二年，這會員人數很快地增加了兩倍。到一八九〇年爲止，和勞工俠義會的競爭一直繼續着，而經常促成執行協定的努力，也沒有能够緩和與靜止經常的鬥爭。勞工俠義會因爲逐漸失去其原有的地盤於新的組織，到一八九〇年已經祇有十萬個會員，自此以後，它的會員人數不斷減少，而因

此不再成勞工運動中的有力因素，但是俠義會是一直存在到一九一七年爲止的。

會員人數增加

一八九〇年以後的三十年中，美國勞工聯盟繼續生長，並且鞏固了它作爲主要的美國勞工聯盟組織的地位。第一個十年中，「勞聯」的增長是緩慢的，但從一九〇〇年到一九〇四年，它的會員人數迅速地從五十萬增加到了一百五十萬人，而到第一次世界大戰時，會偶然地達到二百萬人。戰爭期中，會員人數再度迅速增加，到一九二〇年時曾經超過四百萬人。

在這整個的階級中，全部工會工人中約有百分之七十到八十是屬於「勞聯」的。最重要的非分支機構，是四個「鐵路兄弟會」，它是經常和「勞聯」分支機構保持友誼關係的。其他的非「勞聯」附屬機構有各種門類的組織。他們常常是和「勞聯」的工會競爭的。此外的工會，則是從「勞聯」退出的工會。據烏爾曼教授 (Prof. Wolman) 在「職工工會的興衰」一書中的估計，這些「獨立」與非隸屬於「勞聯」的工會會員，一九〇〇年時祇有二十萬人左右，而一九二〇年時增加到了差不多一百萬人。

在第一次世界大戰以前，工會會員的主要增加是在煤礦，鐵道及建築業工會方面。煤礦業方面佔有力量的是「聯合煤礦工人」這個工會於一九〇二年的一度罷工以後，使它自己成了一「勞聯」中最大與組織得最完備的分支機構。至於其他方面，技藝工會和混合技藝工會差不多仍舊是佔有優勢的。

再度發生的工業鬥爭

勞工運動之形成爲有力的全國經濟團體，並不是未曾遭遇反抗和暫時的退步的。一八九〇年以後的十年中，出現於經濟環境裏的新的大公司會經努力抵制工人組織工會的行動。許多次，這些衝突造成了死亡，傷害以及其他的兇暴行爲。舉例說鋼鐵工人混合工會對抗賓夕文尼亞州荷姆斯德卡奈基鋼公司的鬥爭，其最高潮乃是該公司雇用的賓克頓偵探和罷工者之間一場激烈的戰鬥，結果死了十個人，並引起國家警衛隊的干涉。一八九四年由戴伯斯領導的，美國鐵路工會爲抵制伊利諾州普

爾門貴族花廳車輛公司的罷工，引起了芝加哥區許多鐵路上的同情罷工。公司會利用聯邦和州的軍隊，以及法院的禁令來對付工會。在這個紛爭之中，有二十五個人被殺，六十個人受傷。全國其他各地工業糾紛也蔓延了起來，並且造成了公開的暴動。

一九〇二年以後，隨着一個工會迅速發展的階段，雇主的反抗顯得更加頑固，並具有一種更有組織的性質。據陶爾泰教授在其「美國工業中的勞工問題」一書中綜括這個趨勢說：「工業界一相信工會已經成長得太強大，並且恐怕工會進一步地侵入雇主對於工會的控制，因此工業界決定破壞關係，而從一九〇二年起到戰爭為止的年頭，是以不斷增加的反工會主義爲其特色的。」陶爾泰又說：「許多工廠中採用了科學的管理和有效能的制度，對於熟練的工人是不利的。若干種類的摧毀工會的策略都被雇主們所採用。保安團體和人民委員會被蒙養來抵制工會的活動。法院的判決，也一律是利用來作反工會措施的。」「勞聯」的會員們面對着這些新的困難，起初頗受打擊，後來則以比較一九〇二年以前爲遲緩的速度繼續增長。

儘管有着雇主們普遍地對工會的反對，但由於雇主和工人的直接交涉，也產生了更多的「行業」的工會團體和集體談判的協定。許多權威都認爲工業關係的穩定和工業安全的達成，乃是這一階段中「勞聯」所屬的「單純」職工會正義獲得成功的重要因素。

勞工的「無黨派」政治

整個說來，這些工會以擴展集體談判範圍的方法集中其注意力於是提高工資，建立每日八小時工作制以及其他工作環境的改良，拒絕使勞工運動中的各種政治力量獲得工會在政黨方案上的支援。當本世紀之初，這些問題曾經在「勞聯」的全國大會中被人辯論，當時，據羅文（Lewis Lorwin）在他「美國勞工聯盟」一書中所說：「無黨派政治的原則，歸納爲一句格言「擊敗工人的仇敵，報答工人的朋友」而獲得了正式的認可。」在這句格言的實踐上，就意味着：「勞聯」將正式擁護那些協助的工人利益的候選人和一般政黨的政綱。

這樣的結果，勞工們就常常順利地獲致立法的改良。舉例說，本世紀的第一年，就會經過過許多的各州法律，以保護工

業中的婦女與兒童並且減少工業中的災禍。此外，各州都採行了工人賠償法。到一九一三年，國會並成立了一個獨立的勞工部。由於「勞聯」的堅持，一九一四年克萊敦及托辣斯法 (Clayton Anti-Trust Act) 中加進了一些條文，以使工會得能自由控訴而不受行業的限制，並且限制聯邦法院在勞工糾紛中發佈禁令。這一條法案，會被韋甫斯等等譽為勞工的「大憲章」。但對於克萊敦法案的興奮祇是曇花一現的，因為後來的法院的詮釋差不多都會使勞工預期的收穫失效。一九一五年，國會又通過一條希曼 (Seamen's Act)，其中規定了若干雇用水手的法則。到一九一六年，就成立了一個基本的每日八小時工作制，以實施於從事各州間營業的鐵路工人。

激烈的反抗

對於「勞聯」「純粹職業工會」政策的反對，來自社會勞工黨 (Socialist Labor Party) 社會黨 (Socialist Party) 以及「世界工業勞工」 (Industrial Workers of the World)。社會勞工黨成立於一八七四年，它是一八六四年馬克思恩格斯國際勞工協會或稱第一國際的美國支部的產物。這一個團體，曾經於一八九五年企圖成立一個可與「勞聯」競爭的組織——即社會主義職業及勞工同盟。那些社會勞工黨中相信可以不藉「雙重工會制度」而贏得工人對社會主義哲學的贊同的人，在一九〇一年脫離了社會勞工黨而成立了社會黨，這一黨中的黨員是反對「勞聯」的傳統政策的。

「世界工業勞工」，是由若干持有異議的工會和政治團體於一九〇五年所成立的。它旨在「取消工資制度」，組織非熟練勞工以及臨時工人。這一個「世界工業勞工」主要是按工業門類來組織工人，在全國的某些地區，它曾經獲得部份的成功，其中尤以小麥區，煤礦區，伐木區，西部地區及若干工業關係緊張的地方為最。這一組織一度曾被認為是可能與「蘇聯」在勞工運動中爭奪領導地位的，但自一九一三年以後，「世界工業勞工」就衰敗下去了，它祇在少數地區仍然於表面上存在。

勞工與世界第一次大戰

當第一次世界大戰時，增加了的工業活動和勞工的缺乏促使工會急速地擴張。後來，一個戰時勞工局成立了，它旨在促

進勞資合作並協助解決潛在的嚴重紛爭。本世紀以來，美國的聯邦勞工機構第一次特別表示工人們有權組織工會並且經由他們選出來的代表作集體談判。在礦工，造船工業和聯邦經勞工的鐵路上，工會的會員人數增加起來了。在包裝廠裏，紡織廠裏以及男子服裝，食鹽及皮革及金屬工業方面，工會人數也有顯著增加。而若干工會，也第一次嚴重地關切他們自己的熟練工人的組織。

勞工團體的代表，除了在戰時勞工局服務以外，並且參加了其他的政府的委員會以應付特殊的戰時問題。他們以史無前例的規模密切合作，使得勞工們聽取到有關工業情況的特別申訴，並使得勞工們對於全國性的問題，獲得發言權。

「開廠」時代及不景氣

一九二一年和一九二二年的經濟不景氣，造成了一陣罷工的浪潮。而勞工們的抗議，也沒有能够遏止那個普遍的減低工資運動，並因此使工會力量開始急速降低。這種不景氣，甚至當工業開始作美國歷史上空前擴張的時候，依然繼續着。據密里斯和蒙高茂萊教授 (Prof. Mills and Montgomery) 在他們那本「有組織的勞工」(Organized Labor) 一書中所述：「照以往的歷史來觀察，我們已經目睹勞工的戰鬥，以及它們在征服未組織勞工區和加強對於已獲工作的控制上的進取性。但是，這個階段却發現舊的已與經成立的工會經驗着在維持過去收穫上的困難，而一種近似於惰性，溫和主義或者失望的東西普遍存在於整個勞工運動之中。」

反工會的雇主們對於許多工業（金屬工業，汽車業，鐵道等等）中有組織的勞工們大規模攻擊的成功，使這一階段獲得一個流行的名稱——「開廠」時代。（譯者註：凡雇主雇用工人不以工會會員為限者稱「開廠」制 Open Shop，雇主雇用工人僅以某一工會會員為限者稱「閉廠」制 Close Shop）在這些年代中，雇主們所採用的技術包括運動場和養老金在內的若干福利設施，以及廣泛使用間諜及罷工破壞者的壓迫手段。

羅文會經描述過這一階段中勞工工會運動的影響，他說：「會員中，有相當一部份是能够獲得較高工資，較多的收入和較短的工作時間的。每週工作四十小時制度，已為有工會組織的工廠所普遍採納，同時並有五十萬個工會會員獲得每週工作

五小時的待遇。這一點在造船業，運輸業，印刷業，政府雇員和教師及演員等行業中特別流行。但假定有些工會不能達成這些條件，他們的會員人數就會減少，收入降低而且其福利制度也將變弱，而他們可以在較小的地區實施他們的標準。一

從一九二〇年到一九二三年，全部工會會員人數從五千萬減少到略多於三千五百萬。到一九二九年，當美國「繁榮」的頂點，全體工會會員人數也仍然維持一個很低的水準。一九二九年，在「勞聯」所屬的一百零五個國際和全國性工會中，祇有四十四個工會曾在一九二五年以後自行支持或者有所擴展。其中大部份是在建築業和印刷業，運輸業，政府機關及娛樂事業。經濟的不景氣和廣泛的失業隨着一九二九年股票市場的崩潰而發生，因此進一步地使一九三二年的工會會員人數降低到三百二十五萬人。這種衰落，在機械代替熟練手藝工人和「病態」的礦業及紡織業中以及受戰爭的人為刺激的工業中特別顯著。

復興和擴充

一直到一九三三年春季，通過了一條全國工業復興法案 (National Industrial Recovery Act) —— 其中的七A項保證工人有權按其選擇組織工會，並有權和雇主作集體談判)，美國的職工會才開始復興。這一復興，使得大規模生產的工業裏，有巨量的工人組成了工會。

在汽車製造業，橡皮，水泥及鍊鉛工業中，工會是按工業部門而組織起來了，這些新的工會都直接隸屬於「勞聯」而以其為聯邦性的勞工聯盟，因為當時並無相當的國際性工會可以吸收它們。

在一九二三——三四的兩年中，屬於「勞聯」的許多全國性及國際工會也增加了大量的新會員。國際婦女服裝工會的會員從四萬增加到了十五萬人。美國馬夫，司機，倉庫工人和搬夫工會的會員，從七萬五千人增加到了十三萬人。機械工人國際協會的會員從七萬五千增加到了九萬人。聯合——工工人從三十萬人增加到差不多五十萬人。其他工會會員人數也有較小的增加。

由於一九三五年五月法院宣布全國工業復興法案無效，由於工人代表迅速增長而激成了以防止工會主義為主要目標的計

劃，並由於雇主們反對全國勞工關係法案——該法案事實上是併在全國工業復興法案七A項中的，工會會員的增加是暫時被遏止了。

全國勞工關係法案保證工人「有權自行組織，成立，參加或者協助勞工組織，有權經由他們自己選定的代表來進行集體談判；有權爲了集體談判或者互相援助及保護的目的而從事協調的活動。」該法案創立了一個全國勞工關係局，該局有兩項主要職權：一、防止并補救雇主的「不公平勞工措施」，即雇主打擊或干涉工人之自行組織或工人的集體談判；二、當對於何者是能代表工人的工會發生爭論的時候，派定集體談判的代表；並且決定准予參加集體談判的代表團的大小及組成份子。

一九三七年四月最高法院宣布全國勞工關係法案無效以後，有組織的勞工甚至達成了比較在全國工業復興法案時期更大的進展。到一九三七年尾，馬夫工會的會員人數增加到了二十一萬人，即等於一九三三年會員人數的三倍；國際機械工人工會的會員人數也達到了十三萬八千人，約當一九三三年的兩倍；電氣工會的會員也差不多增加了兩倍的人數而達十七萬一十人；至於旅館酒店職工工會則從一九三三年的二萬五千人迅速地增加爲一九三七年的十萬七千人。

勞工運動的分離

儘管「勞聯」內部對於按工業部門和按技藝來組織工會的問題有着內部的鬥爭，但集體談判與工會會員人數的增加是達成了。一九三四在舊金山舉行的「勞聯」大會，一致投票通過議案委員會的報告，該報告說：在大規模生產的工業中，已經發明了一種新的組織工人的方法，因爲大規模生產工業中的工人是極難而且不可能分別組成技藝工會的。「該報告又說，一爲適應這項新的情勢起見，執行委員會業已受命按其判斷認爲必要時，對汽車，水泥，鉛業及其他大規模生產或各種企業中的全國及國際工會發給工會執照，」該議案並表示，目前所有各職業工會的管轄權將予認可，而在各種技藝可以明白劃分的工業中，按技藝行業而組織工會是將予保留的。

其後數年，「勞聯」又以工會執照給予汽車業與橡皮業中的已組織的工人。「勞聯」爲了規定這一些工會的職權範圍，「勞聯」的執行委員會曾特別禁止若干熟練工人及修理工人參加其他工會。

按工業部門或技藝來組織工會的爭論問題，曾經再度提出於一九三五年在大西洋城舉行的「勞聯」大會。一小部份的議案委員的報告，曾抗議舊金山大會中對於工業工會組織的宣言，並要求對於大規模生產工業中所組織的工會「無限制地給予工會執照」。投票結果，少數議案委員會的報告以一八，〇二四對一〇，〇九三票而被擊敗，因此問題迄未解決，並且引起了日後工會運動中的分裂。

工業組織委員會的成立

一九三五年大會後的幾個星期，六個「勞聯」附屬機構的工會和另兩個「勞聯」工會的職員，組成了一工業組織委員會，並宣布其宗旨為促進大規模生產工業中工人和未經組織的工業中的工人的組織，並以促進他們對於「勞聯」的隸屬依附。這個委員會後來並經其他「勞聯」工會參加。（註：在組成工業組織委員會即後來的一「產大」工作中，最活躍的工會是：聯合礦工工會，該會由路易士（John Lewis）代表，路易士為該工會的主席；混合服裝工人工會；國際婦女服裝工人工會；聯合紡織工人工會；國際採礦工人，磨製及鑄鍊工人工會；國際油田，油井及煉油工人工會。國際排印工人工會的職員霍華德成了工業組織委員會的書記，聯合製帽工人工會的職員查理斯基也成了該委員會的書記，他們以個人資格參加而並不要求他們所屬的工會參加這個勞工運動。下列的四個工會則於該委員會成立不久以後，即行參加這個委員會的組織，國際聯合汽車工人工會，聯合橡皮工人工會，鐵，鋼，錫工人混合工會及平板玻璃工人聯盟。）

「勞聯」認為工業組織委員會的活動的性質，是和「勞聯」對抗的，因此於一九三六年一月份要求該委員會立即解散。但工業組織委員會拒絕了這項要求，於是「勞聯」執行委員會就禁止該委員會在「勞聯」中活動，而執行委員會的一行動，會獲一九三六年大會的支持。

「產大」的正式組織

勞工運動的裂痕到一九三八年十一月「產大」（譯者註：產業職工大會的簡稱，即CIO，以下做此。）另組獨立勞工

聯盟舉行第一次組織大會而更加深了。在這次大會上，工業組織委員會改組爲全國和國際性的工會聯盟，名爲產業職工大會（Congress of Industrial Organizations）。這新聯盟（產大）包括脫離「勞聯」的十個工會和三十二個單位或稱「組織委員會」，委員會是爲組織各工業的工人而成立的。礦工聯合會主席約翰·路易士當選爲第一屆「產大」主席，新組織的機構和「勞聯」相像，基本上也是自治全國性工會的一個鬆弛的聯盟，由年會中各附屬工會選出一個執行會和大會職員治理。

二次大戰前有組織工人的狀況

雖說由「勞聯」——「產大」裂痕而產生了競爭和仇恨，但是美國有組織的工人在工會會員，談判的集體磋商協定，和此諸協定所包含的產業工人各方面，皆因此而有實質的增加。截至一九四一年底，工會會員總數到一千萬和一千一百萬之間。這些有組織的工人約佔全國職工總數的三分之一。

附屬於美國勞工聯盟的工會，有四百五十萬以上的納會費會員。產業職工大會聲稱總會員達五百萬。此外，據估計既不屬於「勞聯」又不屬於「產大」而隸屬其他正規勞工組織的工人有九十萬人以上。

戰時，一九四二—四五年

戰爭也許給有組織勞工以歷史空前的良機來擴展工會的組織和影響。在這期間平均說來，工會會員總數每年約增加一百萬。造船、飛機、汽車和其他戰時工業的增加最大。在一九四一年和一九四五年之間，金屬業的許多工會的會員有的增加了兩倍，有的三倍。汽車工人聯合會（屬產大）報告，納會費會員總數是一，〇五二，〇〇〇人，創美國工會的紀錄。那是一個工會合併和大部份工業擴大集體談判協定的時期。雖說某些無隸屬的工會，如全國電話工人聯盟和美國工頭協會甚爲著名，但是全國性工會成立的却極少。

在二次大戰以前和大戰期間，「勞聯」和「產大」曾有若干次的正式換文並舉行過兩次會議，結果也沒有能基於可能的基礎進行合作或是將這兩個組織最後統一起來。接着政府爲了作戰設立了各種諮詢和管理的部門，「勞聯」和「產大」皆代

表勞方參加了。

一般講來，組織的勞工在戰時生產計劃的多方面，皆很活躍，而且曾參加一九四〇年五月設立的國防諮詢委員會，這是第一個國防機構。一九四一年生產管理處成立後，羅斯福總統便任命美國製衣工人聯合會（屬「產大」）主席S·希爾曼和通用汽車公司總經理兼生產管理處長納德遜共同主持該處。不久改組，由一位勞工代表兼任戰時生產局副局長和戰時人力委員會的副委員長。一九四二年十二月，三大勞工集團（「勞聯」，「產大」和鐵路工人協會）的高級代表皆被任命參加勞資政策委員會，這委員會是戰時人力委員會的參議團體，同時各地類似的聯合委員會的人選，也予任命，以協助推行爲戰爭工業供給人力的總計劃。

在戰時生產局主持下，各廠設立了勞資委員會，旨在刺激生產減少職工曠職。此外，其他多數戰時機構也制訂程序，在他們不同的計劃中，利用工會間的合作。

有組織的勞工並且也直接參加政府設置調整勞工爭端的機構。

爲協助調解國防工業爭端，總統於一九四一年三月設立「三方面」的國防仲裁局，參加的勞工方面代表是由「勞聯」和「產大」平均分配的。一九四一年十二月宣戰之後，羅斯福總統立即召開工會和工業界領袖會議，結果他宣布勞工方面自動保證作戰期間不得罷工，而資方也因此保證不許停工。這些保證是設置全國戰時勞工局以裁定一切影響作戰努力的工業爭端並提供和解方法的協定中的組成元素。一九四二年一月成立的這個戰時勞工局包括勞方，資方和「社會」三方面的代表，根據類似基礎，各地若干分局也成立了。和以前的國防仲裁局一樣，勞工代表也是由「勞聯」和「產大」平均分配的。

戰後發展

雖然工業界以後隨着戰爭的軍事階段即告結束而重行調整，戰時生產轉移到和平生產，然而整個講來勞工運動已具有了組織上的力量。工會在戰時工業諸如飛機和造船中雖然失去許多會員，但他們在其他部門却補償了一些，同時大多數工會未經組織的工廠，皆陸續有徐緩而堅定的進展的報告。一九四六年春，「勞聯」和「產大」宣布在美國東南部和中南部工

商業中進行特種組織運動，那些地方原是工會組織較少的地方。

勞工運動仍然分爲兩大組織。然而，將近一九四六年底，「勞聯」的主席格林和「產大」的主席摩萊開始新換文，研究兩大組織可能合作的地區，甚至進行有機的統一。雙方代表的委員會於一九四七年五月一二兩日在華盛頓舉行會議，結果發表共同聲明，說「一致認爲……美國勞工運動應建立有機的統一」並且表示了繼續討論這問題的意願。

目前勞工運動的組織

今天美國現存有組織的勞工運動，是由自治的全國性和國際性的工會所組成的，而它們却又包含各地行業工會的工人。多數這些全國或國際性的工會，不是屬於「勞聯」，便是隸屬「產大」。許多鐵路工人和政府機關工人的工會，以及其餘少數大都是小型而限於某種地理區域的工會，從不曾屬於這兩個聯盟性的團體。還有若干工會會先後參加過「勞聯」或「產大」，但却退出或被開除了。這些沒有隸屬的工會通常稱爲「獨立派」。

在一九四七年初，據工會估計，美國各工會共有會員一千五百萬人。「勞聯」有全國性工會一〇五家，繳納會費的會員據稱有七百五十萬五千四百四十六人，而「產大」宣稱有全國性工會四十家，會員六百萬。在比較重要的獨立派之間，四個鐵路工人協會共有會員四十五萬人左右。國際機械工人工會有會員六十萬人，全國聯邦職工聯盟有八萬八千人。全國電話工人聯盟於一九四七年七月改組爲美國電訊工會宣稱約有十八萬會員。其餘四五十家全國獨立派的工會，總共有會員五十萬八千人左右。

「勞聯」和「產大」的最高政策，是由代表各工會的代表們在年會上決定的。在年會閉幕期間，交由選出的職員以及一個個由有關各工會選出的執行團體行使職權。「勞聯」或「產大」的附屬機構由兩組織發出「許可證」，規定各附屬工會的管轄而組成。那就是說，規定了工人或工廠的種類，從而授權一工會徵求會員。

就各地講來，「勞聯」在各城市的工會附屬於該城市的中央組織，「產大」的各地工會則屬於該城市的工業協會。從各州說，有「勞聯」的各州聯盟和「產大」的各州工業協會，討論州內有關各集團或一般有組織勞工的問題。

除了有國際性特許的地方工會以外，還有一些是直屬「勞聯」（稱爲「聯邦工會」）或「產大」（稱爲地方工會）的。這些直屬的分會，通常限於行業和工業，聯盟還沒有適當的國際組織（例如鋁工業），但某一工業如已有充分人數組織，便可特許成立國際組織。

國際性工會和它們的附屬組織主要的任務在保障和改進各該業會員的工作情況。而州市的工會則以致力工人最高權益中的立法和教育事務爲主，恰成對比。

工會通常可分爲行業工會和工業工會，然而美國工會目前很少有明白屬於二者之一的。許多工會還不如稱爲混合的或多元的行業工會，因爲他們包括兩個或兩個以上的熟練或半熟練的集團。另外一些工會最好稱爲半工業工會，因爲他們也許包括了一種工業之內所有的生產工人，却常常剔除了某種保養，技術或是文書方面的集團。一般說來，多數「勞聯」的工會傾向於行業或多元行業型（例如國際製版印刷工人，印染及雕刻工人工會，畫匠，裝飾師和裱糊匠協會）而大多數「產大」的工會則常列入工業或半工業型（例如美國鋼業工人，美國汽車，飛機和農具工人，以及運輸工人工會）。

爲了提供組織上的機構以調和許多行業的共同權益，「勞聯」規定設立各「部」，由某一廣泛的工業中具有各行業管轄權的國際性工會組成。現有四部是：營造業部，有十九個附屬的國際性工會；金屬業部，有十四個附屬工會；鐵路職工部，有六個附屬工會；航業部（一九四六年設立），有五個附屬工會。各部舉行會議，並經由市·州·區組織的附屬團體行使職權，鐵路職工會則通過鐵路「系統」的基礎行使。「勞聯」的工會徽號職業部的職能和其他各部不同，它們是由附屬於「勞聯」而具有「勞聯」徽號標誌的工會所組成，目的在藉呼籲消費者購買工會所做的貨物或服務，以促進工會組織和工會工人的技藝。

集體談判的規模

集體談判現在已成爲美國工業關係中一種基礎鞏固的制度。它已成爲獲得一種公認的有步驟的程序，由工人代表作爲一方，與雇主代表商定種種手續，以統轄他們的正常關係。在集體談判時，工會的基本目標在獲得一個成文的協定，規定僱用條件，工作情況，保證防止任意解僱工人，並且保有合作的機構，執行協定並解決由該協定所發生的種種問題。

工會協定的正確統計數字現在還沒有。不過據估計，目前生效的協定當遠超五萬件以上。各工業或甚至一種工業以內的協定形式是不相同的。談判的方式，各式各樣的主題以及內容方面皆有差異。

目前大多數生效的協定是由個別的僱主和代表全體工廠職工或是某一廠內特種集團（例如行業）的個別工會談判的。然而另有一些協定，時常牽涉到萬千職工，是由若干工會（通常是行業或多元行業工會）和一個個別的僱主談判，或由若干工會和若干僱主談判，或是由一個工會和若干僱主談判。大規模生產工業的合同，為數愈來愈多，常常包括了一個大公司若干分散工廠的全部，但是概括整個工業或整個行業的協定却很少。

據勞工統計局估計，一九四六年有資格參加集體談判的職工為三一·二〇〇·〇〇〇人，而實際參加集體談判的只有一四·八〇〇·〇〇〇人，佔百分之四十八。這數字係指已成立談判協定的工會的職工總數，所以其中有的是非工會會員，有的是工會會員。在製造工業方面，有百分之六十九較略高的生產工人在工會協定下做工，非製造工業只有百分之三十五。若干工業如營造業，煤礦業，銅業，穿衣鏡業等差不多完全是由工會組織的，而在農業，零售商業，牛奶業或是理髮業方面，組織的程度很少。

雖說，工會與僱主簽訂合同的内容和細則各有不同，但通常總不外規定下列條款：工會地位或對工會的承認；工資，工時和付薪方法；假期，節日，和休假；有關臨時解僱的章則；健康和安全；一般工作情况；申訴和仲裁的程序。

大多數協定均有一定期限，通常一年，一年後，可由雙方同意或經談判而自動展期。有些協定期規定在協定有效期間，對於工資條款再作特別談判。

工會的職能和活動

工會替會員行使各種不同的職能。一個較大的工會，便需要相當廣泛的職員，包括組織者和查賬員，律師，經濟學家等等辦事人員。工會的職能，可以粗分為如下幾點：工會內部事務的管理；集體協定的談判和管理；教育和有益的活動；社會和國事的參與。

內部事務通常包括召開大會，舉行執行委員會會議，組織活動的指導，以及新會員入會，徵收會費，辦理對於各地工會財政諸方面的監督。學徒制的規章，工會內部的不滿或爭端，以及罷工行動也在國際性工會的管理範圍之內。「總部」對於這些事件管制監督的程度，各工會不同。有些工會是高度中央集權，但也另有一些賦予地方工會以甚大的自治權。

工會另一重要的職能是和僱主談判集體協定的條款，在這方面國際性工會和地方工會所負的職責，差異很大。在協定談妥以後，工會還有使它順利進行的問題。這問題正常是經過工會——僱主間非正式或正式會議辦理的。在會議中要闡明合同各條款的意義。處理共同權益的目前種種問題，例如條款的執行，申訴程序的監督，參加勞資聯合委員會，以及聯合研究工時，速度和 workload。在大工會，多數這些問題通常成爲地方工會亟待負起的責任，但是國際性工會却時常提供必要的技術協助和勸告。許多國際性工會會爲此在會內設立不同的部門，就職能加以組織（例如法律，研究和統計，工程等等），或就工業或行業的分枝而組織的（例如羊毛和絨線，棉紗，人造絲，和紡織工業的地氈部）。

在政治方面，「勞聯」和「產大」以及多數獨立派的工會，還繼續正式遵從「獎友懲敵」的老口號。近年來工會在政治上運動上很活躍，而且常是地方和全國選舉中的重要因素。不過，他們的地位，通常却由個別選舉的問題和候選人而定。勞工集團在華盛頓也有代表，旨在國會表示他們對立法提案的態度，並在適宜時機促使行動。

多數工會皆供給受教育的便利。某些行業工會，還特別支持行業學校，協助會員學習新知識，或者改良他們工業的技能。另有一些教育計劃，着重一般性的目標，把這計劃當做工會經常會議的一部份，或在特種班級或「學會」裏施行。講演，討論，電影是常用的方式。有些工會的教育工種特別注重訓練工會職員，處理工會日常問題。舉例說，工會時常爲各地工會會計特別講授會計法，或者爲工廠管理員講解如何申訴的技巧。有興趣學習議會法，研究演說學，或是學習英語的也有求教的機會。

許多工會還發行報紙雜誌，以補正常活動的不足。也許有四百種週刊或月刊是各地和全國工會以及「勞聯」和「產大」中央組織的機關刊物。工會還印行各色樣的小冊子和有關教育，政治，和組織計劃的特種報告。

工會的企業還有人壽保險，健康福利和養老金制，娛樂活動，合作社，勞工銀行，信用工會，廣播節目，住宅設計。近

年以來，美國有組織的勞工運動在繼續其傳統的一麵包和牛油一工會主義的關注以外，還對地方性和全國的社會政治問題以及國際事務表現漸增的興趣。

參考書

美國工會及勞工運動史所選參考書目

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貝爾德著：「美國勞工運動簡史」，紐約道倫書局一九二四年出版。

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附錄 美國勞工部勞工統計局

美國工會的會員狀況

美國工會會員狀況因為沒有官方的政府統計數字表明，所以附表所列的歷年會員狀況是以工會組織在它們正式會報，報告，或是大會議程中的報告和聲明為根據的。各工會對「工會會員資格」銓釋各異，所以所列數字不能嚴格比較，不過歷年的趨勢却合理地反映了每一個主要工會集團逐年的變化。（註一）

美國勞工聯盟的數字是由該聯盟秘書——會計每年報告而來（參閱一九四六年美國勞工聯盟第六十五屆大會議事錄報告，第四十三頁。）「勞聯」認為這些會員數字是指「全國和國際性各附屬組織以及直接行業和工會，已繳納會費的會員總數

一，會費根據「實際每人的稅額」而由各附屬工會繳納。

產業職工大會是一九三八年正式成立的。在一九三五年十一月至一九三八年十一月間爲工業組織委員會。逐年會員狀況，「產大」從未公開發表。所以所列數字是依據「產大」職員的報告或聲明，至於會員總數或某一時期增加的人數參閱附註。

工會會員第三大類包括既不附屬於「勞聯」也不附屬於「產大」的勞工組織。一般說來，這個「獨立的」或是一不附屬的「工會包括了一切真正全國性的工會組織，而純地方性或管轄權不出一個僱主的職工的工會却不在內。在歷史悠久的四個鐵路工人協會以外，這一集團包括數目相當大但不穩定的小工會組織。近年來，某大勞工組織附屬工會的改變，例如美國礦工聯合會和國際機械工人協會，也影響各集團的會員總數。

在一八九七到一九三四年底期間，獨立或無隸屬的勞工組織的會員數字，節自烏爾曼所編纂的「工會運動的盛衰」（註二）。一九二九——一九三四期間，會員數字已概括附屬於工會統一聯盟各工會，數字也是由烏爾曼編纂的。一九三四年以來若干無隸屬的工會數字，片斷不全，所列總數乃是勞工統計局根據已發表資料估計而成。會員統計數字以外，「勞聯」和「產大」的附屬工會數目也根據工會正式資料逐年發表。至於獨立性工會的數目不詳。

（註一）有許多工會總部設於美國，但在國外，主要地在加拿大也有各地分會。所以依國別分類的會員數字不詳，下表所列數字代表某一工會的總會員數，與所在地區無關。據加拿大勞工部印行的「加拿大勞工組織第三十四次年報」，一九四四年加拿大有工人四六八·〇一三名是國際性工會的會員，工會的總辦事處則在美國。

（註二）參閱烏爾曼（Leo Wolman）著：「工會運動的盛衰」，一九三六年紐約全國經濟研究局出版。

美國勞工部

勞工統計局

美國工會會員表（一八九七——一九四六）

（下表所列數字，係根據各種來源而成，惟以工會正式文件爲主，請參閱附註。）

美國勞工聯盟			產業職工大會		獨立或無隸屬的工會	工會總數
年份	附屬工會數 (註一)	會員總數 (註二)	附屬工會數 (註三)	會員總數	會員總數 (註四)	會員總數
1946	102	7,152,000	40	6,000,000 (註五)	1,822,000	14,974,000
1945	102	6,931,000	40	6,000,000 (註六)	1,865,000	14,796,000
1944	100	6,807,000	41	5,935,000 (註七)	1,879,000	14,621,000
1943	99	6,564,000	40	5,285,000 (註七)	1,793,000	13,642,000
1942	102	5,483,000	39	4,194,000 (註七)	1,084,000	10,762,000
1941	106	4,569,000	41	5,000,000 (註八)	920,000	10,489,000
1940	105	4,247,000	42	3,625,000 (註九)	1,072,000	8,944,000
1939	104	4,006,000	45	4,000,000 (註十)	974,000	8,980,000
1938	102	3,623,000	42	4,038,000 (註十一)	604,000	8,265,000
1937	100	2,861,000	32	3,718,000 (註十一)	639,000	7,218,000
1936	111	3,422,000			742,000	4,164,000
1935	109	3,045,000			683,000	3,728,000
1934	109	2,608,000			641,000	3,249,000
1933	108	2,127,000			730,000	2,857,000
1932	106	2,532,000			694,000	3,226,000
1931	105	2,890,000			636,000	3,526,000
1930	104	2,961,000			671,000	3,632,000
1929	105	2,934,000			691,000	3,625,000
1928	107	2,896,000			671,000	3,567,000

美國工會會員表(續)

1927	106	2,813,000		787,000	3,600,000
1926	107	2,804,000		788,000	3,592,000
1925	107	2,877,000	*工業組織委員會 (Committee	689,000	3,566,000
1924	107	2,866,000		683,000	3,549,000
1923	108	2,926,000	for Industrial Organization)	703,000	3,629,000
1922	112	3,196,000		754,000	3,950,000
1921	110	3,907,000	於一九三五年十一月成立。一	815,000	4,722,000
1920	110	4,079,000		955,000	5,034,000
1919	111	3,260,000	九三八年改用現名產業職工大	786,000	4,046,000
1918	111	2,726,000		642,000	3,368,000
1917	111	2,371,000	會 (Congress of Industrial	605,000	2,976,000
1916	111	2,073,000		649,000	2,722,000
1915	110	1,946,000	Organization)	614,000	2,560,000
1914	110	2,021,000		626,000	2,647,000
1913	111	1,996,000		665,000	2,661,000
1912	112	1,770,000		634,000	2,405,000
1911	115	1,762,000		566,000	2,318,000
1910	120	1,562,000		554,000	2,116,000
1909	119	1,483,000		482,000	1,965,000
1908	116	1,587,000		505,000	2,092,000
1907	117	1,539,000		538,000	2,077,000
1906	119	1,454,000		438,000	1,892,000
1905	118	1,494,000		424,000	1,918,000
1904	120	1,676,000		391,000	2,067,000
1903	113	1,466,000		358,000	2,824,000
1902	97	1,024,000		311,000	1,335,000
1901	87	788,000		270,000	1,058,000
1900	82	548,000		243,000	791,000
1899	73	349,000		201,000	550,000
1898	67	278,000		189,000	467,000
1897	58	265,000		175,000	440,000

工會會員表（續）

（註一）一八九七，一八九八，及一九三三——四六年數字，摘自該年「勞聯」年會議事錄；其餘諸年數字摘自羅文著：「美國的勞工聯盟」第四八八頁，一九三五年布羅金斯協會出版。

（註二）根據「一九四六年「勞聯」第六十五屆大會議事錄」第四十三頁。

（註三）摘自「產大」年會議事錄。

（註四）一八九七至一九三四年間數字參見烏爾曼著：「工會運動的盛衰」第一三八——三九九頁，一九三六年紐約全國經濟研究局出版。一九二九——三四期間之數字則包括工會統一聯盟中工會會員數，參見烏爾曼著同書第一四四頁。一九三五——四六年之數字，係勞工統計局的估計。

（註五）參見摩萊對「產大」美國鋼業工人聯合會一九四六年大會的演說詞（美國鋼鐵工人聯合會第三屆組織大會議事錄，第六十二頁。）

（註六）參閱經濟展望，一九四五年十一月號，「產大」研究教育部印行。

（註七）一九四三年「產大」會員人數據稱有五，二八五，〇〇〇人（一九四三年「產大」第六屆組織大會議事錄，第一一五頁）。又據稱「產大」較一九四二年會員增加一，〇九〇，五〇三人（同書，第四十七頁），所以一九四二年會員當在四，一九五，〇〇〇人左右。一九四四年據稱較一九四三年增加六五〇，〇〇〇人，（一九四四年第七屆組織大會議事錄第五十六頁），表示一九四四年會員總數為五，九三五，〇〇〇。

（註八）一九四一年第四屆組織大會議事錄第一六二頁。

（註九）根據一九四〇年出席第三屆組織大會「產大」各附屬工會所得投票數目。參閱議事錄第二十五——三十頁，第一一三——一一五頁，及第一七〇頁。

（註十）一九三九第二屆組織大會議事錄第八十頁。

（註十一）一九三八第一屆組織大會議事錄第三十六頁。



Brief History of The American Labor Movement

Prepared by
Bureau of Labor Statistics
United States Department of Labor



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INTRODUCTION

The text of this brief history is an excellent condensation of the writings of outstanding American labor historians who are listed in the bibliography. Through a careful analysis of the labor history of any democratic nation, it will become apparent that the economic and political climate of any given period will have a measurable impact on labor union policy and organizational structure. A short history such as this could not begin to portray each shift in philosophy of trade union organization influenced by such forces in American society. With the increasing industrialization of the Chinese economy, this study of American trade union development should be of equal value to both Chinese labor and management, who will jointly implement the labor relation policies of China.

In the present world situation new chapters of labor history are in the making. All segments of American labor in this post-war era realize that they must assume new and greater responsibilities for preserving and promoting the ideals of democracy and genuine free trade unionism. American workers in the factories, offices, fields and mines realize that it is only by free exchange of information and material between all countries and the labor movement in each country that such genuine international cooperation can be achieved.

Chris W. Jorgensen
American Labor Attache
Shanghai, China

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT*

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Early Local Craft Unions

Unions have a long history in the United States. Before the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the establishment of the United States of America in 1789, skilled artisans in handicraft and domestic industry joined together in benevolent societies primarily in order to provide members and their families with financial assistance in the event of serious illness, debt, or death of the wage earner. After the American colonies had won their independence from Great Britain an increasing demand arose for goods and services originating in the United States.

As the American market expanded, buying and selling became the specialized function of the "merchant capitalist" whose pressure to buy at lowest possible prices was at first resisted by unions of both journeymen and their employers. The forces of competition, however, slowly separated the employers' interest in producing cheaply and in quantity from the journeymen's concern over maintaining their skill and wages. In the face of wage reductions, crafts such as the carpenters, shoemakers and typographers formed separate organizations in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston as early as 1791.

These early unions of various crafts were confined to a local area. They were usually weak because they seldom included all the workers of a craft. Generally,

* Based upon published materials and prepared in the Industrial Relations Branch of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, by John M. Brumm, under the supervision of Nelson M. Bortz.

they continued in existence only for a short time. In addition to the welfare activities which characterized earlier organizations, their aims frequently embraced higher wages, minimum rates, shorter hours, enforcement of apprenticeship regulations and establishment of the principle of exclusive union hiring, later known as the "closed shop."

Many characteristic union techniques for attaining their ends were first developed in this period. For example, by the opening of the 19th century the principle of collective bargaining was already well understood in labor and employing circles and was frequently applied in disputes. The first recorded meeting of worker and employer representatives for discussion of labor demands occurred between the Philadelphia shoemakers and their employers in 1799. The printing crafts of Philadelphia and New York rapidly followed suit.

Also, a forerunner of the union "business agent" grew out of the need to check on shops to see whether they were adhering to the union wage scale. The early "tramping committees" and unpaid representatives later led to specialized, paid agents known as "walking delegates."

Strikes, or actions of workmen in quitting their employment in a body, paralleled the development of organization and collective bargaining. The New York bakers were said to have stopped work to enforce their demands as early as 1741. The first authenticated strike was called in 1786 by the Philadelphia printers who provided benefits for their striking members. A sympathetic strike of shoe workers in support of fellow boot makers occurred in 1799 in the same city. In 1805 the shoemakers of New York created a permanent strike benefit fund, and in 1809 these same workers participated in what was perhaps the first "general" strike when they extended strike action against one employer to include several others who had come to his aid.

Employer Opposition

As unions became stronger, the wage question increased in importance and employers formed organizations to resist wage demands. Where circumstances appeared favorable, the employers attempted to destroy the effectiveness of a union by hiring non-union workers and by appealing to the courts to declare the labor organization illegal. This legal fight against unions was carried through the courts in Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsburgh between 1806 and 1814. Unions were prosecuted as "conspiracies in restraint of trade" under an old English common law doctrine that combinations of workmen to raise wages could be regarded as a conspiracy against the public. The attempt of courts to apply this doctrine aroused a controversy lasting throughout most of the century. Slowly judicial attention was shifted from the question as to whether a mere combination of workmen was a conspiracy to one as to the means they used to gain their ends. Thus for a long time strikes, boycotts and other attempts of workers to secure their demands were the subject of legal action in the courts.

The early conspiracy cases, combined with a business recession following the Napoleonic wars in Europe, seriously affected the trade unions, many of which passed out of existence. After a low point in 1820, however, worker organizations again sprang up in the larger cities among hatters, tailors, weavers, nailers and cabinet makers. Organizations of factory workers appeared for the first time.

Unions in Politics

During the five years between 1827 and 1832 workers' organizations gradually turned to independent political activity. The factors leading to this development are well explained by the historian, Mary Beard, in her book, "A Short History of the American Labor

Movement": "In the first place, property qualifications on the right to vote, which had been imposed by the first state constitutions, were abandoned and the ballot put into the hands of practically every workingman. In the second place, the prosecutions of labor unions in the courts of law had driven workingmen to a concerted action which rose above trade and craft lines. In the third place, the industrial revolution brought about by steam power and the factory system was making swift headway in creating great cities. It added rapidly to the number of industrial workers and created closer association among them. In the fourth place, the idea was being advanced that the hours of labor should be fixed universally at ten per day by legislation rather than by the painful method of strike."

The movement of workers seeking to improve their status by political action spread to many leading industrial communities. In Philadelphia in 1827 a number of craft unions formed the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations. This city-wide group soon began to nominate and elect candidates to "represent the interests of the working classes" in the Philadelphia city council and the Pennsylvania state legislature. Local labor parties organized by workers sprang up in many states. Political programs, supported by some 50 or more labor papers, included such demands as the following: the 10-hour day, restriction of child labor, abolition of convict labor competition, free and equal public education, abolition of imprisonment for debt, exemption of wages and tools from seizure for debt, the right of mechanics to file liens on property to secure payment of their wages, and the abolition of home and factory sweatshops.

With the rise of political organizations of workingmen, which soon took on the typical forms of American political parties—ward and county committees, and conventions—much of the strictly economic activity of the trade union movement and the number of organiza-

tions along craft lines declined. Although for a short time labor was successful in electing their candidates to various public offices, in general they failed to attain their aims. Nevertheless they had called public attention to the social and economic inequalities suffered by workers and helped shape the course of much future legislation. Eventually state legislatures prohibited imprisonment for debt, recognized the 10-hour day, and laid the foundation of the American free public school system.

Formation of City Centrals and National Unions

In the early 1830's the interest of workers in reform movements and political action declined. To offset the rapidly rising prices between 1835 and 1837 they turned with renewed vigor to organize craft or trade unions. By 1836, for example, over 50 local unions were active in both Philadelphia and New York City. Workers also organized craft unions in other cities such as Newark, Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Louisville. This rapid growth led to the formation of union groups on a city-wide basis. These "city central" organizations, or "trades' unions" as they were called at the time, gave primary attention to the discussion of problems of common interest and promotion of union-made goods.

Organization of union groups beyond a single local area was first tried in 1834 when city central bodies from seven cities met in New York to form the National Trades' Union. Later, in 1835 and 1836, the cordwainers, typographers, comb-makers, carpenters and hand-loom weavers endeavored to set up country-wide organizations of their separate crafts. These experiments in federation, however, proved unable to withstand the financial panic of 1837 followed by a long depression and unemployment during the forties which wiped out practically every form of labor organization.

The Era of "Utopianism"

When the economic collapse took its toll of local as well as national unions workmen in many places turned their efforts towards forming producers' and consumers' cooperatives. Others were attracted by various schemes for cooperative communities stimulated by the "utopian" ideas spread by the followers of the French socialist Charles Fourier, by the English reformer Robert Owen, and by many other intellectuals of the period. Community ownership of land and productive forces, such as was tried in the well-known Brook Farm venture in Massachusetts and at the New Harmony colony in Indiana was urged as the solution to poverty, unemployment and other social and economic ills besetting labor. Although widely discussed in labor groups these schemes received little direct support from workers themselves. They did, however, divert workers' efforts from union activities into disputes over political and economic theories.

In this period the "homestead movement" also was born. In its simplest terms it was a proposal to give, without cost, the undeveloped public land to persons who wished to settle and cultivate it. This movement, which in the words of the labor historian Selig Perlman was a demand that the Government "open an escape to the worker from the wage system into self-employment by way of free land," dominated American politics during the 50's and 60's.

An Unsettled Decade

In the late forties industry had revived, labor was in great demand, prices rose, and trade unions once more showed signs of vigor. Workingmen again became interested in establishing rules governing apprenticeship, minimum wages, control over methods of payment, initiation fees, dues, strikes benefit funds, union hiring procedures, the closed shop and the exclusion from

membership of all persons not working at the trade. As industries spread, new locals were formed and by 1854 most trades showed some organization. Many of these unions collapsed only to be promptly revived and crushed again in 1857 in the fluctuating course of the business cycle.

During the 1850's several national unions were founded. The printers' union held a national convention in 1850. By 1859 the stonecutters, hat finishers, molders, machinists and locomotive engineers also had created national organizations. The decade also was marked by the relative frequency and magnitude of strikes in which, at one time or another, almost every known craft and the majority of American cities had been involved. Collective bargaining between unions and management, however, was slowly becoming more common in several leading trades.

Emergence of National Unions

The armed conflict between the Northern and Southern states known as the Civil War (1861-1865) demanded large quantities of munitions and other factory goods. Prices rose, profits were large, and many new businesses were started during this period. New railroads brought the country closer together than ever before. Factory goods from Massachusetts, New York and other Eastern states were shipped by rail to the West. Other factories were built in the new cities emerging along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi Valley.

Unions sought to organize the skilled hands employed by these new enterprises. In 1863 there were approximately 80 local unions in 20 northern states. By 1864 these states had almost 300 local unions. City centrals followed immediately the organization of local unions. A short-lived effort at a country-wide labor federation was made in 1864 when several of these city-centrals

established the International Industrial Assembly of North America. National and international unions* developed more slowly but quite steadily year by year, with 13 appearing between 1861 and 1865. The unions formed in these years became relatively strong and permanent organizations which in a few cases (the plasterers, the cigarmakers, and the bricklayers and masons), have continued to the present day.

The decade and a half following the Civil War was an important formative period for the American labor movement. Encompassing two cycles of economic recession and revival, the period saw the rise of 14 new national unions, the expansion of total union membership to 300,000 by 1872, followed by a contraction to 50,000 by 1878, and three attempts to unite the various craft organizations into national labor federations. It also saw the rise of the eight-hour day movement and the first signs of the long, bitter, and frequently violent industrial warfare which characterized the struggle of American unionism for recognition and survival.

The National Labor Union

The establishment of the National Labor Union in Baltimore in 1866 was a response to a growing demand for unification of labor groups on a national scale. Basically a loose federation of city centrals, it also included national unions, local unions, and various social reform organizations. Although one of the purposes of its founders had been to encourage industrial peace through the promotion of collective bargaining, the National Labor Union soon veered away from "pure" trade unionism, concentrating first upon the eight-hour movement and later upon a revival of labor interest in

* Unions called themselves "internationals" when some of the affiliated locals were outside the United States, usually in Canada. Today the terms "national unions" and "international unions" are used interchangeably to designate the larger organizations to which local unions in a craft or industry are affiliated.

producers' cooperatives. The driving personality behind the NLU was William H. Sylvis of the Molders' union who believed in cooperation as a means of freeing workers from the control of "capitalist" groups. The example of cooperation production undertaken by Sylvis' own union was followed on a limited scale by other trades, such as the bakers, shipwrights, machinists, tailors and printers. Because such cooperative enterprise required capital and credit, the National Labor Union was also prompted to support the various farm groups in the "Greenback" movement which favored large issues of paper money and easy credit at low interest rates.

The National Labor Union passed from the scene in 1872 after its brief and rapid evolution away from trade-unionism to cooperation and political action. A National Reform and Labor Party which it sponsored in 1872 failed to survive even one election, and by the end of the '70's few cooperatives remained. However, the emphasis which the NLU had placed on state and federal legislation had borne some fruit. In 1868, Congress established an eight-hour day for federal employees, although the struggle still continued on the industrial front. A government bureau of labor, demanded by the NLU, was provided by law in 1884.

Industrial Strife

In 1873 and again in 1876 several of the leading craft unions attempted unsuccessfully to revive interest in federation on a strictly trade union program. Trade union membership, meanwhile, was being seriously reduced by a new economic depression. Industrial workers were involved in a series of violent strikes and lockouts which their organizations were financially too weak to endure. The cigar makers, textile workers, ironworkers, coal miners and others fought bitterly against wage reduction. In 1877 the railroad strikes, which centered in Pittsburgh but spread throughout the country, brought

in their wake riots, martial law, intervention of state and federal troops, and killings. A notorious secret association, known as the "*Molly Maguires*," gained control of lodges of the *Ancient Order of Hibernians* in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania. A product of the distress and poverty of this period, the "*Molly Maguires*" used terroristic methods against employees and strike breakers. This group was finally broken up by state authorities with the arrest and conviction of several ring leaders in connection with a series of murders they were charged with having committed.

Despite the failure of workers to win their immediate objectives, this turbulent period brought a growing recognition of the nation-wide significance of the labor movement and of the social and economic ills which it was attempting to remedy. Professor Selig Perlman observed that the experience of these years "nationalized" the labor movement, developing within it a consciousness of solidarity and common purpose. For the first time, also, unskilled workers—on the railroads, in the mines, in the textile mills—played a significant role in industrial conflict and the organized labor movement was no longer identified exclusively with the skilled groups.

Improvement in economic conditions was accompanied by the appearance of new locals of skilled workers and the formation of new city centrals, few of the old having survived the depression. Some 18 national unions had survived; nine others were soon established. By 1885 total union membership again reached the 300,000 level of 1872, in spite of the economic recession beginning in 1883 which had brought on a wave of strikes against wage reductions and a wide defensive use of the boycott.

During the union-employer struggles of this decade the labor movement itself became the scene of decisive contest over its own future structure. The issue was whether a nation-wide organization of labor could be based upon the direct affiliation of local unions and city

centrals cutting across trade lines or whether a national federation should be based primarily on existing national trade unions. The former approach, which had already been tried unsuccessfully several times, was championed by the Knights of Labor, while the latter course was espoused by the American Federation of Labor.

The Knights of Labor

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was founded by Uriah S. Stephens in 1869 as a small local union of Philadelphia garment workers and expanded slowly as various other craft unions joined. For some years it functioned as a secret society with an elaborate ritual, a practice best understood in the light of the difficulties experienced by unions at the time when, as one contemporary labor leader wrote, "a great deal of bitterness was evinced against trade union organizations, and men were blacklisted to an extent hardly ever equalled." Most of the secrecy, however, was abandoned by 1881.

From an estimated membership of 10,000 in 1879 the Knights grew rapidly until by 1886 it claimed over 700,000 members throughout the country. Structurally, the Knights consisted of a national body or General Assembly exercising centralized control over numerous district assemblies, each of which was composed of five or more local assemblies. Local assemblies were of two kinds, trade and mixed. The former included members of only one craft while the latter admitted a wide range of occupations and professions. The first General Assembly, called in 1878, elected Stephens as *Grand Master Workman*. He resigned shortly thereafter and was succeeded by Terrence V. Powderly.

The Order had a broad aim: The replacement of a competitive society by a cooperative one which would give workers the opportunity fully to enjoy the wealth they created. This was to be achieved primarily through reducing the "money power" of banks, not through

battles with individual employers. More concretely, the Knights' program called for the eight-hour day, equal pay for equal work of women, abolition of convict and child labor, public ownership of utilities, and the establishment of cooperatives. Reliance was put in educational and political methods rather than in collective bargaining. Strikes were to be employed only as a last resort.

During the 80's, however, when the "practical trade unionist" forces gained some influence, the Knights were engaged in a series of strikes for better wages and made wage agreements with employers. Their most successful, albeit severe, struggle in 1885 with the powerful Gould railway system brought them particular prestige.

An internal conflict spelled the decline of the Knights of Labor. Leaders who favored processes of collective bargaining clashed with those committed to political means and basic social change. Moreover, the immediate interests of the skilled and unskilled workers whom the Knights attempted to unite were not easily reconciled. The stronger craft unions resisted affiliation and by 1886 came into open rivalry with the Knights of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor

By this time a new organization had arisen. Devoted to "pure and simple unionism," its goals were higher wages and improved working conditions. The craft unions surviving the depression of 1873 were almost exclusively absorbed in problems of their respective trades. They had developed a strong centralized national organization by subordinating their local units to the national offices and by collecting benefit funds to assist their members during strikes and times of depression.

In 1881 six prominent craft unions—the printers, iron and steel workers, molders, cigar makers, carpenters and glass workers—and a variety of other labor groups met in Pittsburgh and established the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. Its leaders were Samuel

Gompers and Adolph Strasser of the cigar makers' union. At the start it had approximately 45,000 members and for five years it remained weak and overshadowed by the Knights of Labor. However, when the Knights in 1886 at their annual convention refused to agree to respect the jurisdiction of the large craft unions, several of the latter met at Columbus, Ohio, and founded the American Federation of Labor. The F.O.T.L.U., also in convention at Columbus, amalgamated with the new group. Gompers was elected first president of the new Federation, a position he held, with the exception of one year (1894-95), until his death in 1924.

The strength of the AFL resided primarily in the unions of carpenters, cigar makers, printers, iron and steel workers, and iron molders. It began with a membership of about 138,000 in 1886 and slowly doubled that number during the next 12 years. Up until 1890 rivalry with the Knights of Labor continued and frequent efforts to effect working agreements failed to allay the constant strife. Steadily losing ground to the new organization, the Knights reported only 100,000 members in 1890, after which date it continued to lose membership and ceased to be an influential factor in the labor movement, although continuing in existence until 1917.

Membership Growth, 1890-1920

In the three decades following 1890 the AFL continued to grow, consolidating its position as the principal federation of American unions. The first decade of growth was slow, but from 1900 to 1904 membership rose rapidly from half a million to a million and a half, and then irregularly to a two million figure by the outbreak of World War I. During the war years membership again rose rapidly, reaching more than four million in 1920.

During this entire period some 70 to 80 percent of all union workers were in the American Federation of

Labor. The most important unaffiliated group of unions were the four "railroad brotherhoods" which usually maintained friendly relations with the AFL affiliates. Other non-affiliated unions were a variable group. They frequently were rivals of AFL unions. Others were AFL secessionist groups. Membership among this "independent" or unaffiliated group, according to estimates of Professor Wolman (*Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism*), rose from approximately 200,000 in 1900 to almost one million in 1920.

Prior to World War I the principal union gains occurred in coal mining, railroad and building trade unions. Coal mining was dominated by the United Mine Workers, an industrial union which after a strike in 1902 established itself as the largest and most completely organized affiliate of the AFL. Elsewhere organizations of crafts or amalgamated crafts still largely prevailed.

Renewed Industrial Conflict

The emergence of the labor movement as an influential national economic group did not take place without opposition or temporary setbacks. In the 1890's new large corporations which had appeared on the economic scene vigorously fought efforts at unionizing their employees. At times these clashes resulted in deaths, injuries and other violence. For example, the unsuccessful struggle of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers against the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892 was climaxed by a pitched battle between company-imported Pinkerton detectives and strikers which resulted in 10 deaths and the intervention of the National Guard. The strike of the American Railway Union led by Eugene V. Debs against the Pullman Palace Parlor Car Company at Pullman, Illinois, in 1894 provoked sympathetic walkouts on many railroads serving the Chicago area. Federal and State troops were used and

court injunctions obtained against the union. Twenty-five persons were killed and 60 injured during this controversy. Elsewhere in the country industrial disputes sporadically flared into open violence.

After 1902, following a period of rapid union growth, employer opposition appeared to stiffen and take on a more organized character. The more powerful employers, writes Professor Carrol Daugherty in summarizing this trend, in his volume "Labor Problems in American Industry", "believing that unionism was growing too strong and fearing further encroachments on their control of industry, decided to break off relations, and the years from 1902 to the War were characterized by a definitely increasing anti-unionism." Daugherty then adds: "Scientific management and 'efficiency' systems were introduced in many plants, much to the discomfiture of many skilled craft unions. A variety of union-smashing tactics were adopted by employers. Vigilante groups and citizens' committees were fostered to resist unionization activities. Court decisions upheld as a rule most of the employers' anti-union practices. In the face of these new difficulties the membership of the AFL at first fell off a little and then resumed growth at a much slower rate than before 1902."

Despite general employer opposition to unions, however, an increasing body of "trade" or collective bargaining agreements were resulting from direct negotiations between unions and employers. The stabilization of industrial relations and the attainment of job security is considered by many authorities as an important factor in the success at this period of the "pure and simple" trade unionism of the unions in the AFL fold.

Labor's "Non-partisan" Politics

Concentrating on raising wages, establishing the eight-hour day and other improvements in working conditions through extension of the area of collective bargain-

ing agreements, these unions on the whole resisted the efforts of various political forces in the labor movement to gain union support for partisan programs. This issue was debated in various conventions of the AFL at the turn of the century when, according to Lewis Lorwin in his book "The American Federation of Labor," "The principle of non-partisan politics, summed up in the dictum 'to defeat labor's enemies and to reward its friends,' received official sanction." In practice this principle meant that the AFL opposed any "independent labor party" but would officially support measures and candidates and even the programs of regular political parties favorable to the interests of labor.

As a consequence, labor was frequently successful in obtaining legislative reforms. The first years of the century, for example, saw the passage of several State laws protecting women and children in industry and reducing industrial hazards. Workmen's compensation laws were adopted in most States. Congress created a separate Department of Labor in 1913. Clauses inserted in the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 at the insistence of the AFL exempted unions from prosecution in restraint of trade and sought to limit the issuance of injunctions by federal courts in labor disputes. This law was hailed by Gompers and others as the "Magna Carta" of labor. Enthusiasm over the Clayton Act was short-lived, however, since subsequent court interpretations virtually nullified labor's anticipated gains. In 1915 Congress also passed the Seamen's Act regulating many of the conditions of employment for American sailors and, in 1916, enacted a basic eight-hour day covering railroad workers engaged in interstate commerce.

Radical Opposition

Opposition to the "pure trade union" policies of the AFL unions came from the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World. The Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1874, was a pro-

duct of the American section of Marx and Engels' International Workingmen's Association or First International formed in 1864. This group attempted to form, in 1895 a rival body to the AFL—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Those within the SLP who believed in winning workers to socialist philosophy without resort to “dual unionism” broke away in 1901 and formed the Socialist Party whose members opposed traditional AFL policies from within the Federation.

The Industrial Workers of the World was formed in 1905 by several dissident union and political groups. It was pledged to the “abolition of the wage system” and to the organization of the great mass of unskilled factory workers and of migratory or “casual” laborers. The IWW organized workers primarily on an industrial basis and was partly successful for a limited period in some areas throughout the country, notably in the wheat fields, mines, and lumber camps of the West as well as in other scattered areas of industrial tension. Once considered as a possible contender to the AFL for supremacy in the labor movement, the IWW declined rapidly after 1913 although it still continues a nominal existence in a few localities.

Labor and the First World War

During World War I, increased industrial activity and labor shortages brought a rapid expansion of unions. A Labor Board was created to promote union-management cooperation and to aid in settlement of potentially serious disputes. For the first time in the history of the country a Federal labor agency specifically spelled out the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively with employers through their chosen representatives. Union membership increased in the mining and shipbuilding industries and on the railroads which were operated by the Federal Government. Notable gains also were made in the

packing-house, textile, men's clothing, food and leather, and metal trades industries. Unions, almost for the first time, seriously concerned themselves with organizing semi-skilled and un-skilled workers.

In addition to serving on the War Labor Board, representatives from organized labor participated on other government boards and committees dealing with specialized war problems. Their close cooperation with government, on a scale heretofore unprecedented, secured for labor a hearing on specific complaints about industrial conditions as well as a voice on broad national issues.

Open Shop Era and Depression

Economic recession in 1921 and 1922 brought about a wave of strikes. These protests, however, failed to check a general wage reduction movement which marked the beginning of a rapid decline in union strength. The decline continued even after industry began to experience a rapid expansion, unprecedented in American history. Professors Millis and Montgomery (Organized Labor) found that the 1920's were years which should, "according to historical precedents, have witnessed labor militancy, aggressiveness in conquering unorganized areas and in entrenching more strongly job control already obtained." Instead, this period "found old and established unions experiencing difficulty in maintaining past gains and something akin to inertia, pacifism or disillusionment pervading the movement as a whole."

The success of large-scale attacks by anti-union employers against organized labor in many industries (metals, autos, railroads, etc.) gave this period its popular title—the "open shop era." Techniques followed by employers in these years included a variety of welfare measures, ranging from athletic fields and pension plans to such repressive measures as widespread use of spies and strikebreakers.

The varied effects of this period on the union movement are described by Lewis Lorwin: "A considerable part of the membership was able to obtain higher wage rates, increased earnings, and shorter hours. The 40-hour week in unionized plants was widely accepted, while about half a million union members obtained the five-day week. This was notable in the building trades, in some branches of the transportation industry, in the printing trades, in government employment, and in some of the professions, such as teaching and acting. But where unions were unable to meet the new conditions they suffered a decline in membership, a loss of income, and a weakening of their benefit systems; and they could enforce their standards over smaller areas."

From 1920 to 1923 total union membership fell from about five million to slightly over three and a half million. In 1929, at the height of the country's "prosperity," union membership still remained at this low level. Of the 105 AFL international and national unions in 1929 only 44 had held their own or expanded after 1925. Most of these were in the building and printing trades, transportation, government service and the amusement business. The economic depression and widespread unemployment which followed the 1929 stock market crash further reduced union membership to three and a quarter millions by 1932. This decline was particularly noticeable in industries where machinery was displacing skilled hand labor and in the "sick" industries of mining and textiles, as well as in other industries artificially stimulated by the war.

Recovery and Expansion

It was not until after the enactment in the spring of 1933, of the National Industrial Recovery Act, including section 7 (a) which guaranteed the right of employees to organize into unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively with employers, that trade-unionism in the United States began to revive. This revival brought

a tremendous influx of new members from the mass-production industries into the ranks of unions.

Workers in the automobile, rubber, cement and aluminum industries were rapidly organized on an industrial basis. These new unions were chartered directly by the AFL as federal labor unions since there existed no corresponding international unions to absorb them.

In the two-year period 1933-34, many national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor also registered substantial gains in membership. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union increased its membership from 40,000 to over 150,000. The roster of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America rose from 94,000 to 130,000. The membership of the International Association of Machinists expanded from 75,000 to 90,000. The United Mine Workers' membership increased from 300,000 to almost 500,000. Other unions reported smaller increases.

Further gains, however, were halted temporarily by court invalidation of the National Industrial Recovery Act in May 1935, by the rapid growth of employee representation plans established primarily for the purpose of combating the spread of unionism, and by the hostility of employers to the new National Labor Relations Act which in effect had incorporated the provisions of Section 7 (a) of the NIRA.

The National Labor Relations Act guaranteed to employees "the right to self-organization, to form, join or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." The Act created a National Labor Relations Board with two major functions: (1) to prevent and remedy "unfair labor practices" by employers which discourage or interfere with self-organization of employees or the practice of collective bargaining; and (2) to designate the bargain-

ing representatives in the event of controversy over the union which should represent employees or over the size and composition of the unit to be certified for bargaining purposes.

After the Supreme Court validated the National Labor Relations Act in April 1937, organized labor made even more phenomenal advances than under the NIRA. By the end of 1937, the teamsters' union reported a membership of 210,000, or three times its 1933 membership. The International Association of Machinists had 138,000 members, or twice as many as in 1933. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers nearly doubled its membership to 171,000, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union expanded rapidly from about 25,000 members in 1933 to 107,000 in 1937.

Division in the Labor Movement

This progress in collective bargaining and increase in membership was accomplished in spite of an internal struggle which developed in the American Federation of Labor over the issue of industrial versus craft unionism. The San Francisco (1934) convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted by unanimous vote a report of its resolutions committee which declared that in the mass-production industries new methods had been developed for organizing workers whom it had been "most difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions." The report continued: "To meet this new condition the Executive Council is directed to issue charters to national and international unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass-production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation." The resolution also indicated that the jurisdictional rights of existing trade unions would be recognized and that organization along craft lines would be retained in those industries where the lines of demarcation between crafts were distinguishable.

During the following year the American Federation of Labor granted charters to organizations of workers in the automobile and rubber industries. In defining the jurisdiction of these unions the AFL Executive Council specifically excluded, however, certain skilled craftsmen and maintenance employees coming under the jurisdiction of other unions.

The issue of industrial versus craft organization was again brought before the American Federation of Labor at its Atlantic City (1935) convention. A minority report of the resolutions committee protested the Executive Council's interpretation of the San Francisco declaration on industrial unionism and called for "unrestricted charters" to organizations set up in mass-production industries. Defeat of the minority report by a vote of 18,024 to 10,093 left the issue unresolved and paved the way for the schism in the labor movement which followed.

Formation of Committee for Industrial Organization

A few weeks after the 1935 convention, six AFL affiliated unions and the officers of two other AFL unions formed a "Committee for Industrial Organization," with the stated purpose to promote organization of the workers in mass-production and unorganized industries and to encourage their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The committee was later joined by four additional AFL unions. * The

* The unions active in the formation of the CIO were: United Mine Workers, represented by John L. Lewis, who was chairman of the organization; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; United Textile Workers; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers. Two union officials, Charles P. Howard of the International Typographical Union who became Secretary of the committee and Max Zaritsky of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, participated as individuals without committing their organizations to the movement. The following four unions joined shortly after the formation of the committee: International Union of United Automobile Workers, United Rubber Workers, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Federation of Flat Glass Workers.

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor characterized the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization as dual to the AFL and in January 1936 requested the Committee to disband immediately. The CIO rejected the request. The ten international unions participating in the work of the CIO were suspended from the AFL by the Executive Council and its action was upheld by the 1936 convention.

Formal Organization of the CIO

The rift in the labor movement was further accentuated when the CIO held its first constitutional convention in November 1938 to organize a separate labor federation. At this convention the Committee for Industrial Organizations was reorganized as a federation of national and international unions under the name of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The new federation (the CIO) comprised the ten unions suspended from the AFL and some 32 other units or "organizing committees" established to organize workers in various industries. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, was elected first president. The constitutional structure of the new organization resembled the AFL in providing basically for a loose federation of autonomous national unions governed by an executive board and officials elected at annual conventions of delegates from affiliated unions.

Status of Organized Labor Prior to World War II

Despite and to a large extent also because of the rivalry and bitterness which had been created by the AFL-CIO rift, organized labor in the United States continued to register substantial gains in union membership, in the number of collective bargaining agreements negotiated, and in the number of workers in industries covered by these agreements. By the end of 1941, total union membership was between 10 and 11 million. These

organized workers comprised approximately one-third of all the wage earners and salaried employees in the country.

Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor represented a dues-paying membership of over 4,500,000. The Congress of Industrial Organizations claimed a total membership of around 5,000,000. In addition, it was estimated that more than 900,000 workers belonged to other bona fide labor organizations not affiliated with either the AFL or the CIO.

The War Years, 1942-45

The war provided organized labor with perhaps the greatest opportunity in its history to extend union organization and influence. On the average during the period, total union membership steadily increased at a rate of almost a million workers per year. Shipbuilding, aircraft, automotive and other war industries showed the greatest gains. Between 1941 and 1945 many unions in the metal trades doubled and tripled their memberships. The United Automobile Workers (CIO) in 1945 reported a total dues-paying membership of 1,052,000, the largest ever recorded by an American union. It was a period of consolidation for unions and extension of collective bargaining agreements over large sections of industry. Few new national unions came into existence, although certain unaffiliated unions, such as the National Federation of Telephone Workers and the Foremen's Association of America, came into prominence.

During the years immediately prior to the war as well as the war years there were several formal exchanges of letters between the AFL and CIO, and two brief conferences ended in failure to agree on possible bases for either joint collaboration or ultimate unification of the two federations. Consequently both organizations represented labor on the various advisory and administrative boards set up by the Government in connection with prosecution of the war.

Organized labor in general played an active role in many phases of the war production program and was represented on the first defense agency, the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, established in May 1940. With the creation of the Office of Production Management in January 1941, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO), Sidney Hillman, was appointed by President Roosevelt to share authority with the Director General, William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation. In a later reorganization a labor representative served in the dual capacity of vice-chairman of both the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission. In December 1942, top representatives from three major groups (AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhoods) were appointed to the Management-Labor Policy Committee, a consulting body for the War Manpower Commission, and similar joint committees were appointed in the regions and local areas to assist in the overall program of providing manpower for war industries.

Under the auspices of the War Production Board labor-management committees were established in many plants for the purpose of stimulating output and reducing employee absenteeism. In addition, most of the other war agencies worked out procedures for utilizing the cooperation of unions in their different programs.

Organized labor likewise participated directly in government administration established to adjust industrial disputes.

Labor representation on the "tripartite" National Defense Mediation Board, created by the President in March 1941 to help in settling disputes in defense industries, was equally divided between the AFL and CIO. Immediately after the declaration of war in December 1941, President Roosevelt called a conference of union and industry leaders at the conclusion of which he announced a voluntary pledge from labor not to sanction strikes for the duration of the war in return for a pledge by

management representatives not to permit lock-outs. These pledges were integral elements in the agreement establishing a National War Labor Board to adjudicate all industrial disputes affecting the war effort and to provide procedures for their peaceful settlement. This Board, set up in January 1942, was composed of representatives from labor, management, and the "public," and several subordinate regional boards were organized on a similar basis. As in the case of the earlier National Defense Mediation Board, labor representation was equally divided between the AFL and CIO.

Postwar Developments

Despite industrial readjustments accompanying the close of the military phases of the war and the shift from wartime to peacetime production, the labor movement on the whole has maintained its organizational strength. Although unions in the wartime industries, such as aircraft and shipbuilding, lost membership, they regained some of it in other branches, while most unions continued to report slow but steady advances among unorganized plants. In the spring of 1946 both major groups announced special organizational drives among the trades and industries located in the states in the Southeastern and South Central sections of the country where unionization was not as extensive as in other areas.

The labor movement has remained split into two major organizations. Toward the end of 1946, however, a new interchange of correspondence was opened between AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray with a view toward exploring possible areas of cooperation between the two organizations or even organic unity. Committees of representatives from both groups held a meeting in Washington on May 1 and 2, 1947, following which they issued a joint statement expressing the "unanimous opinion..... that organic unity should

be established within the American labor movement" and indicating an intention to continue discussions on the question.

Composition of Present Labor Movement

The organized labor movement of the United States as it exists today is made up of autonomous national and international unions which, in turn, are composed of local organizations of workers in various crafts, trades, professions and industries. Most of these national or international unions are affiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. A number of railroad and government workers' unions as well as a few others, mostly small and restricted to certain geographical areas, have never belonged to these federated bodies. Several other unions have at various times belonged to either the AFL or CIO but have withdrawn or been expelled. These unaffiliated unions are commonly known as "independents."

As of the beginning of 1947 the total membership of American unions was estimated on the basis of union claims at approximately 15,000,000. The AFL with 105 national unions reported its dues-paying membership at 7,505,446, while the CIO claimed 6,000,000 for its 40 national union affiliates. Among the more important independents the four train and engine railroad brotherhoods together had around 450,000 members. The International Association of Machinists reported 600,000, and the National Federation of Federal Employees 88,000. The National Federation of Telephone Workers, reorganized as the Communications Workers of America in July 1947 claimed approximately 180,000 members. The 40 to 50 remaining national independent unions have a total over-all membership of about half a million.

Over-all policies of both the AFL and CIO are determined at the annual conventions by delegates elected to represent constituent unions. Between conventions,

authority is vested in elected officers and an executive body selected from affiliated unions. Affiliation with either the AFL or CIO is formalized by both organizations through issuance of "charters" which define for each affiliated union its respective jurisdiction, that is, the kinds of workers or industrial establishments from which a union is authorized to recruit membership.

Locally, there are city centrals with which the AFL local unions within a city are affiliated, and city industrial councils to which the CIO locals belong. At the state level, there are AFL state federations and CIO state industrial councils which consider state-wide problems affecting their respective groups or organized labor in general.

In addition to locals which are chartered by their respective internationals, there are some directly affiliated with the AFL (known as "federal labor unions") or with the CIO (known as "local industrial unions"). These directly affiliated locals are usually confined to trades and industries for which the Federation has no appropriate internationals (the aluminum industry, for example) although when a sufficient number is organized within an industry, an international may be chartered.

The international unions and their subordinate organizations (locals and joint boards and district councils of several locals in an area) are primarily concerned with protecting and improving the working conditions of members within their particular trades or industries. By contrast, the state and city groups devote themselves chiefly to legislative and educational matters of over-all interest to labor.

Unions are frequently classified as *craft* or *industrial* unions. Yet very few American unions now fall clearly within either of these two types. Many unions are better described as *amalgamated* or *multicraft* because they include two or more skilled or semi-skilled groups. Other unions are better described as *semi-indus-*

trial because, although they may include all production workers within an industry, they frequently exclude certain maintenance, technical or clerical groups. Generally speaking, most AFL unions tend towards the craft or multicraft type (e.g., the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union, and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers) while most CIO unions are more readily classified as industrial or semi-industrial (e.g., the United Steelworkers, the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, and the Transport Workers Union).

In order to provide organizational machinery for coordinating the common interests of many crafts, the AFL constitution provides for the creation of "departments" composed of those international unions having jurisdiction over the various crafts in a broad industry. There are now four such departments: the Building and Construction Trades Department, with 19 affiliated international unions; the Metal Trades Department, with 14 affiliated unions; the Railway Employees' Department with six affiliated unions; and the Maritime Trades Department (established in 1946), with five affiliated unions. Each of these departments holds conventions and functions through subordinate bodies organized on a local, state, district or, in the case of the railway shopcrafts, on a "system" basis. Dissimilar in function to the other departments is the AFL Union Label Trades Department, composed of affiliated AFL unions having union labels or insignia. It is designed to promote union organization and union standards of workmanship through appeal to consumers to buy union made goods or services.

Scope of Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining is now a firmly established institution of industrial relations in the United States. It has become a recognized orderly procedure whereby

representatives of workers as a group meet with representatives of employers to agree upon the practices which are to govern their normal relations. The basic aim of unions in collective bargaining is to secure a written agreement which will specify the terms of employment and conditions of work, provide guarantees against arbitrary discharge, and maintain machinery for cooperation in applying the agreement and meeting the problems arising out of the agreement.

Accurate statistics on the number of union agreements are unavailable. It has been estimated, however, that the number currently in effect greatly exceeds 50,000. These agreements do not follow a common pattern for all industries or even within a single industry. They differ with respect to the manner in which they are negotiated, the variety of subjects covered, and their contents.

A large majority of agreements currently in effect are negotiated by individual employers and individual unions on behalf either of all plant employees or of particular groups (e.g. crafts) within a plant. Other agreements, however, frequently covering many thousands of employees may be negotiated between several unions (usually craft or multi-craft unions) and an individual employer, between several unions and several employers, or between a single union and several employers. An increasing number of contracts in mass production industries cover many or all of the scattered plants of a large corporation, but only a few agreements cover an entire industry or trade.

In 1946, out of 31,200,000 wage and salary workers "eligible" to be covered by collective agreements, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated 14,800,000 or 48 percent were so covered. These figures refer to all workers in a bargaining unit for which an agreement is in existence, and thus include some non-members as well as the members of unions. In manufacturing industries,

slightly over 69 percent of the production wage earners work under the terms of union agreements, compared with about 35 percent in non-manufacturing industries. Several industries, such as building construction, coal mining, basic steel, clothing, glass, and others, were almost entirely organized by unions in contrast with the very small degree of organization found in agriculture, retail and wholesale trade, dairy products, or beauty shops.

Although union-employer contracts vary in content and detail they usually include provisions dealing to some degree with the following major items: union status or recognition; wages, hours and methods of payment; vacations, holidays and leaves; seniority rules governing lay-offs, reemployment and promotions; health and safety; general working conditions; and grievance and arbitration procedures.

The majority of agreements run for fixed periods, usually one year, after which they may be automatically renewed by mutual consent or renegotiated by the parties. Some agreements contain provisions for special renegotiation of the wage clause during the life of the over-all agreement.

Union Functions and Activities

Unions perform a multitude of different functions for their members. In the case of the larger unions a fairly extensive staff consisting of organizers and office personnel including auditors, lawyers, economists, etc. is required. Union functions may be classified roughly as follows: administration of internal union matters; negotiation and administration of collective agreements; educational and beneficial activities; and participating in community and national affairs.

Administration of internal affairs usually involves the holding of conventions and meetings of the executive board, direction of organizing activities, and general

supervision over local union practices in admitting new members, collecting dues and handling finances. Apprenticeship regulations, intra-union grievances or disputes, and strike action also fall within the scope of international union administration. The degree to which "headquarters" exercises control or supervision over these matters varies with the union. Some unions are highly centralized while others grant their locals a large degree of self-government and autonomy.

Negotiation of the terms of the collective agreements with employers is another important area of union functions in which there is considerable variation in the relative degree of responsibility assumed by the international office and local union. After agreements are negotiated, unions have the problem of making them work smoothly. This problem is normally handled through informal as well as formal union-employer conferences. Conferences are held to clarify the meaning of contract clauses and to deal with other current problems of mutual interest such as operation of seniority provisions, supervision of grievance procedures, participation in joint labor-management committees as well as in joint time, rate and work load studies. In large unions most of these problems usually become the immediate responsibility of local unions but the international offices frequently provide necessary technical assistance and advice. For these purposes many international unions have established within their international office distinct departments, organized functionally (e.g. legal, research and statistics, engineering, etc.), or organized according to branch of industry or trade (e.g. woolen and worsted, cotton-rayon, and carpet branches of the textile industry).

In politics both the AFL and CIO, as well as most of the independent unions, officially continue to adhere to the old slogan of "reward labor's friends and defeat labor's enemies." Unions have been very active in political campaigns in recent years and have frequently been

important factors in local and national elections. Their positions, however, have usually been determined by the issues and the candidates of each particular election. Labor groups also maintain representatives in Washington for the purpose of indicating their attitudes on legislative proposals before Congress and to press for action which they consider desirable.

Educational facilities are provided by many unions. Certain craft unions, in particular, support trade schools to help members learn new or improve their industrial skills. Other educational programs conducted as part of regular union meetings or in special classes or "institutes" have a more general purpose. Lectures, discussions, moving pictures are the techniques commonly used. Some union educational effort may be specifically aimed at training union officials in handling routine union problems. For example, unions frequently provide special instructions in accounting methods for local union treasurers or in techniques of handling shop grievances for shop stewards. Other instruction may also be made available for those interested in learning parliamentary law, studying public speaking, or improving their ability to speak English.

As an important supplement to regular activities, most unions publish newspapers or journals. There are probably more than 400 weekly and monthly publications which are official organs of local and national unions as well as of the central CIO and AFL organizations. Unions also publish a wide variety of pamphlets and special reports in connection with their educational, political, and organizational programs.

Other union enterprises include life insurance and health benefit and pension programs, recreational activities, cooperatives, labor banks, credit unions, radio programs, and housing projects. In recent years the organized labor movement in the United States, in addi-

tion to its continued concern in traditional "bread and butter" unionism, has manifested an increasing interest in social and political problems, both local and national in scope, and in international affairs.

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APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR Bureau of Labor Statistics

Membership of Labor Unions in the United States

The membership series presented in the accompanying table is based upon reports and statements issued by the trade union organizations in their official journals, reports, or convention proceedings, since there are no official Government statistics covering trade union membership for the United States. "Union membership" is defined differently by various unions and the data are, therefore, not strictly comparable. The trend series, however, reasonably reflects year-to-year changes within each major union group.¹

Figures for the American Federation of Labor are those reported annually by the Federation's secretary-treasurer (e.g., see Report of the Proceedings of the 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1946, p. 43.) These membership data are defined by the AFL as the "total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions" based "on the actual per capita tax" remitted by affiliated unions.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations was formally organized in 1938. It existed as a Committee for Industrial Organization from November 1935 to November

1. Many unions whose headquarters are in the United States also have locals outside the continental United States, primarily in Canada. Separate breakdowns of membership, by countries, are not, however, available and the data therefore include a union's total membership irrespective of where located. The THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA, published by the Canadian Department of Labor and covering the calendar year 1944, reported 468,013 Canadian workers as members of international unions whose principal offices were in the United States.

1938. The CIO has never made public a consecutive membership series. The figures shown, therefore, are based upon reports or statements of CIO officials as to total membership or reported gains over a specified period as indicated in the separate footnotes.

The third broad category of union membership includes labor organizations which are not affiliated with either the AFL or the CIO. In general, this group of "independent" or "unaffiliated" unions includes all bona fide national labor organizations and excludes those which are either purely local in character or whose jurisdiction does not extend beyond the employees of a single employer. In addition to the long-established four train and engine service railroad brotherhoods, this group includes a relatively large but fluctuating number of small labor organizations. In recent years changes in affiliation of certain large labor organizations, such as the United Mine Workers of America and the International Association of Machinists, have also influenced the membership totals of the different groups.

For the period 1897 through 1934, membership figures for the independent or unaffiliated group of labor organizations are those compiled in Wolman's *Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism*.² For the period 1929-34 these data have been adjusted to include membership figures, also compiled by Wolman, covering unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League. Data for some unaffiliated unions for the years since 1934 are fragmentary and the totals presented are estimates of the Bureau of Labor Statistics based upon available sources.

In conjunction with membership statistics the number of affiliated unions of the AFL and CIO as compiled from official union sources are also given for each year. Similar data for independent unions are not available.

2. Wolman, Leo, *EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1936, New York.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Labor Statistics

MEMBERSHIP OF LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1897-1946

(The membership data presented below are obtained from various sources, primarily official union documents, as indicated in the footnotes.)

Year	American Federation of Labor		Congress of Industrial Organizations		Independent or Unaffiliated Unions	All Unions
	Number of Affiliated Unions ¹	Total Membership ²	Number of Affiliated Unions ³	Total Membership	Total Membership ⁴	Total Membership
1946	102	7,152,000	40	6,000,000 ⁵	1,822,000	14,974,000
1945	102	6,931,000	40	6,000,000 ⁶	1,865,000	14,796,000
1944	100	6,807,000	41	5,935,000 ⁷	1,879,000	14,621,000
1943	99	6,564,000	40	5,285,000 ⁷	1,793,000	13,642,000
1942	102	5,483,000	39	4,194,000 ⁷	1,084,000	10,762,000
1941	106	4,569,000	41	5,000,000 ⁸	920,000	10,489,000
1940	105	4,247,000	42	3,625,000 ⁹	1,072,000	8,944,000
1939	104	4,006,000	45	4,000,000 ¹⁰	974,000	8,980,000
1938	102	3,623,000	42	4,038,000 ¹¹	604,000	8,265,000
1937	100	2,861,000	32	3,718,000 ¹¹	639,000	7,218,000
1936	111	3,422,000			742,000	4,164,000
1935	109	3,045,000			683,000	3,728,000
1934	109	2,608,000			641,000	3,249,000
1933	108	2,127,000			730,000	2,857,000
1932	106	2,532,000			694,000	3,226,000
1931	105	2,890,000			636,000	3,526,000
1930	104	2,961,000			671,000	3,632,000
1929	105	2,934,000			691,000	3,625,000
1928	107	2,896,000			671,000	3,567,000
1927	106	2,813,000			787,000	3,600,000
1926	107	2,804,000			788,000	3,592,000

(Continued)

LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP (continued)

Year	American Federation of Labor		Congress of Industrial Organizations*	Independent or Unaffiliated Unions	All Unions
	Number of Affiliated Unions ¹	Total Membership ²		Total Membership ⁴	Total Membership
1925	107	2,877,000		689,000	3,566,000
1924	107	2,866,000		683,000	3,549,000
1923	108	2,926,000	*The Committee for In-	703,000	3,629,000
1922	112	3,196,000	dustrial Organization	754,000	3,950,000
1921	110	3,907,000	(CIO) was formed in	815,000	4,722,000
1920	110	4,079,000		955,000	5,034,000
1919	111	3,260,000	November 1935. It	786,000	4,046,000
1918	111	2,726,000		642,000	3,368,000
1917	111	2,371,000	adopted a constitution	605,000	2,976,000
1916	111	2,073,000	and its present name, the	649,000	2,722,000
1915	110	1,946,000	Congress of Industrial	614,000	2,560,000
1914	110	2,021,000	Organizations, in 1938.	626,000	2,647,000
1913	111	1,996,000		685,000	2,661,000
1912	112	1,770,000		635,000	2,405,000
1911	115	1,762,000		556,000	2,318,000
1910	120	1,562,000		554,000	2,116,000
1909	119	1,483,000		482,000	1,965,000
1908	116	1,587,000		505,000	2,092,000
1907	117	1,539,000		538,000	2,077,000
1906	119	1,454,000		438,000	1,892,000
1905	118	1,494,000		424,000	1,918,000
1904	120	1,676,000		391,000	2,067,000
1903	113	1,466,000		358,000	2,824,000
1902	97	1,024,000		311,000	1,335,000
1901	87	783,000		270,000	1,058,000
1900	82	548,000		243,000	791,000
1899	73	349,000		201,000	550,000
1898	67	278,000		189,000	467,000
1897	58	265,000		175,000	440,000

(Continued — footnotes)

LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP (*continued*)

Footnotes

- ¹Data for 1897, 1898, and 1933-46 were compiled from Proceedings of annual conventions of the AFL for those years; data for other years are from THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, Lewis L. Lorwin, Brookings Institution, 1935, p. 488.
- ²Source: Proceedings 65th Convention of the AFL, 1946, p. 43.
- ³Data are compiled from Proceedings of annual conventions of the CIO.
- ⁴Statistics for period 1897 to 1934 are from EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM, Leo Wolman, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1936, New York, pp. 138-139. Figures for 1929-34 are adjusted to include membership of unions in the Trade Union Unity League in Wolman, p. 144. Figures for 1935-46 are estimates of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- ⁵Statement of President Philip Murray to the 1946 Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO. (Proceedings, Third Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, p. 62).
- ⁶Economic Outlook, November 1945. CIO Department of Research and Education.
- ⁷CIO membership for 1943 was reported as 5,285,000 (Proceedings, Sixth Constitutional Convention of the CIO, 1943, p. 115). It was also reported that the CIO had gained 1,090,503 members over 1942 (Ibid, p. 47), thus indicating a membership of approximately 4,195,000 for 1942. In 1944 a gain of 650,000 over 1943 was reported (Proceedings, Seventh Constitutional Convention, 1944, p. 56), indicating a 1944 membership total of 5,935,000.
- ⁸Proceedings, Fourth Constitutional Convention, 1941, p. 162.
- ⁹Based upon the number of votes accorded the various CIO affiliates represented at the Third Constitutional Convention, 1940. See Proceedings, pp. 25-30, pp. 113-115, and p. 170.
- ¹⁰Proceedings, Second Constitutional Convention, 1939, p. 80.
- ¹¹Proceedings, First Constitutional Convention, 1938, p. 36.

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